

BT

837

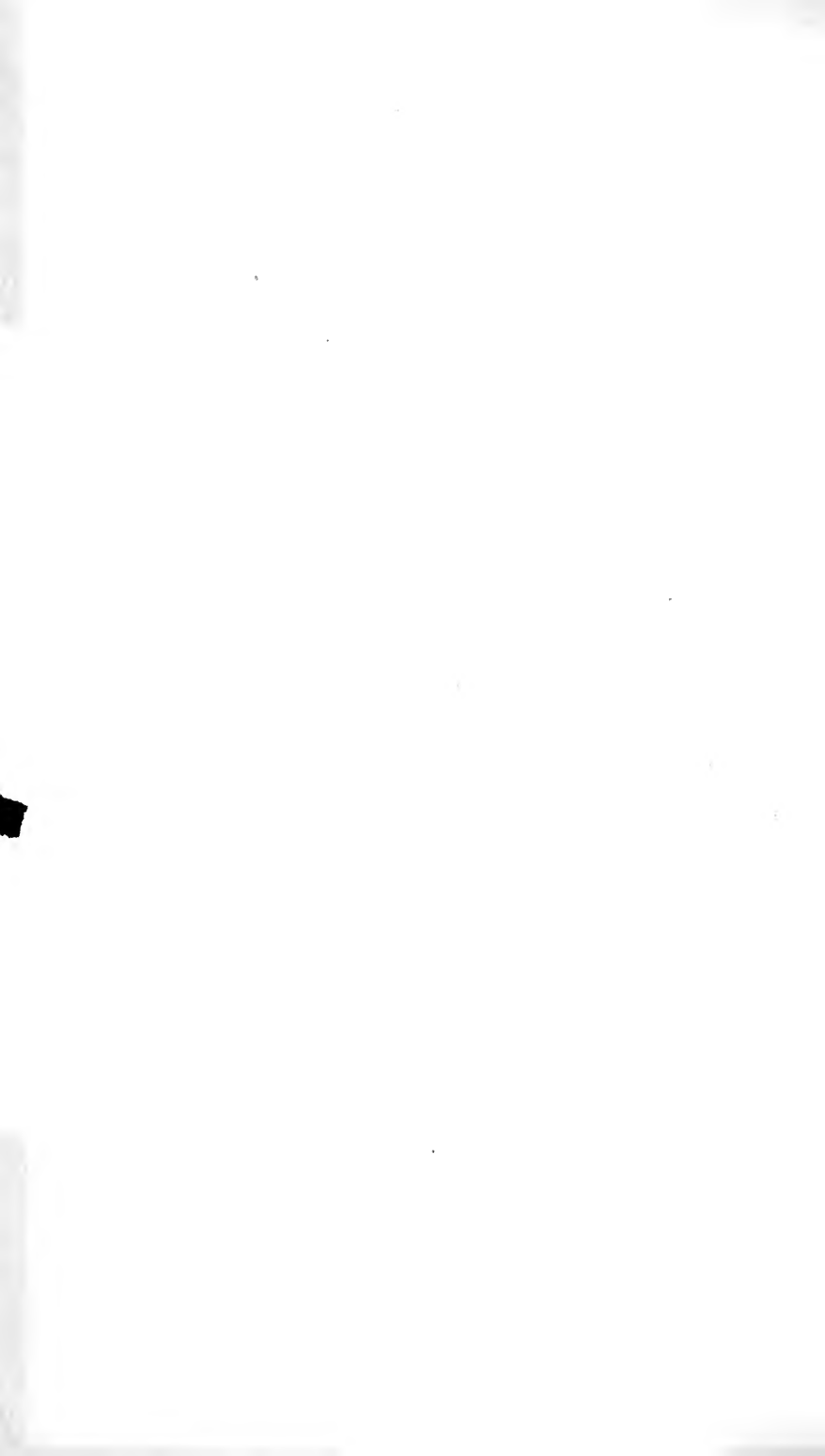
B25

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

BT 337
Chap. Copyright No.
Shelf. B 2 6

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.







L. G.

3-3-16

BALFOUR'S REPLY

TO

REV. BERNARD WHITMAN,

ON THE

TERM GEHENNA, RENDERED HELL

IN THE COMMON VERSION.

Deposited in Mass. Dist. Clerk's
Office. 26 April 1834.
See Vol. 9. p. 330.

LETTER

TO THE

REV. BERNARD WHITMAN,

ON THE

TERM GEHENNA, RENDERED HELL

IN THE COMMON VERSION.

BY WALTER BALFOUR.

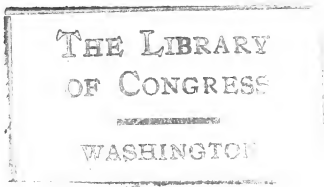
What is Truth? — *Pilate.*



BOSTON:
THOMAS WHITTEMORE AND B. B. MUSSEY.
1834.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1834, by
WALTER BALFOUR,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Dis. of Mass.

1851



BOSTON :
{ James B. Dow, Printer, }
{ 123 Washington-St. }

HLR 4 N 4 2

LETTER.

SIR,

I HAVE read your book, called — ‘Friendly Letters to a Universalist.’ In your sixth letter, I find my ‘First Inquiry’ is attacked, without naming it or me. To this letter I shall confine my reply; for with the rest of your book I have no more concern, than any other Universalist. I have no particular objections, however, to reply to your whole book, on the following conditions:

1. When Universalists, generally, deem your book worthy of a general reply, and wish me to undertake it. But I suspect, they look on your book, as you say Unitarians viewed mine, — ‘unworthy of any public notice.’

2. Some of your celebrated Unitarian ministers must endorse your book. Were I to refute the whole of it, Unitarians might say — ‘You have only killed a fly; for we consider Mr. Whitman’s book a very weak defence of future punishment.’ I wish to be certain, sir, that I am not to fight with ‘*a shadow.*’ If your greatest men think your book unanswerable, let them announce this to the public.

3. You must give me some public pledge, that you will not continue to misrepresent my opinions. Such a pledge is indispensable, as you have so grossly misrepresented my sentiments in your sixth letter. If you are so idle, as to find time to write misrepresentations, I cannot spare time to continue to write exposures of them. But for the following reasons, I should have taken no notice of your present misrepresentations. 1. Your sixth letter contains the first attack made by Unitarians on my views of gehenna. And as it professes to be ‘*a thorough investigation*’ of the subject; that you are ‘*to bring forward such evidence as seemed to settle this controversy beyond all doubt,*’ I thought some notice of it was necessary. 2. It appears the learned arguments of the Uni-

tarians against my views of gehenna are given in your sixth letter. Its principal materials were furnished you from Cambridge university, and at the expense of considerable time and labor to some gentleman there. From these considerations, I have concluded to examine this letter in detail. I shall quote all the material statements in your own words, and reply to them,—leaving the reader to judge for himself. I shall follow you step by step; from the commencement to the conclusion of your letter.

You commence thus: ‘My dear sir, I have selected and arranged eight classes of passages, which distinctly teach, or plainly imply future punishment.’ But you inform us, your limits did not permit you, ‘to give even a brief exposition of but one of the number.’ You observe—‘the question at issue is not to be decided by the number of times a future retribution is recognized in scripture. A few undoubted instances must be as satisfactory to every sincere believer as many hundreds.’ Agreed. The question then is—What are the ‘*undoubted instances*,’ which you have selected out of your eight classes of texts? You answer—‘I shall confine myself to that class of passages in which the Greek word gehenna occurs.’ No one can doubt, but this class of passages, are the most ‘*undoubted instances*’ you could find, in proof of your future retribution.* But when you come to p. 185, you say—‘I am willing to confess, that the removal of gehenna from the controversy would not shake my belief in the doctrine of a future retribution.’ What then can shake your faith in this doctrine, if it would remain unshaken, after the ‘*undoubted instances*’ of proof are removed from it? Who, or what, can control that man’s faith, which is beyond the control of ‘*undoubted instances*’ of proof, and is not affected by their removal?

You say—‘Gehenna is a word of exclusive Hebrew origin.’ And, after giving us the common description

* A reply then to these ‘*undoubted instances*’ will be a reply to your whole book; for if you cannot establish your system by ‘*undoubted instances*’ of proof, it is a hopeless case to attempt it by such as are *doubtful*. It so happens then, that my battle is to be with the best of your troops, and if they are routed, victory is sure over all the rest, by your own confession.

of the valley of Hinnom, etc. you add — ‘ so far there is no disagreement.’ Nothing material, sir, except this. If gehenna is a Greek word, and exclusively of Hebrew origin, why did you not go to the Hebrew scriptures to ascertain its scriptural meaning? why avoid them altogether? But I must notice your next paragraph in detail, as it opens the controversy between us.

You say — ‘ Now the learned commentators of all denominations contend, that the name of this loathsome, and fiery, and wormy valley, was afterwards used as an emblem of the future punishment of the wicked. They contend that our Saviour used gehenna to signify the torment which awaited the sinful in another existence.’ To this, sir, I answer. 1. The commentators *contend*, that Jesus Christ is the Supreme God. But you deny this. And if their *contending* for a doctrine is good evidence of its truth, Unitarianism is a mass of falsehood. Why then use an argument, which destroys your own system? It is what commentators *prove*, not what they *contend* for, any of us ought to care about.

2. No commentator has ever proved, that any *sacred writer* made gehenna ‘ an emblem of the future punishment of the wicked.’ You adduce no such proof from them, which shows you could find none. And do you think, sir, that I ought to believe your *assertion* — ‘ that our Saviour used gehenna to signify the torment which awaited the sinful in another existence?’ This has been *asserted* long enough. I now call on you to prove when, where, and by what inspired writer, gehenna was made an emblem of the future punishment of the wicked. This word has no such sense in the Old Testament, as all confess. Now, as you assert, this sense of gehenna was common among the Jews in the days of the Saviour, show us God’s authority for it, some time between the completion of the Old Testament and the commencement of the gospel dispensation? I shall deem it of human origin, until you have proved its origin divine.

But alluding to me, you say — ‘ This opinion was generally received as true, until one who is now a member of your body denied its correctness. He endeavored to show, that no such change had taken place in the meaning of the word. He aimed to prove, that gehenna must

be taken in its literal sense, as a place of temporal punishment near Jerusalem.' On this it may be observed: 1. Here your misrepresentation commences; but I shall defer an exposure of it, until you are nearly done repeating it. Who, except Bernard Whitman, will say, that I 'aimed to prove that gehenna must be taken in its literal sense?' etc.

2. I not only deny, but glory in denying, 'that our Saviour used gehenna to signify the torment which awaited the sinful in another existence.' For ten years I have believed this opinion incorrect, and your book demonstrates its incorrectness. You abandon the Bible as proving it correct, as we shall see in the sequel.

3. You seem to intimate, that my views of gehenna are not true, because they do not accord with the 'generally received' opinion. Be consistent, then, and abandon Unitarianism; for does it accord with generally received opinion? If either the *antiquity* or *universality* of an opinion, is proof of its truth, let us both retrace our steps, for we are sadly out of the right way. But it must beget a smile, to see a Unitarian pleading the authority of commentators and generally received opinion, as evidence against my views of gehenna. It is building again what you have destroyed. You go on to tell us — 'Unitarians consider the doctrine of future retribution firmly established without a reference to this class of passages: they took little or no notice of the work; and very few of the denomination have perused it even to this day. Those who examined for themselves, stated, that the investigation of the subject was superficial, the reasoning inconclusive, and many of the arguments irrelevant, and deemed it unworthy of any public notice.'* On these statements we have a few remarks to make.

1. It is of very little consequence, what the Unitarians thought or said about my book; or that they deemed it

* Does not this savour of sectarian self-importance? Must a book be good for nothing, unless Unitarians condescend to notice it? I am not aware, that many people think wisdom lives with, and must die among Unitarians. But by your own account, if my book is generally condemned among them, it is on the testimony of a few, for you say few of them have ever perused it. If it is condemned *generally*, it is condemned unheard, for but few Unitarians have *examined it for themselves*.

'unworthy of any public notice.' Certainly I have no reason to complain, that it has not been sufficiently noticed. I have sat, myself, and heard it preached against some half dozen times, and have learned from others, that many a clergyman has made it his theme in the *sacred desk*. It has also been noticed publicly in books from the press, by Messrs. Sabine, Hudson, Allen, Stuart, and now by yourself. And how often it has been noticed in the public journals, is beyond all my calculations. This is much more public notice, than I ever expected my book to receive. Indeed, few books for the last ten years in this region have received more public notice and it might well dispense with all notice from Unitarians.

2. It appears, that as I left the Unitarians texts enough to establish their future retribution, they cared little about my book. This is assigned as the reason why 'they took little or no notice of the work, and very few of the denomination have perused it even to this day.' I know, Sir, that you have perused it, and now misrepresent it. I know also that some other Unitarian ministers have not only perused it, but approved of it. And one of these, instead of misrepresenting it, marked in the copy he read, his approbation of it; and he is not behind Mr. Whitman in character, talents, or investigation. I do not mention this, to prove my book correct.

3. But you tell us, some Unitarians examined my book for themselves. And they 'stated,' but to whom is not mentioned, 'that the investigation of the subject was superficial, the reasoning inconclusive, and many of the arguments irrelevant, and deemed it unworthy of any public notice.' Supposing these statements correct, permit me now to ask you a few questions.

1. Must not you be a very idle man, and fond of low dirty work, to meddle with my book? Why stoop to notice a work, which for ten long years has been below Unitarian notice, by your own frank confession? You disgrace the whole denomination, to say a word about a work, which was too contemptible for their elevated dignity to notice. Is the dignity of Unitarians fallen? Or, is my book risen in value during the last ten years?

2. But why was it necessary, before you noticed a book, which is below Unitarian notice, that you should

go to the University for assistance? Let us hear your own confession about this; (p. 194.) 'I found that I had neither time nor qualifications to make that thorough research which my work demanded. I accordingly obtained the assistance of two friends, the Rev. George Nichols, and the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, tutor in Hebrew and the Mathematics in the University, who are amply and admirably qualified for the undertaking. They have spent hours and days in poring over the Targums and Talmuds, and other authorities in various ancient and modern languages. They have furnished me with numerous quotations, translated from the original Chaldaic, some of which you have in the present communication.' Is it possible, Sir, that you 'had neither *time* nor *qualifications* to make that thorough research which your work demanded,' to notice a book in which 'the investigation of the subject is superficial, the reasoning inconclusive, and many of the arguments irrelevant, and deemed unworthy of any public notice' by Unitarians! I suspect one of two things must be true. Either you did not believe what the Unitarians said of my book, or you must be a very modest, diffident man, unconscious of your superior talents. I am at a loss to perceive, how this book, could require any '*thorough research*' to refute it. These learned gentlemen ought to have told you — Mr. Whitman, it is only wasting time, to spend hours and days poring over the Targums and Talmuds, to find something to refute a book, which you know is below Unitarian notice, and which few of them have ever perused.' But it seems, you were all alike foolish in giving yourselves a world of trouble about nothing. I am sure, Sir, I never anticipated my book was to give you and these gentlemen so much trouble. But blame yourselves, — for you confess the book did not deserve it.

3. But with all this learned assistance, why was it necessary for you to misrepresent my book? How do you account for the strange inconsistency, that the very first notice of the book, which for ten years has been below Unitarian notice, you now only notice it, to misrepresent it? Shall I ascribe this to want of discernment, want of candor, or something worse? A man of your controversial celebrity ought to have despised this. What possible need could there be, to misrepresent such a con-

temptible book, which any fool or child could refute, according to your Unitarian account of it? But,

4. Why should *Unitarians* now notice the book, which has been so much noticed by our orthodox brethren? If Messrs. Sabine, Hudson, Allen, or Stuart have refuted it, your notice of it is perfectly superfluous, a work of supererogation. When this child of mine was brought into the world, I confess I had some anxiety for its fate. I received no aid from the University. And by your own confession, the poor child might have died, for any aid it has received from Unitarians since. At its birth, they deemed it a poor, puny, sickly thing, which must soon die a natural death. They considered it 'unworthy of any public notice,' and very few of them have ever looked on the child to this day. It has, however, outlived all the hard treatment it has met with, and I have no fears it will ever expire under your hands. But as the poor child, would not die by unitarian neglect for the last ten years, it seems they wish now to kill it by their public notice. They will do the child no harm by their opposition, for the more hardly it has been treated, the better it has grown. In plain language, sir, my book still remains unanswered. All who have attempted this have more or less misrepresented it, and you excel them all in misrepresentation. Such attacks have done it good, and if misrepresentations of it, have cost you and others so much trouble, what must be your labor, when you grapple with its real sentiments. If you have run with the footmen, and they have wearied you, you know the rest.

If my book is superficial in investigation, its reasonings inconclusive, and many of the arguments irrelevant, it is certain you had a similar opinion of all the books which have been written against it. This appears from your next words. You say, 'when I commenced my preparation for the present letter, I did not think much space could be allotted to this part of the discussion. On examination, however, I became convinced that your view of the word was altogether erroneous, and concluded to bring forward such evidence as seemed to settle this controversy beyond all doubt. The results of a thorough investigation will now be submitted to your

candid consideration.' A plain confession sir, you believed, that none who have attempted to answer my book, had settled 'this controversy beyond all doubt;' or, had laid before us 'the results of a thorough investigation.' Unless they had all failed, in refuting a book below unitarian notice, your attempt was unnecessary. Let us now attend to your '*thorough investigation.*' You say,

I. 'In the first place I will state some of my reasons for rejecting your definition of the greek term gehenna. How then do you say I define it? Your answer is — 'You contend that gehenna was used to denote a place of literal punishment in this world alone, out of the city of Jerusalem.' This, however, is only your own misrepresentation, which I shall show in its place. But against this misrepresentation all your force is directed, and my views of gehenna are left unmolested. You say, 'All valuable commentators affirm, that Jesus employed the word as an emblem of the spiritual punishment of the wicked, both in this world and the next existence.* This is the view I take of the subject, and the one which I shall attempt to defend.' Let it then be distinctly remembered, that the view which you have pledged yourself to defend, contains the following ideas. You have got to prove, that gehenna means '*spiritual punishment,*' and spiritual punishment '*both in this world and the next existence.*' That this spiritual punishment is for '*the wicked;*' and that Jesus employed gehenna as *an emblem* of this punishment. Let us now attend to your reasons. You say,

'I. I reject your definition of gehenna, because it makes our blessed Saviour utter nonsense and falsehood.

* Mr. Whitman, — on whose authority do commentators affirm this? Not on God's authority, for it is conceded on all hands, gehenna has no such meaning in the Old Testament. Not on the authority of Jesus Christ or his Apostles, for you affirm, p. 183, that — 'gehenna was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of the Saviour to mean future punishment.' It is not on inspired authority; nor even on the authority of uninspired Jews, who lived in the days of the Saviour, as we shall see afterwards. Even supposing the Jews, in our Lord's day, used gehenna in this sense, do you think Jesus imbibed their traditions in his childhood, and propagated them as a part of the doctrine received from his Father? Did he receive for doctrines the commandments of men? Did he not constantly refer the Jews to their own scriptures?

Look at the several passages in which he employs the word. The following is the first instance, *Matt. v. 22.* After quoting this text, you say — ‘*I defy you or any man; I challenge you or any individual.*’ And you repeat your challenge thus — ‘*I defy you to produce a single example in which they (the Jews) punished any breach of their laws by burning in the valley of Hinnom; and consequently no one of those our Lord addressed, were in any danger of being thus punished for any crime whatever.*’ Thus, you go on to fight your first battle with a man of straw to the end of the paragraph. But all this is mere blustering; for every child knows from *John xviii. 31*, that the Jews then could not put any man lawfully to death, by any mode of punishment whatever. And surely, Bernard Whitman, of Waltham, knows, that my views of gehenna have nothing to do with ‘burning in the valley of Hinnom.’

You say, our Lord’s meaning in this passage is — ‘he meant that the torment of inimical and revengeful feelings must be as severe as the punishment which could be inflicted in three several methods. And when he used the word gehenna, he extended the sufferings beyond the grave, as this word was then employed to denote the future misery of the wicked, which I shall soon prove.’ So, you are honest enough to confess, that all this is mere assertion, but which you are to prove afterwards; and yet you draw the following conclusion: ‘Thus you see your definition of gehenna makes our Saviour utter nonsense and falsehood.’ Can you tell us sir, what is the precise value of a conclusion, which is drawn from a misrepresentation, and a number of confessed assertions? Thus ends your first battle with a man of straw. You say,

‘2. Take a second class of passages.’ These are *Matth. v. 29, 30. 9. Mark xviii: 43, 45.* After quoting the first of these texts, you repeat your misrepresentation thus: ‘What connexion would the cutting off an offending member have with being burnt in the valley of Hinnom? What court had authority to inflict this kind of punishment on account of a person’s being led into sin by his right eye?’ My readers must consult the Rev. Bernard Whitman for an answer to these questions; for

I know of no 'connexion' these things have with my views of gehenna. You forget to give us an explanation of any of these passages. Such is your 'thorough investigation' of the subject. But you say,

'3. Take a third class of passages.' These are Matth. x. 28 Luke xii. 5. You quote the first of these texts, and ask — 'What can you make of this verse, on your system? I answer, Consult my book, and see. Why did you answer a matter before you heard it? Prov. xviii. 13. But you ask again — 'What more than the body could be destroyed in the valley of Hinnom?' And thus pass off your misrepresentation in the form of a question. You add — 'Give the true exposition of the passage, and our Lord's instructions appear clear, striking, rational, and consistent.' But how can this appear, until 'the true exposition' is given? You give us no exposition, either true or false; so that we must take *nothing* for 'a thorough investigation' of the subject. You say,

'4. Take a fourth class of passages.' But this is only Matth. xxiii: 15. After quoting it, your misrepresentation is thus repeated. 'Then according to your definition he (the proselyte) ought to be burnt twice in the valley of Hinnom.' As usual, you give us no exposition of this passage; but say,

'5. Take a fifth example.' This is Matth. xxiii. 33. Your established misrepresentation is thus repeated. 'The Scribes and Pharisees were in no more danger of being burned in the valley of Hinnom than of being drowned in the then unknown valley of the Mississippi.' Agreed. We are also agreed, that 'this verse is manifestly addressed to men in real danger of gehenna, whatever it might be.' What then was it? Dr. Allen, sir, Orthodox as he is, confessed I had offered something like argument in my exposition of this passage. But, according to your views, our Lord said to the unbelieving Jews — 'How can ye escape the torment of inimical and revengeful feelings, the spiritual punishment of the wicked both in this world and the next existence?' Does the context, sir, point out such an exposition as this? Examine and see, if it does not rather sanction mine, given in my first Inquiry. You add,

' 6. Look also at the passage from James, Chap. iii. 6. After quoting it, you ask — ' Does the writer mean to declare, that the human tongue is literally set on fire of the valley of Hinnom? ' Which is your common mode of presenting your misrepresentation. But as a rarity, you give us the following exposition of this passage. You say — ' A passage from one of the Jewish writers will illustrate the meaning of this verse. " A crafty tongue with coals of juniper, which were lighted in the infernal gehenna." Another author has this sentence, " I above, thou beneath. I from above will scatter arrows upon evil tongues, thou from beneath shall cast up coals upon them." ' But, sir, did you not notice, that in the first of these quotations, gehenna is called the *infernal* gehenna, which *smells* strongly of paganism. And in your second, *gehenna* is not mentioned at all. Nor does it appear, how either of these quotations give the true sense of the passage. Casting '*up coals,*' and '*coals of juniper,*' does not look much like a '*spiritual punishment.*' The Jewish hell and yours, is far from being the same, as we shall see in the sequel. The difference is so great, that I am surprised, you did not perceive it, and abandon your cause.

You have thus passed in review, all the texts in the New Testament where gehenna occurs. I have now a few brief remarks to make on your labors. 1. The whole number of occurrences are twelve. These you divided into six classes; but for what reason I cannot conjecture, unless it was for parade, and to afford you more opportunities to repeat your misrepresentation, and fight six battles with a man of straw. Your troops, might surely have been divided into more or fewer divisions, to gain such a victory.

2. From no one text, have you so much as attempted to prove, that gehenna means '*spiritual punishment.*' This you never intended. You have made no appeal to the Old Testament, and your proofs from the whole Bible are here closed. It is a mere burlesque on investigation, to call yours '*a thorough investigation.*' I have been saved all trouble, of defending my views of the different texts where gehenna is used, for you have waged no war with them, or so much as named them.

3. It will be asked, what then have you been about all this time? I answer, making assertions; giving us promises; and fighting with your own shadow. Being '*burned in the valley of Hinnom,*' has been the burden of your song, your unvaried tune of misrepresentation. It is of Waltham manufacture, sir, and if it makes the Saviour utter nonsense and falsehood, blame the manufacturer. Is it asked, How then are you to prove your views of gehenna, seeing you have abandoned the Bible? The sequel will show, that the 'Targums and Talmuds' are to be your oracles on the subject.

4. Shunning battle with my views of gehenna, speaks a volume. It was not from ignorance of them, this was done. In your last paragraph under your first reason, you begin thus — 'Perhaps you may now say, that our Saviour alluded to the destruction of Jerusalem.' But you perceived you was stumbling near my views, and finished the sentence thus — 'and those who were not converted to Christianity, would then be burnt in the valley of Hinnom.' Not forgetting to add — your view 'makes our Saviour a fool and a liar.' But all this shows, you knew more about my views of gehenna, than you deemed prudent to disclose to your readers. Here, there was a want of something else than discernment. Had my writings furnished such an unguarded sentence, no doubt but you would have quoted it. I was not prepared to expect such misrepresentations from Mr. Whitman, and I am sorry he should have resorted to them. I frankly forgive you, and am sure, your own painful feelings will be a sufficient punishment. Nor is there any need for you to go into another world to suffer it, for no doubt you will suffer enough here from your own reflections. But you say,

'2. My second reason for rejecting your definition of gehenna is this. The word evidently denotes some kind of punishment in all the instances in which our Saviour used it.' Well, as you only mention 'spiritual punishment, both in this life and the world to come,' I must conclude this is always your sense of gehenna in the New Testament. It means 'the torment of inimical and revengeful feelings.' p. 167. But if you really believe this, it is very strange you should carefully avoid

proving it. You say — ‘Now we have no evidence that the valley of Hinnom was a place of punishment in the time of the Saviour.’ Be it so; I say, ‘Now you give us no evidence, that gehenna meant a spiritual punishment both in this life and the world to come in the time of our Saviour,’ which balances this account. You add — ‘We never find any person, but Christ and his Apostles, using the word.’ True. But this fact shows your assertion false in another place, that gehenna ‘was uniformly used by the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, to mean future punishment.’ p. 183. If it had then meant this, our Lord would have got enough of such punishment threatened him by the Jews.

But you say — ‘Our Saviour mentions various kinds of trials to which his Apostles would be liable; but he mentions gehenna in this connexion but once; and he then uses the word in such a manner that you plainly perceive he could not mean corporal punishment, since he had just spoken of killing the body as a matter of no consequence.’ This is a strange statement; for, 1. The chief part of all our Lord said about gehenna, was mentioned to his Apostles. Now, if he only mentioned gehenna *once* to them, in connexion with the trials to which they would be liable, do tell us, in what other connexion it was mentioned to them? 2. Did our Lord threaten his Apostles, with ‘*spiritual punishment both in this life and the world to come,*’ and that in connexion with the trials to which they would be liable? And did he threaten them with this, a great deal more than he did the wicked Jews? Moreover, was the destroying both *soul* and *body* in gehenna a matter of no consequence? And did this mean ‘spiritual punishment both in this life and the world to come!!’ 3. Do you console Christians at Waltham, under their trials, by threatening them with this gehenna punishment? And do you say very little about it to your wicked hearers? You tell us, p. 186 — ‘I seldom use the word hell in my discourses.’ Where then is your fidelity or consistency? 4. My views of gehenna, rationally and scripturally account for our Lord’s conduct, in saying so much to the Apostles, and so little to the wicked Jews about gehenna. This you may see in my First Inquiry. But my views, whether right or wrong, you were not prepared to engage with.

I thank you for the following. You say — ‘The Apostles never speak of themselves as in any danger of being burned in the valley of Hinnom; and the Jews never threaten either them or their Master with such a punishment. Consequently I cannot possibly believe, that our Saviour meant a literal, temporal punishment in the valley of Hinnom, when he used the word *gehenna*.’ Who ever supposed he did? But I return you your own remarks with a slight alteration. ‘The Apostles never speak of themselves as in any danger of *gehenna* punishment in the next existence; and the Jews never threaten either them or their masters with such a punishment. Consequently, I cannot possibly believe, that our Saviour meant spiritual punishment in the next existence when he used the word *gehenna*.’ This is committing suicide on your own system. We have sometimes met with a writer who contradicted himself, and in using one argument destroyed the force of another; but here you dash your views of *gehenna* to pieces with one single blow. This argument, sir, is like a two edged sword. In striking your man of straw with the one edge, you have killed yourself with the other. The fact, sir, is indisputable, that the Apostles never expressed the least fear about punishment in your *gehenna* or hell; nor did the Jews ever threaten them or their Master with such punishment. No, sir; where did the Jews ever threaten Christ or his Apostles, with any *gehenna* punishment? How then do you account for the fact, admitted by yourself, that the Jews never threatened Christ or his Apostles with *gehenna* punishment, if *gehenna* ‘was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour to mean future punishment?’ They must have been very modest, and very diffident, to hear him say, ‘How can ye escape the damnation of *gehenna*,’ yet never retorted the threatening upon him. Like you, the Jews could say — ‘We seldom use the word *gehenna* or *hell* in our discourses.’ And yet you assure us, it was ‘*uniformly*’ used among the Jews in that day. Their uniform silence, is at point blank variance with your assertion. Again you say,

‘3. My third reason for rejecting your definition of *gehenna* is this. You have no evidence that a perpetual fire was kept up in the valley of Hinnom at the time our

Saviour was on earth.' Answer. 'You have no evidence, that gehenna in the days of the Saviour meant 'the spiritual punishment of the wicked both in this world, and the next existence.' This is death again by your own hands. But again: whether a perpetual fire was, or was not kept up in the valley of Hinnom in the days of our Saviour, is of no consequence to my views of gehenna. Whether you believe, or disbelieve this opinion on Rabbi Kemchi's authority, does not affect them, as we shall see presently. You are here, only prolonging your battles with a man of straw. You say,

'4. My fourth reason for rejecting your definition of gehenna is this. All the truly qualified biblical critics from the earliest days of research to the present time have given a different exposition.' A different exposition from what, sir? From the one you have been all along imputing to me, which is, 'being burned in the valley of Hinnom.' But this is not my definition, but your own misrepresentation; and they must be poor biblical critics, who do not give a different exposition from it. But, 1. You forgot sir, that the exposition given of gehenna by the biblical critics, is as different from your views of gehenna as it is from mine. What biblical critic defines gehenna to mean — '*spiritual punishment both in this life and the world to come?*' 2. It is truly amusing, to see you finding fault with me, or rather with your own misrepresentation of my views of gehenna, as different from that of the biblical critics, — giving different views from them yourself; and yet skulking behind their authority for protection. But their authority would weigh little with you, where Unitarianism was the point in discussion.

3. But why fight so many battles with a man of straw? Why shun an encounter with my views of gehenna as a child would a fancied ghost? Your well-known courage, stimulated by the critics, commentators, and Cambridge scholars, has not emboldened you so much as to name my views of gehenna.

Such are all your reasons, for rejecting what you call my views of gehenna, but which is a gross misrepresentation. I must now have my own way for a season. I have stated above, in very plain terms, that you have grossly misrepresented my views of gehenna pun-

ishment. That charge I shall now prove. The fairest way to do this, will be, first to state your misrepresentations in your own words — and second, quote from my books, the views of gehenna I have published to the world. The reader seeing both, can then judge for himself, whether my charge is true or false.

1. Let us see what your misrepresentations are, and in your own words. We are not liable to mistake here, for they are often repeated. On p. 164, you said — ‘*I aimed to prove, that gehenna must be taken in its literal sense, as a place of temporal punishment near Jerusalem.*’ On p. 165, you said — ‘*I contend that gehenna was used, (by Jesus) to denote a place of literal punishment in this world alone, out of the city of Jerusalem.*’ On p. 166, you said, I maintain ‘*gehenna punishment means burning in the valley of Hinnom.*’ And, ‘*being burnt in the valley of Hinnom,*’ p. 167. On p. 168, you said, I hold that gehenna means ‘*being destroyed by burning in the valley of Hinnom,*’ and, ‘*to be burned twice in the valley of Hinnom.*’ On p. 169, you represent me as believing, that gehenna means ‘*being burned in the valley of Hinnom, literally set on fire of gehenna.*’ And on p. 170, you state my views to be, ‘*burnt alive in the valley of Hinnom.*’ I might refer to other pages, where the same or similar misrepresentations are given. But these instances are sufficient to show, what your misrepresentations are. Let us now see,

2. What views of gehenna punishment, I have given in my books, published years ago to the world. My difficulty here is, in making a selection which is brief, as I cannot spare room to give my views in detail. For this, see my First Inquiry, Chap. ii. Sect. 1, and other publications. After quoting the 19th Chapter of Jeremiah, and also the 7th, from verse 29 to the end, I show at length — ‘*that Jeremiah used gehenna as an emblem of future temporal punishment to the Jews as a nation.*’ But I shall make the following quotation from my reply to Professor Stuart’s Exegetical Essays. It not only contains a brief statement of my views of gehenna, but is a refutation of the same misrepresentations made by yourself. It stands thus, on p. 218 :

‘1. Did the inspired writers in the Old Testament use the term *gehenna*, as meaning “*tartarus*, the place

of infernal punishment?" No; you do not say, or insinuate any such thing. On the contrary, you contend for its meaning *only* the valley of Hinnom. And you wish your readers to believe, that *valley of Hinnom* is the only sense your opponents attach to this word. Was such a *misrepresentation* of the views of Universalists respecting this word, done designedly, or was it from ignorance of their sentiments? I wait for your answer to this, to know whether to exercise *charity*, or feel *pity* for the man and his cause, which obliged him to state such a gross misrepresentation. It is on the authority of the Jewish Rabbins, not the Old Testament writers, the sense of *tartarus* is given by you to *gehenna* in the New Testament.

'2. The inquiry must then be, In what *sense*, or *senses*, did the Old Testament writers use the term *gehenna*? I find they used it, 1st. *Literally* for the valley of Hinnom, as the word signifies. The texts where it is so used I need not cite, as on this point there is no dispute between us. They may all be seen in my First Inquiry.

'2d. I find *gehenna* used in a figurative or emblematical sense, to describe the temporal miseries God was to bring on the nation of the Jews, for their sins. Some of their greatest sins and abominations had been committed in this valley, and the place is used to set forth the wretchedness of their condition, when God's judgments came upon them. It was a fit emblem to set forth this, by your own description of the valley.'

I shall only add the following from p. 219. 'That *gehenna*, or the valley of Hinnom, should be used as a symbol to set forth the temporal miseries of the Jews, can never be consistently objected to by you. Do you ask why? Because on p. 143 you speak of your *hell* in a future state being symbolized by it.' And surely, Mr. Whitman cannot object to this, for he tells us, p. 165, and other places — 'Jesus employed *gehenna* as an *emblem* of the spiritual punishment of the wicked, both in this world and the next existence.'

Such are my views of *gehenna*, whether right or wrong. They were not adopted to-day, but were published to the world years ago; and with them Mr. Whitman no doubt was familiar. In writing the above reply

to Professor Stuart's misrepresentation, little did I think I was preparing a reply to the misrepresentation of the Rev. Bernard Whitman. Such a misrepresentation comes with an ill grace from Unitarians, who have complained so bitterly of orthodox misrepresentations. But, widely as the two sects differ in their opinions, in one thing they are agreed, to misrepresent the opinions of Universalists. Mr. Whitman, your misrepresentations are so palpable, and so often repeated, that no remarks are necessary to point them out. Any child can perceive them. I have tried to devise an apology, but I find this impossible. I even find it difficult to account for your attack on Universalists, and why you should select my First Inquiry as the subject of your misrepresentation. I have asked,

1. Was Mr. Whitman ignorant of my opinions? No. It would be dishonorable to his character, to suppose he attacked a book, and was ignorant of the sentiments it contained. You are not one of those Unitarians, who have 'not perused the work, even to this day.' I have asked,

2. Can Mr. Whitman have any personal grudge to gratify against me, or the sect of Universalists? As for myself, I cannot indulge for a moment such a suspicion; for we have always been on the most friendly terms when we have happened to meet. Nor am I aware, that Universalists as a sect, have ever given him any provocation. It is true, the Rev. L. R. Paige, of Cambridgeport, pointed out some things in his writings, which looked like contradictions. But this was not a sufficient reason, why he should attack the whole sect of Universalists, or me in particular. Mr. Paige is of age to answer for himself, whenever Mr. Whitman is at leisure to call on him. I have further asked,

3. Could Mr. Whitman's vanity prompt him to attack Universalism, thinking he could refute that, which our Orthodox brethren had failed in accomplishing. No, for in this case, he would have magnified, not depreciated, my book. It was necessary to the gratification of his vanity. I have asked,

4. Did Mr. Whitman's ardent love of truth, and hatred of what he deemed error, prompt him to this attack on Universalism? This is doubted; for an ardent love

of truth, would have prevented him from misrepresenting my opinions. Besides, the question occurs, Why has he delayed his attack so long, for he has been familiar with my views of gehenna punishment for ten long years? Why notice now, what Unitarians have deemed unworthy of notice so long? Something of late must have roused Mr. Whitman against Universalism. What then has done this? What led him to misrepresent my opinions?

5. I can devise no other cause, but the rapid spread of Universalism. It has been said, and with some appearance of truth, — '*Universalism bids fair to be the prevailing heresy of the age.*' And some have alleged, that my First Inquiry has contributed to its prevalence. I suspect, Unitarians, like some other sects, have got alarmed at its rapid progress, and Mr. Whitman thinks himself competent to put down the *heresy*. I admit there is just cause for alarm; but will it ever be put down by misrepresentation? Is it not alarming, that some people composing Unitarian societies, should be Universalists? Does it not add to the alarm, that some of them are even found in Orthodox societies, yea, are members of their churches? And, our Orthodox friends have long alleged, that some Unitarian ministers are Universalists.

We presume it to be more than an idle rumor, that Mr. Whitman, Unitarian minister at Waltham, is himself a Universalist. And what renders the case more alarming still, sometimes a society dismisses an Orthodox or Unitarian minister, and settles a Universalist in his place. And for one Universalist, or Universalist minister who goes over to them, two come from them over to us. But what renders the case desperately alarming is, none of them seem able to refute Universalism, either from pulpit, press, or in public debate. Many have tried to refute it, and the very attempts have only tended to the increase of the heresy. What a melancholy state of things.

I am aware, very few Unitarian ministers openly avow Universalism in their preaching. But even this fills the ranks of Universalists. People, and even our Orthodox brethren, give Universalists credit for their honesty, in

openly teaching their sentiments. But they have long blamed Unitarians, for disguising theirs. It is said, they never openly avowed Unitarianism, until driven to it by controversy; and perhaps it may be the same, in their openly avowing Universalism. Most people like frank, open honesty in religion, and prefer the Sect of the Universalists on that very account. They also perceive, that Universalists are willing to live on friendly Christian terms with Unitarians; but this is not generally reciprocated on their part. Some decline an exchange of pulpit services with the Universalists, and with the same breath, loudly and bitterly complain, that their Orthodox brethren will not exchange with them. They seldom exchange with Universalists, except when the people demand it, and the dread of a dismissal produces a compliance. Besides, Universalists in some towns, have aided in the building of Unitarian meeting-houses, and have been denied the use of them for an evening lecture, when not occupied by the Unitarians.* In some cases, promises were held out, until Universalists had bought their pews, and afterwards no regard was paid to them. The patience of some Universalists have been tried to long suffering; and seeing no remedy, have united and built a house for themselves. And some Unitarians, disgusted at this treatment of Universalists, have abandoned the Unitarians and joined with them. Thus the very opposition to Universalism, accelerates its progress. Have Universalists ever treated Unitarians in this manner? Did they ever deny Unitarians the use of their meeting-houses when not occupied by themselves? If they have, I blush for such Universalists.†

* To this remark, we are happy to say, there are some honorable exceptions. In several places we have preached in Unitarian houses. It is also our opinion, that the best men among Unitarians, disapprove of this illiberality of one sect of Christians towards another. They are willing people should hear all sides and judge for themselves; and some Unitarian ministers are willing to exchange pulpit services with the Universalists.

† Mr. Sabine frankly confessed to me, that he had never seen before, such candor and liberality as was manifested by the Universalists in Charlestown. When he announced his intention to preach down my First Inquiry, and was refused a suitable meeting-house by his own orthodox brethren, they unanimously voted him

I am truly sorry, Mr. Whitman has proclaimed war against Universalists. But I cannot believe most Unitarians approve of his conduct; and certainly never will approve of his misrepresentations. It is my consolation, that I have never given him the least provocation to this, but always have esteemed him, and wished to maintain Christian friendship with him. If we must have war, all will exonerate me, for the first gun has been fired by himself. It is true, it is only blank cartridge, mere misrepresentation, but still it shows no very *friendly* disposition. He no doubt would have charged with grape-shot, had my book furnished it. In plain language, his misrepresentations show, that he cannot meet my views fairly, and this must eventually injure himself, and the cause he has espoused. It will turn out, for the furtherance of Universalism still more, for people will see, it cannot be refuted by Mr. Whitman with all his aid from the University. When he shuns battle with my views of gehenna, and fights with his own shadow, people will ask — ‘What can this mean? We can account for it in no other way but this:— either weakness in him, or truth in the sentiments he opposes. He has shunned battle with nothing that is Orthodox; but before he can do any thing with Universalism, he is obliged to misrepresent it.’ But perhaps Mr. Whitman is to set the battle in array under his second division of the subject, to which I shall now give attention. He says,

‘II. In the second place, I will mention a few reasons for believing that our Saviour used gehenna to mean spiritual punishment both in this life and the world to come.’ (p. 72.) You immediately add — ‘this is the testimony of the Jewish writers of antiquity.’ But are you not mistaken; for what Jewish writer testifies — ‘that our *Saviour* used gehenna to mean spiritual punishment both in this life and the world to come?’ It is certain you quote no such testimony from them; but on the contrary say — ‘I go to their writings to ascertain

the use of theirs. He accepted of it; and he was allowed to take his own time, and his own way to accomplish his purpose. The result of his labors is well known, and need not be here mentioned.

the exact meaning of a Hebrew word in their day, and for no other purpose. I have nothing to do with their theology or religious sentiments.' Unless 'their day,' and 'the days of the Saviour,' then are the same, you go to their writings in vain: and if you adopt their sense of gehenna, how can you avoid the theology they connect with it? Moreover, as there is no other sure method of arriving at the exact meaning of gehenna, but from the Jewish writings of antiquity, this is confessing your abandonment of the Bible, in deciding the question at issue.

You ask, 'What works then have we to which reference can be made in this controversy?' You answer — 'We have the *Targums* and *Talmuds*.' Again, you ask, 'What then are the Targums?' You answer — 'They are Chaldee paraphrases on different portions of the Old Testament.' Prideaux, sir, enumerates eight Targums; and some critics increase their number to ten. But you only select three of them, which no doubt you deemed best adapted to your purpose. There are two Talmuds, and you use them. You also quote some other Jewish writings, which will be noticed in their place. Now, as you say, 'I go to these writings to ascertain the exact meaning of a Hebrew word in their day, and for no other purpose.' The principal point of investigation *here*, is, did any of these Jewish writings exist in the days of the Saviour? The *antiquity* of your Jewish writings, is the question in discussion; and if you do not prove that they existed in our Lord's day, how can they prove how gehenna was then used among the Jews, or in what sense it was used by the Saviour? Let the reader bear constantly in view, that the *age* of your Jewish writings, is now the point in dispute. You say, —

'In the first place, there is the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel.' The question is, When did he live and write? You say, — 'He flourished in Jerusalem, within thirty years of Christ.' This is your *assertion*, and this has been asserted by some others. But why did you conceal from your readers, that critics of the first eminence, have given a very different account of the age of Jonathan's Targum? Some critics, sir, date this Targum

in the seventh century after Christ, and you seem to admit, none of the Christian fathers quote it for the first four centuries. But, as you bring up again the date of this Targum, when you make your quotations from it, I shall reserve what I have to say further about it, until its proper place. You say,

‘In the second place, there is the Targum of Joseph the blind.’ Well, when did he live and write? In the days of the Saviour? No; you frankly confess — ‘*this author flourished about three hundred years after Christ.*’ But this, sir, is giving up the ship; and it is sinking her to add — ‘he was a teacher of the law at Babylon,’ and his Targum, ‘is probably a collection of extracts from his disciples’ manuscripts.’ Concerning this Targum, Prideaux says — ‘Who this Joseph was, or when he lived, is not said.’ And Calmet remarks — ‘This author is much more modern, and less esteemed, than Jonathan ben Uzziel.’ And Horne adds — ‘The younger Buxtorf, and after him, Bauer and Jahn, are of opinion that the whole is a compilation of later times: and this sentiment appears to be the most correct.’ You say,

‘In the third place, there is the Jerusalem Targum. This must have been written as late as the sixth century, because events are referred to, and geographical names are inserted, which could not have had an earlier date.’ Well, by your own confession, this Targum did not exist until the sixth century after Christ. But Horne says — ‘It is more likely not to have been written before the eighth or ninth century.’ Would it not answer the same purpose, sir, to refer us to the Targum of the Rev. Bernard Whitman, who flourished at Waltham, in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-three. But the very late date of this Targum does not discourage you; for you add — ‘its authority however may be regarded as great.’ Why? You answer, ‘for it consists principally of extracts from earlier Targums and other Jewish writings.’ You are not bold enough to assert, that they are as early as the days of the Saviour, but you say — ‘in fact there is such a coincidence between many passages of this Targum, and passages in the New Testament, that some critics have supposed it was extant in the time of Christ.’ A drowning man will catch at a straw. Pri-

deaux, sir, gives these coincidences, — which are, Luke vi. 38. Rev. xx. 6, 14; v. 10. Matt. vi. 9; compared with this Targum, on Gen. xxxviii. 26. Deut. xxxiii. 6. Exod. xix. 6, and Deut. xxvi. 6. But he accounts for these coincidences of language thus: ‘The truth of the matter most probably is, there were sayings and phraseologies which had attained among the Jews in our Saviour’s time, and continued among them long after; and hence our Saviour and his apostles, and afterwards the author of this Targum, had them as from the same fountain.’ But, unfortunately for you, not one of these coincidences mentions anything about gehenna. And it is still more unfortunate, there is no proof, that this Targum ‘consists principally of extracts from earlier Targums.’ And if even this was proved, it can never be proved the quotations you make about gehenna, are part of those earlier Targums. < So your straw fails you for support. I suspect, sir, your ‘*thorough investigation*’ was not very thorough.

But, after all the importance which you seem to give to Joseph’s Targum, and the Jerusalem Targum, we shall see in the sequel, you avoid quoting them. For this reason, I despatch what I have to say about them in this place. It was ill-judged in you to introduce these Targums — confess their late dates — yet wish your readers to believe, they prove in what sense our Lord used the term gehenna. They may certainly ask, Does Mr. Whitman think us fools? But you say,

‘Let me now offer a few explanatory remarks respecting the Talmuds.’ Well, when were they written? By your own confession, the *Mishna* of the Jerusalem Talmud was not made until ‘about the year two hundred.’ And the *Gamara*, its second part, not until ‘a century afterwards.’ And you also confess, the Babylonish Talmud was not made until about — ‘the year four hundred,’ or ‘a century later.’ But even these dates are somewhat too early, as will appear from some quotations to be made in the sequel. Farther discussion about this is altogether unnecessary. Conscious their dates did not suit your purpose, you add — ‘but as both these Talmuds are composed chiefly of sayings and writings, much older than the date of their compilation, they are good

authority for ascertaining the meaning of Hebrew words, at a much earlier period.' Mr. Whitman, the question is, Did these *sayings* and *writings* exist in the days of the Saviour? This is the point to be proved. If these sayings and writings are now in existence, quote them. And if they are not, what do you know about them? How can sayings and writings, about which you know nothing, ever prove in what sense our Lord used the word *gehenna*? Is not this getting along at a miserable rate, to talk about *sayings* and *writings* you have never seen, nor read, nor knew what they contained. This, sir, is not standing still,— it is sinking.

Before quoting your Jewish writers, you give us the following preparatory remarks. I shall quote them entire, as they deserve some notice. You say, pp. 175, 176,

'Now I wish you to understand distinctly the use I am about to make of these Hebrew writings of antiquity. I do not search them to ascertain what the Jews believed concerning future retribution. No. Their opinions weigh nothing with me in this controversy. I go to them for the express purpose of learning what meaning the Jewish nation gave to the word *gehenna* in the days of our Saviour, and immediately after. He was born of Jewish parents, and would use language as understood by his brethren according to the flesh, unless he signified to the contrary. This he has not done in the present instance. Now this is the only true and sure way of coming at the real meaning of words in any language. Let me give you an illustration. You find the word *atonement* but once in our English translation of the Christian scriptures. You wish to know what meaning was attached to this term in the time of the translators. How can you determine this question? By examining other books which were written near that period. You take the plays of Shakspeare. You there find the word thus divided, *at-one-ment*. This shows you that the people of that day meant by the word *atonement*, reconciliation, bringing together those who were at variance, making them one. Now, I am about to pursue a similar course in relation to the word *gehenna*; and all judges of this subject will assure you there is no other certain way of arriving at its true meaning.'

On this paragraph I remark, 1. I '*understand distinctly*' the use you are about to make of the Hebrew writings of antiquity. I understand, you 'go to them for the express purpose of learning what meaning the Jewish nation gave to the word *gehenna* in the days of our Saviour, and immediately after.' I also understand, Jesus was born of Jewish parents, and would use language as understood by his brethren according to the flesh, but *learned from their own scriptures*, unless he signified to the contrary. This he has not done in the present instance. But I cannot understand, that Jesus adopted a sense given to *gehenna* by the Jews, whether it was scriptural or not. Nor can I understand, that the Jews, in our Lord's day, used *gehenna* to designate future punishment; or, that you can quote any Jewish writing that existed in his day, which teaches such a sense of *gehenna*. And if such a writing did exist, I cannot understand it to be scriptural or rational, to interpret our Lord's words by Jewish traditions which he condemned. I hope you will understand this *distinctly*. 2. I am not surprised, you begin to feel uneasy in the prospect of making your quotations from Jewish writings, and make apologies about them. They are so silly and ridiculous, as to give a man of common sense the *fidgets* for a month. Keep yourself perfectly easy, sir, for I have no suspicion you believe a word of them. I suspect, your uneasiness chiefly arose from perceiving, that your quotations did not prove your *spiritual punishment*; hence you now drop this phrase and use another, '*future punishment*.'

3. But observe, sir, in the above paragraph you assume what you ought to have proved. You assume, that the Targums and Talmuds you are about to quote, existed in the days of the Saviour. But why assume this, which is the very point in discussion? Why assume this, sir; for by your own confession, most of these writings did not exist until several hundred years after the days of the Saviour. I do not blame you for not accomplishing an impossibility. No, I only blame you for attempting it. All built on this assumption of course falls to the ground; and your all, you know, is built upon it. But having assumed, that the Targums and Talmuds existed in the days of the Saviour, you go on to assume, that these writings must explain what was the sense of

gehenna in his day. Yes, you aver, they must as certainly do this, as Shakspeare's plays must explain what was the sense of the word atonement when our English version of the New Testament was made. But this is imposing on your readers; for it appears the Targums and Talmuds did not exist, until two or more hundred years after the days of the Saviour. In preaching at Waltham, do you use Scripture words, in a new and strange sense, which they are to have three or four hundred years hence? If you do not, why impute this to the Saviour? But if he did this, why did he not say as you do — 'I have nothing to do with their Theology. Their opinions weigh nothing with me in this controversy.' But,

4. The word *atonement* is a very unfortunate example selected for illustration. *Gehenna*, like the word *atonement*, is a compound word; but divide it as you may, you cannot make it mean 'spiritual punishment,' either in this world or the world to come. Again. If for want of Scripture usage of the word *atonement* in the New Testament, you must recur to Shakspeare's plays to ascertain its meaning, there was no occasion to recur to the Targums and Talmuds to ascertain the Scripture sense of *gehenna*; for you confess it occurs twelve times in the New Testament. But a man of your scholarship, could recur to the original for the true sense of both words. Now, sir, if *katalage*, rendered *atonement*, occurs four times in the New Testament,* and *gehenna*, rendered *hell*, occurs twelve times, here was sufficient Scripture usage to ascertain the meaning of both words. There was not the least occasion to go to Shakspeare, the Targums and Talmuds, to find their true meaning. And if this range of Scripture usage was too limited or uncertain, you could extend it to the Old Testament in both cases. But this would have ruined your whole system.

5. You tell us — 'I am about to pursue a similar course in relation to the word *gehenna*; (as with the word *atonement*,) and all judges of this subject will assure you there is no other certain way of arriving at its true meaning.' If this, sir, be true, then abandon the Protestant maxim, that 'the Bible is its own best inter-

* Besides, *katallasso* occurs six times for your assistance.

preter.' If this is true, adopt the Catholic maxim, that 'the Bible must be explained by tradition,' yea, by Jewish tradition.' If this be true, Bible Societies ought to take the hint, and have the Targums and Talmuds bound up with the Bible. If this be true, Jesus Christ, after condemning the whole mass of Jewish traditions, adopted the sense given to gehenna in their traditions several hundred years after his death. But, as you risk your reputation, in saying — 'all judges of this subject will assure you there is no other certain way of arriving at the true meaning of gehenna but by the Targums and Talmuds,' I must give this some attention. Now, sir, I assert, no *judge* of this question will give such a decision. I submit it to the following judges, and no one will say they can be biassed in favor of my opinions.

1. Was Dr. Campbell a judge? Let us hear his decision? In his third dissertation, he says — 'The opinion of Grotius and some learned Rabbis, unsupported by either argument or example, nay in manifest contradiction to both, is here of no weight. Scripture usage *alone* must decide the question.' No, says Mr. Whitman — 'Targum and Talmudic usage *alone* must decide the meaning of gehenna.' You expressly say — 'All judges of this subject will assure you there is no other certain way of arriving at its true meaning.'

2. Is Dr. Jahn a judge? In his dissertation on the importance and best method of studying the original languages of the Bible, he says — 'Every thing depends on the *usus loquendi*; so that whatsoever is not directly or indirectly deduced from it, is necessarily uncertain and unstable. The *usus loquendi*, however, is a simple *historical fact*. To discover what it was, we must investigate what meaning the ancient Hebrews attributed to the words and phrases of their vernacular tongue.' See the whole dissertation.

3. Is Professor Stuart a judge? In his notes on Jahn's dissertation, and modifying some of his remarks, he says — 'I admit we have but very scanty remains of the ancient Hebrew tongue: but, in the volume which we have, are comprised a great variety of authors, and all the varieties of composition. It is from a comparison of these that the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrews is acquired; just

as in reading Herodotus, and Homer, and Xenophon, we obtain the *usus loquendi* of the old Grecians, and Attic writers.' He adds — 'it is not correct to say, that there are no good witnesses to the *usus loquendi* of the ancient Hebrew except the kindred dialects. The Hellenistic Greek in the Septuagint, in the Apocrypha, and in the New Testament, written by Jews who either spoke the Hebrew itself, or a mixture of it with the Syriac or Chaldee, which so nearly resembles it, is, *in a great multitude of instances*, a good witness to the point in question. The words indeed are Greek, but the language, i. e. the method of expression, the coloring, and the sense of the words are all conformed to the Hebrew mode of expression and thinking.' I might quote much more to the same purpose from Mr. Stuart. Did he, in his controversy with the Unitarians, say as you do — 'all judges of this subject will assure you there is no other certain way of arriving at the true meaning of the Scriptures respecting Christ's divinity, but by consulting the Targums and Talmuds?' Had he done this, they would have deemed him insane. But,

4. Is Horne a judge? Let us hear him directly on the point in question. In his Introduction to the critical study of the Holy Scriptures, vol. ii. pp. 298, 299, he thus writes — 'In availing ourselves of the assistance to be derived from the Jewish writings, we must take care not to compare the expressions occurring in the New Testament too strictly with the Talmudical and Cabbalistical modes of speaking; as such comparisons, when carried too far, tend to obscure rather than to illustrate the sacred writings. Even our illustrious Lightfoot is said not to be free from error in this respect; and Dr. Gill has frequently incumbered his Commentary with Rabbinical quotations. The best and safest rule, perhaps, by which to regulate our reference to the Jewish writers themselves, as well as those who have made collections from their works, is the following precept, delivered by Ernesti: '*We are to seek for help,*' says he, '*only in those cases, where it is absolutely necessary; that is, where our knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues affords no means of ascertaining an easy sense, and one that corresponds with the context.*' See the whole para-

graph. Have you, sir, observed Ernesti's precept? Was it absolutely necessary for you to go to the Targums and Talmuds for the true sense of gehenna? Did the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures afford no means of ascertaining an easy sense, and one that corresponds with the context? No man will say so, who has paid attention to the subject. It was absolutely necessary, for you to go to the Targums and Talmuds to establish your system about gehenna; for without them you confess it cannot be established.

5. I shall add a judge from your own sect. In the 'Unitarian Miscellany' there is an article headed '*Causes of early errors in religion.*' The writer concludes his article thus. 'Christians should study with care the grounds of their faith, and, rejecting all systems of human invention in which these errors are found, should seek for truth in the Bible *alone*. Here, and here only, we have the religion of Jesus and his Apostles, unimpaired by the ravages of time, and unperturbed by the vain imagination and wayward designs of men.' Have you sought '*for truth in the Bible alone,*' respecting *gehenna* punishment? No, sir; you have sought for it *alone* in the Jewish writings of antiquity, and expressly say, p. 183 — 'I know of no other way of arriving at the meaning of Hebrew words and phrases.'

Here, sir, is a whole bench of judges, Scotch, English, German, and American, whose decision is unanimous against your assertion. Most critics adopt Ernesti's precept, and recur to the Jewish writings only when Scripture usage fails. They seldom recur to them to determine any doctrinal point, but only where Jewish rites, ceremonies and customs are the points in question. You are inexcusable, and self-condemned, in appealing to the Targums and Talmuds on the subject of gehenna. Were I to say — 'all judges will assure you, that the true sense of the word *logos*, John i. 1, is that given in the Targums and Talmuds,' what would you say? To be consistent, you must abandon your Unitarianism, for these writings assert the divinity of the Messiah from the word *memra*, *logos*, or *word*. See Basnage's History of the Jews, pp. 173, 174. Unitarians would laugh the Trinitarians to scorn, were they to prove the divinity of Christ

by the Targums and Talmuds, saying — ‘all judges of this subject will assure you there is no other certain way of arriving at its true meaning.’ But I must drop this topic, and attend to your quotations from the Targums and Talmuds. I shall quote the whole of them at once, from pp. 176 — 180. You say,

‘In the first place, take a few extracts from the Targum of Jonathan. Read the following declaration. ‘Abram saw gehenna belching forth smoke and burning coals, and sending up sparks to punish the wicked therein.’ Surely he did not see the valley of Hinnom, for this would make him witness what no one pretends took place until a thousand years after his time. Hear the following remark: ‘The wicked are to be judged, that they may be delivered to eternal burning in gehenna.’ This surely cannot refer to the valley of Hinnom. Very many passages occur in which the wicked are threatened with the punishment of gehenna. But you want only those which clearly prove that future punishment was intended. Listen then to the three following sentences: ‘Like embers in the fire of gehenna, which God created the second day of the creation of the world.’ ‘The earth from which springs forth food, and beneath which is gehenna, the cold of whose snow is changed so as to become like fire.’ ‘Thou shalt see them descending into the earth to gehenna.’ Thus have I given you five extracts from this Jewish writer who lived about twenty or thirty years before Christ. They plainly prove that he considered gehenna a place or state of future punishment for the wicked. They are comments on the following passages of scripture. Isa. xxxiii. 14, 17. Cant. viii. 6. Job. xxxviii. 5. Wolf’s *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, Part II. pp. 1159—60. Wetstein’s *N. T.* on Matthew v. 22. Bartoloccius *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Part II. p. 136.

‘In the second place, take an example from *Medrasch Thillium*, an allegorical exposition of the Psalms, ascribed to Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, who was born the first year of the Christian era. These are his words: — ‘Circumcision is regarded with favor; for the holy and blessed swear to Abram, that no one who was circumcised should descend into gehenna.’ This cannot mean the

valley of Hinnom. Wetstein. Matt. iii. 9. Bartoloccius, Part IV. pp. 272, 320.

‘In the third place, take a few specimens from the *Pierche Eliezer*, written by Eliezer the great, whose wife was great-grand-daughter to that Simeon who took the infant Jesus in his arms. He flourished about the year seventy-three. These are his sayings:—‘On account of the sabbath, Adam was delivered from the condemnation of gehenna.’ ‘Whosoever confesses his transgressions and forsakes them is delivered from the condemnation of gehenna.’ ‘The holy and blessed God has dealt with me in truth and goodness, and delivered me from the condemnation of gehenna.’ ‘All angels and seraphim shall not deliver the wicked from the condemnation of gehenna.’ You see that in all these cases gehenna is evidently used to denote future punishment. Bartoloccius, Part I. pp. 184, 5. Part IV. Chronological Index. Wetstein. Matt. xxiii. 33.

‘In the fourth place, take a few instances from *Berachith Rabba*, which was written by Rabbi Hoschiakia. He flourished about the year ninety-five. These are the sayings:—‘Hereafter Abram will sit at the gates of gehenna, and will suffer no circumcised Israelite to descend thither; but what will he do with those who have sinned beyond measure? He will restore to them their foreskin, and they will descend into gehenna.’ ‘Before paradise gehenna was created; gehenna on the second day, paradise on the third day. This is the edge of the sword which turns every way, and which being directed towards them hereafter sets them on fire.’ ‘In that hour gehenna ascends upon the wicked. Woe to the world on account of the judgments thereof.’ Wetstein. Matt. iii. 9; v. 22; xxiii. 33. Luke xvi. 22. Bartoloccius, Part II. pp. 788, 82, 134.

‘In the fifth place, take one example from *Maase Thora*, ascribed to Rabbi Hakkodesh, who was born about the year one hundred and twenty. These are the words:—‘God admitted Hiram, king of Tyre into paradise,’ because he had built the temple, and had been from the first, a pious man; and he lived in paradise a thousand years; but when afterwards he began to be filled with pride, and made himself a deity, he was expelled from

paradise, and descended into gehenna.' Wetstein. Luke xxiii. 43. Wolf. Biblioth. Heb. Part II. p. 839. Bartoloccius, Part III. p. 773.

'In the sixth place, take a few passages from the *Talmuds*. I will give them in the order they occur in the original works. Look then to the following examples:— 'For those who observe the law, paradise is prepared, but for transgressors, gehenna.' Does this refer to this world or the next? 'While you apply yourselves with the greatest labor and trouble to the study of the law, and yet neglect to fulfil it, you will become heirs of gehenna at your death, while you have enjoyed no pleasure in this life.' This admits of no doubt. 'Heretics, traitors, apostates, epicurians, those who deny the law, and those who deny the resurrection of the dead, those who separate themselves from the doctrines of the congregation, and those who cause terror among the dwellers upon earth, and those who have sinned and caused many to sin, as Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and his companions; these all descend into gehenna and are punished therein, ages of ages, as it is written. And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.' This surely extends the meaning to a future world. 'That ungodly man, Turnus Rufus, asked Rabbi Akiba, If your God loves the poor, why does he not feed them? He replied, in order that we may be delivered through them from the judgment of gehenna.' 'Whoever carefully celebrates the three feasts to be instituted every sabbath is delivered from three calamities, namely, from the distress at the coming of the Messiah, from the judgment of gehenna, and from the war of gog and magog.' 'God will redeem my soul from condemnation to gehenna, and he has delivered my body from condemnation to gehenna.' 'God hath set the one against the other, that is, gehenna and paradise.' 'You will escape the judgment of gehenna, and your portion will be with Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah.' 'The fire of gehenna does not prevail against the sinners of Israel so as to consume them, but they are sent down into it, to be frightened and scorched awhile, on account of

their evil deeds : afterwards Abraham, who kept all the commandments and went down into the fire of the Chaldeans to sanctify the name of God, descends thither, and through his merits brings them forth from thence that he may establish the promise of the covenant.' I could extend my quotations to an indefinite number ; but sufficient have been presented for all necessary purposes. Wetstein. Matt. 3. 9 ; 5. 22 ; 28. 15, 33 ; Luke 23. 43 ; Bartoloccius, Part I. p. 143, 148, 138, 133.'

Such, sir, are the precious materials, furnished by your friends at the University. They cost them 'hours and days poring over the Targums and Talmuds,' etc. to collect. They are the results of a '*thorough investigation,*' which is to '*settle this controversy beyond all doubt.*' Let us then examine these quotations ? They present two general topics for consideration — *the dates of your Jewish writings,* and *the nature of the punishment described in your quotations from them.*

1. Let us examine the *dates* of your Jewish writings. If the reader asks — Were not the dates of these writings introduced above, and why introduce them again ? I answer, Mr. Whitman introduces them twice, but it is not my business to prescribe to him what course he ought to pursue, but to follow him in the one he has adopted. I come then to my second task about *dates*. On p. 172, you said, it was 'the testimony of the Jewish writers of antiquity, that our Saviour used gehenna to mean spiritual punishment both in this life and the world to come.' And on pp. 173 — 175, you mentioned as your witnesses to prove this, the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, the Targum of Joseph the blind ; the Jerusalem Targum ; and the Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmuds. Such was then the list of your witnesses ; and in presenting it to the court, you said concerning Joseph's Targum, '*this work has a peculiar value in our present inquiry.*' And concerning the Jerusalem Targum, you observed — '*we must allow this Targum an authority on this question equal to the New Testament.*' Such, Mr. Whitman, were your statements then ? But how happens it, these witnesses, so important to your cause, are now absent ? Why have you dismissed them ? If it was because none of them existed in the days of

the Saviour, for the same reason all your witnesses ought to have been dismissed, and your cause abandoned. But if you have dismissed these two witnesses, you have introduced others. Their number is now increased to six, corresponding to your six classes of texts, and no doubt you have made the best possible selection of them. Let us now attend to them, and let the reader bear in mind, your Jewish writers must have lived in the days of the Saviour, and must be credible, competent witnesses to prove our Lord used gehenna to mean future punishment. You say,

‘1. In the first place take a few extracts from the Targum of Jonathan.’ Well, the question is, when did he live and write? Above, p. 172, you said he ‘lived within thirty years of Christ.’ But now, you say he lived, ‘thirty years before Christ.’ In addition, to what I said about Jonathan’s Targum above, we have now a few remarks to make. 1. Eminent critics are against you, as to the antiquity of this Targum. Jahn says — ‘The work is a collection of interpretations of several learned men made towards the close of the third century, and containing some of a much older date, for that some parts of it existed as early as in the second century appears from the additions.’ With this statement, respecting the age of Jonathan’s Targum by Jahn, Eickhorn, Bertholdt, Baur, and other eminent critics generally agree. Prideaux says, vol. 4. p. 578 — ‘These Targums are the ancientest books the Jews have, next to the Hebrew Scriptures. This is certain of the Targum of Onkelos on the Law, and of Jonathan on the Prophets.’ He adds, ‘Onkelos’ Targum is not only the first in the order of place, as being on the Pentateuch, but the first also in order of time and the ancientest that was written of all that are now extant.’ Onkelos’ Targum you do not quote at all, and for a good reason, because it says nothing about gehenna meaning future punishment; and yet, it is universally admitted to be the oldest and best of all the Targums. Jonathan’s Targum is your chief dependence to prove your position, yet is admitted to be inferior to Onkelos’ Targum, both as to age and value.

But further; as some critics place the Targums of On-

kelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel, as productions of the second or third century after Christ, so Prideaux says concerning all the Targums — ‘It was much above one thousand years after Christ, ere Christians knew anything of these Targums ; and scarce three centuries have passed since they have become common among us.’ Alas ! for the poor ignorant Christians, who lived in ancient times, for they wanted these writings to teach them the true sense of gehenna. Had you only lived a few hundred years ago, you would have been in the same deplorable condition.

2. But the nature of Jonathan’s Targum is as much against you as its date. Prideaux says — ‘For, whereas the Targum of Onkelos is a strict version, rendering the Hebrew text word for word, Jonathan takes on him the liberty of a paraphrast, by enlargements and additions to the text ; for therein are inserted several stories, and also several glosses of his own, which do not much commend the work.’ Calmet says — ‘The Targum of Jonathan, son of Uzziel, is much more diffuse than Onkelos, and especially on the lesser prophets, where he takes great liberties, and runs on in allegories. It is thought that the Jewish docters, who lived seven hundred years after him, have made additions to him.’ It is evident, your quotations are *glosses* and *additions* made to the sacred text by somebody ; and it matters but little, when they were made, or who made them.

3. Jonathan has no Targum on Canticles and Job, as you intimate, p. 177. I presume, your friends at the University, furnished you with a mass of extracts taken from various Jewish writers ; but you have ascribed that to Jonathan, which was taken from some other writer. The mistake is of little consequence, and a thing which might happen with a very accurate man, from mere inadvertence. It is similar, to a lawyer in court, ascribing a part of the testimony to one witness, which was given by another. By what witness was it given ? And by whomsoever it was given, how does it serve your cause ? You must make a Targum, and date it as far back as the days of the Saviour, before it can be of any use to you. It is very idle to quote anything which is more modern.

'2. In the second place, take an example from *Me-drasch Thillium*, an allegorical exposition of the Psalms, ascribed to Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, who was born the first year of the Christian era.' Indeed! But, 1. Supposing this true, how do you know but his '*allegorical* exposition of the Psalms' ought to be understood *allegorically*? Basnage shows, that some of the Jewish writings were written so, and must be so understood. But to answer your purpose, this *allegorical* exposition must be understood '*spiritually*,' to suit your '*spiritual* punishment.'

2. Basnage, in his history, mentions a Jewish writer, of the name of Akiba. But his testimony would not be received in court, where a ten dollar bill was impending. Some say he was born A. D. 1, and died A. D. 120, or 140. Basnage says, p. 115: — 'St. Epiphanius makes him live before the captivity of Babylon. But he is grossly mistaken. For this doctor was master of *Aquila*, that famous interpreter, who translated the Holy Scriptures in the reign of Adrian.' And in p. 149, speaking of the University set up at Lydda, adds: — 'Here it was, the famous Akiba taught, till Gamaliel drove him from his school.' But for what was he famous? Let Basnage answer: — 'On pp. 515—520, among other things, he gives us the following account of Akibas' character. He became the forerunner to the famous robber *Barchochabas*, who pretended to be "*the star that Balaam saw afar off*.'" After relating Akibas' clandestine marriage with his master's daughter; his studying twenty-four years; his coming home with twenty-four thousand scholars, who all died between the passover and pentecost; he adds: — 'Akiba continued teaching and writing books, one whereof is cabbalistical, and is called *Jetzirah*, but it must be distinguished from that which is ascribed to the Patriarch Abraham, and bears the same name. He was so learned, as to give an account of the least letter of the law; and it is boldly said, that *God revealed to him, what he had concealed from Moses*. We find in the Mischna and the Talmud, a thousand sentences ascribed to him, and which are looked upon as so many judicious decisions. God had permitted him to enter paradise as well as doctor *Asai*, to whom he was to marry his sister.

An entire volume would not contain the remarkable things he has said and done. These are the commendations they give this doctor, who caused the desolation of his country, and supported the fraud of an impostor, who called himself the Messiah.'

Basnage goes on and says, — 'Akiba became the forerunner of the famous robber and impostor Barchochebas, when his fame was at its height. These two men, falling in with the prejudices of the people who were for a conquering Messiah, brought on a war which ended in their ruin. They mustered an army of two hundred thousand men, every one of whom 'could pluck up a cedar of Libanus, as they run on horseback.' Basnage adds, 'Adrian caused Akiba's skin to be torn off with an iron comb. And with him the honor of the law vanished.' Moreover, he says, — 'This war broke out in the year one hundred and thirty-four, in the seventeenth of Adrian's reign.' Basnage seems to fix the year of Akiba's death 'to the year A. D. 135, or 136.' See pp. 156, 531. There must be a mighty famine of proof in the land, and even at the University, when Akiba is one of your witnesses. For,

3. I ask, on what solid ground do you ascribe such a work to Akiba on the Psalms. I have looked into Basnage's history with some care, but cannot find any such work ascribed to him, or any Akiba whatever. Wolfius, who professes to give a catalogue of all the works which pass under his name, ascribes no such work to him, or any person by the name of Akiba. Prideaux, vol. iv. p. 571, mentions as the seventh Targum, 'that on Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs.' Is the work you refer to a part of this Targum? If it is, Prideaux ascribes it to Joseph the one-eyed,' and adds — 'But who this Joseph was, or when he lived, is not said.' The Jews have a number of books, such as the book Sohar, Jetzira, Pirke, Abbot, etc. But critics deem them worthy of little confidence. And Basnage affirms — 'Some Rabbins have said, that perhaps these holy doctors never lived, and their miracles are a fabrication.' You say,

'3. In the third place, take a few specimens from the *Pierche Eliezer*, written by Eliezert the great, whose wife was great grand-daughter to that Simeon who took

the infant Jesus in his arms. He flourished about the year seventy-three.' Well, the year *seventy-three* is not exactly in the days of the Saviour. But I pass this to notice — 1. Concerning Simeon, Basnage says, p. 147 — 'The Christians seeing this man to bear a considerable figure among the Jews, have fancied, that he was that old Simeon mentioned in the Gospel who waited for the kingdom of God, and received Jesus Christ into his arms.' I presume you took your statement from Basnage. But why conceal from your readers, that Basnage goes on to show at length, that this is a mere fancy, and has no foundation in truth.

2. But concerning Eliezert, and the work you ascribe to him, let us hear Basnage. He says, p. 510 — 'The Jews endeavor to raise the glory of their desolate nation by making a great many learned men (on whom they father a great many fictitious works) survive the ruin of the temple, and live in the beginning of the second century. *Eliezer* * *the great* lived at that time.' Basnage goes on to relate some very ridiculous things concerning him. One of these is — 'This doctor owned, as he was dying, that he had the art of transplanting the harvest from one place to another.' See some more of such wonders, p. 293. I am not surprised, such a person should utter the nonsense you quote, but I am indeed surprised, you should refer to such authority. You give credit to the fictions of the Jews, made to gratify their pride for great names, and love for antiquity. You say,

'4. In the fourth place, take a few instances from *Beraschith Rabba*, which was written by Rabba *Hoschiakia*. He flourished about the year ninety-five. The year ninety-five however, is still further distant from the days of the Saviour. But even this date is too early, according to the critics; for,

1. Prideaux, in a note, vol. iv. p. 565, says — '*Beraschith Rabba*, is an old Rabbinical commentary on the book of Genesis.' And he shows, that as the author of this work quotes the Targum of Aquilla of Pontus, who lived about the year 130, it must be of a later date than the year ninety-five. Some think this writer was a disciple

* Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, Chapters or sentences of R. Eliezer.

of R. Hakkadosh, and flourished A. D. 195. According to this account you are at least one hundred years wrong in your calculations. But,

2. We shall see presently, from some quotations I shall make, that the date of this, and indeed of all your Jewish writings, are very uncertain: that no Jewish writer you have quoted, existed in the days of the Saviour. You say,

‘5. In the fifth place, take one example from *Masse, Thora*, ascribed to Rabbi Hakkodesh, who was born about the year one hundred and twenty.’ This is still more remote from the days of our Saviour. And if this person was *born* in the year one hundred and twenty, his work could not be written until the year one hundred and fifty, or perhaps later. But this work is condemned by the critics as of little authority; and it, and other Jewish writings you have quoted above, are said to be interpolated. The oldest of them, are not supposed to have existed before the end of the second century. You say,

‘6. In the sixth place, take a few passages from the Talmuds.’ You ought to have said, *not a few*, for your principal quotations are from the Talmuds. But here you are silent about their dates. Perhaps you were ashamed to repeat them, as they are far too modern to be of the least service to your cause. You must be on the point of *failing*, to pay in coin from the Talmuds. How can they ever prove that ‘gehenna was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour to mean future punishment?’ A volume of quotations from them could not prove this: a thousand volumes could not prove our Lord used gehenna in this sense.

I am aware you will say some critics place *some* of the Jewish writings as far back as the days of the Saviour. I then ask, 1. Which of them all will you fix on? I presume it will be the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel. So be it; but permit me to ask, why you have referred to any of the rest, unless it was to make a great *flourish* about Jewish writers, who can prove nothing on the question at issue. But you are well aware, sir, that it is not proved Jonathan’s Targum existed in the days of the Saviour; and until this is satisfactorially established,

it cannot answer your purpose. To say the least, you will admit, critics are much divided about the antiquity of Jonathan's Targum; for if some say it existed in our Lord's day, others say it had no existence until several hundred years after, as shown above. The reader will then ask — Since doctors disagree, in what way shall the question in discussion be decided? We hope, attention to the following questions may enable us to decide this question almost to a moral certainty. Let us inquire, then, —

2. What dependence is to be placed upon the dates which the Jews give to their writings? If much confidence was placed in the accuracy of the Jews, about the dates of your ancient writings, why are critics so much divided about their antiquity? On this question let us hear Basnage. He says, p. 2 — 'The Rabbins, who are but little acquainted with their own history, vend their fables for matters of fact. Provided they are believed by their own nation, they do not trouble their heads to reconcile their narrations with foreign historians, whom they mightily despise. They boldly make anachronisms, write the grossest absurdities in chronology; and without any scruple of conscience, corrupt the truth of history.' And p. 170, says — 'The doctors that have made these collections of traditions, taking advantage of the ignorance of their nation, have thrown upon the paper whatever came into their heads, without troubling themselves with reconciling their conjectures with foreign history, to which they were utterly strangers.' He adds, p. 531 — 'It seems to be a labor sufficiently vain to criticise the faults of the Jewish chronology; for we find no solid ground whereon to fix our foot. After a harsh and ungrateful task, a man is often obliged to perplex his calculations. Bartoloci* is forced to build like the rest upon suppositions, or testimonies as uncertain as those which he confutes.'

Prideaux agrees with Basnage. He says, vol. ii. p. 363,

* Bartoloci is your oracle, for you are constantly referring to him in your quotations. You do not give us his words, that we may judge of what he says; but Basnage here declares, he builds on *suppositions* and *uncertain testimonies*, as uncertain as those which he confutes.

‘ In historical matters it is not to be regarded what the Jews write or what they omit concerning them. That of all nations in the world that have pretended to any sort of learning, they have taken the least care to record past transactions, and have done it very bunglingly, and in a manner that looks more like fable than truth, wherever they have pretended to it.’ He adds, vol. iii. p. 126 — ‘ To be out 200 or 300 years in their chronology is nothing with the Jews. They are certainly the worst historians, and the worst accounters of time, that ever pretended to be either. The Jewish writers are far from being exact in their chronological computations; for the sake of a round number, or an imaginary mystery, they often in such matters, shoot under or over the truth, at their pleasure.’

What dependence, sir, can be placed on your Jewish writings, if one half of these statements are true? And is it any wonder critics are divided in their opinions about their dates, where no certainty is to be obtained? Their dates rest on Jewish tradition. The Scriptures say nothing about such writings. And the quotations just made, show, all hope is at an end, of obtaining any thing like certainty from Jewish accounts on the point in question. How, then, it will be asked, is this point ever to be decided? I answer by some other sources of evidence; by other writings which do not depend on uncertain tradition. Let us then inquire —

3. Are there any Jewish writings of antiquity, the dates of which do not depend on uncertain Jewish tradition? Did these writings exist in or about the days of the Saviour? And do they, or do they not teach, that gehenna then meant future punishment? I pass over the Old and New Testament Scriptures; and also the Septuagint version; as having no direct bearing on these questions. All admit gehenna does not mean *spiritual* or *future punishment*, either in the Old Testament Hebrew, or the Greek version. And the question in discussion is, did our Lord in the New Testament use gehenna to designate future punishment? You assert he did, and appeal to uninspired Jewish writings to prove it. But it is very doubtful, that any of these writings existed in our Lord’s day. I now make an appeal to Jewish writings, which all admit

existed in or about Christ's day. They contain no such sense of gehenna:

I mention first, Onkelos' Targum, which is allowed on all hands, to be the oldest and best of all the Targums. If any Jewish writing which you have quoted existed in our Lord's day, this did. But observe, sir, it never intimates that gehenna meant future punishment. No one alleges this, and we may be sure it does not, as you have not quoted it. But, I mention the writings of Philo Judeus and Josephus. Calmet says — 'Philo was deputed with others to go to Rome, A. D. 40.' And Basnage thinks, p. 133, that he composed his works 'before the birth of Christ,' or when he was about 'eight or ten years old.' Josephus was born at Jerusalem, A. D. 37, and all his works were composed between A. D. 70, and A. D. 100. Here then are two writers, who lived in or about the days of the Saviour, and their writings show they were believers in future punishment. I may add, *some* of the apocryphal books were written about the same period, and it appears some of the writers believed also in a future retribution. Here, then, are Jewish writings of antiquity. They are the most valuable extant; were written about the period we want them, and ought to settle the question between us. Does Philo, Josephus, or any of the apocryphal writers intimate, that 'gehenna was used in their day to mean future punishment?' No. This you know to be a fact, and you confess it, by taking no notice of these writings. But in view of this palpable fact, you assert, 'gehenna was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour to mean future punishment.' Was it honorable in you to conceal this fact from your readers? And in view of it how could you make such an assertion? for all the wisdom of man can never reconcile your assertion with this fact.

From what you say, p. 194, some may conclude that the learned gentlemen at Cambridge, had ransacked all Jewish antiquity for your assistance; had so gleaned this field that nothing was left behind; that like the locusts in Egypt, they had devoured every green thing. They have only, however, furnished you with a little of the rubbish of Jewish antiquity, which few persons deem worth the labor of digging out. You would hiss out of the arena

of controversy the things they have furnished, if Unitarianism was the question in discussion. But I shall inquire,

4. How is it known, that the Jews have assigned too early dates to their writings? What could induce them to do this? And is it certain they have done it? The following quotations will answer all these questions:

Basnage says, pp. 261, 262. — ‘The Jews are as much prejudiced for antiquity as the Christians; and men become venerable to them, in proportion to the remoteness of the age they lived in. Time is commonly more considered than merit: and therefore, those that would be revered by the people, have fathered their writings on the ancient doctors, or, like the Christians, have ascribed new works to the old masters in order to give them more authority than they would have, if they had appeared with the true name of their authors. They have, for example, in the synagogue, some commentators upon Scripture called *Medraschim*,* to which they ascribe a great antiquity. The *Mechilta* ought to have been composed by the Rabbins, that were cotemporary with Juda the Saint. And yet the Gamara is cited in it, to prove a custom invented by the Rabbins for stoning. How then can we allow this book so venerable an antiquity, though in reality it is the ancientest of all their books?’

Basnage proceeds — ‘They have moreover in their synagogues, some great *commentaries*, *Midraschim Rabbot* which are said to be Nachmanide’s who ought to have lived in the end of the third century. And yet they make mention of Dioclesian’s empire, and Julian’s attempt to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, and in general, still call the Roman empire the empire of Edom, which shows that this work was not composed till after Constantine, under whom the Christians became masters of the empire.’

Basnage adds — ‘In the last place they have published the sentences of the fathers *Pirke Abbot*. They have

* *Medrash* signifies commentary, from a root *darish*, because the commentary sought the sense of Scripture.’ Your quotations are not translations of the sacred texts, but are taken from these *Midraschim*. You see now what the critics say of them.

also published other sentences under the name of R. Eliezer; who must have lived in the time of Gamaliel II. since he was his brother-in-law. Nevertheless, the imposture is so ill disguised, that he quotes Akiba, as one of the ancientest fathers, who must have been the disciple of the great Eliezer. The fault is still more manifest, to quote Juda the prince, the son of Gamaliel, who was not born till Akiba was dead. He speaks of the kingdom of the Arabians, which was not erected till Mahomet. We must excuse him for all the stories which he tells, viz. that the tempting serpent was as big as a Camel, and Adam used him for a pad: that God clothed the first man in a precious robe, and a cloud of glory; but after his sin, dressed him in the serpent's skin. However, his first robe was preserved in Noah's Ark. Cham, who seized upon it, gave it to Nimrod, who, wearing it, saw all the beasts of the earth, and the fowls of the air come and worship him as their lord and king.' A fine story.

The love for great names and the pride of antiquity, led the Jews into palpable contradictions, as the above statements show. It may then be asked, if a book, pretending to have been written when this country was first settled by emigrants from Europe, mentioned George Washington and the battle of Bunker Hill, and that the writer was familiar with both, what confidence could be placed in his book? None. It would lie on the shelf, for food to the spiders. It is so with the Jewish writings, for few concern themselves about them. But this leads to another question,

5. Have your Jewish writings of antiquity been interpolated and corrupted? This I believe is universally admitted. Dr. Kenecott, speaking of the Targums generally, says — 'it has been abundantly proved in many remarks before made, that the Chaldee paraphrases have been willfully altered.' And Basnage, speaking of Jonathan's Targum, says, p. 361—'We cannot depend so much upon this performance, as upon that of Onkelos; because the doctors who lived about seven hundred years after him, have not scrupled to add many things to it.' The other Jewish writings, *Medrasch*, *Thilium*, *Pierch*, *Eliezer*, *Beraschith*, *Rabba*, *Masse*, *Thora*,

to which you refer, are also said to be corrupted, and are deemed by critics as of little authority. Would you deem them authority against Unitarianism? Or, would you admit them authority in proof of Universalism? Who regards them as authority on any subject of importance? Who can admit them as witnesses about the doctrine in question? A corrupted witness, is not permitted to testify in court, but is liable to punishment. Now, admitting all the Jewish writings you have quoted were in existence in our Lord's day, they can be of no use to you, until you are able to prove, what is, and what is not, the corruptions introduced into them in later ages. But can you prove, that the quotations you have made from them, are none of these corruptions, but were positively a part of these writings in the days of the Saviour? We very much doubt this. Nor can we conjecture, what process could be pursued to establish it. But, admitting the whole to be genuine, I must inquire,

6. Are you warranted to interpret the New Testament by uninspired Jewish writings, and by quotations from them of which you are ashamed? I must doubt this; and I find others condemn such a mode of interpretation. Who can justify you in it? Basnage says, p. 173: — 'We must only remember one thing which the critics forget, which is, that the first book of the Tanaites* having not been composed till two hundred years after Christ, and the Talmud not completed till five or six hundred years after him; we must not imagine that certain expressions of our Lord and his Apostles are borrowed from the Talmud, or that some Greek words ought to have such a signification, because the like is found among the Talmudists. Let them consult and study them, if they please, to discover the genius of the language: but let them not draw consequences from words

* '*Tanaites*: that is, doctors. This word is borrowed from another, which signifies *to teach*. They are also called *Misnaicks*, because the work of the *Mischna* is ascribed to them. Some of them are also called *abba* or *father*. There is cited, for instance, in the *Mishna*, one *Abba Saul*, who was of the stature of the giants, and who burying the dead, found Absalom's eye, in which he hid himself up to the nose.' See Basnage, p. 163. What wonders in your Jewish writings.

they have implied so long after Jesus Christ, and in a corrupt age, to give scripture passages, novel, uncommon, and forced explications. One would think in reading some commentators, that Jesus Christ and his disciples had no other design than to make some perpetual allusions to the sentences or expressions of the Talmuds, which is ridiculous.' If this is *ridiculous*, it must be *the essence of the ridiculous* in you, to explain all the texts about gehenna by your Jewish writers, and say :— 'I know of no other way of arriving at the true meaning of Hebrew words and phrases.' We have seen above, that Campbell, Jahn, Stuart, Horne, and a prophet of your own, condemn the course you have pursued. But let us inquire,

7. Is there any parallel case, to which we can refer for a decision on the question at issue? Is there any other question which is disputed, and on which an appeal is made to the Jewish writings of antiquity? We answer yes, and proselyte baptism is a case in point, which we shall take from an orthodox critic, no way biassed in favor of my views of gehenna. Professor Stuart, in his late work on 'the Mode of Christian Baptism,' discusses the subject of 'Jewish proselyte baptism.' See pp. 54—71. He states the question thus— '*Was baptism as an initiatory rite practised in the Jewish church, antecedent to the time when christian baptism commenced?*' It is seen at a glance, that this question is precisely the same with your assertion, p. 183, '*That gehenna was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour, and in succeeding ages to mean future punishment.*' Both points rest on Jewish writings of antiquity; they must stand or fall together; and Mr. Stuart and you appeal to the same, or similar writings. He appeals to them, to disprove the antiquity of proselyte baptism; and you appeal to them, to prove the antiquity of gehenna meaning future punishment. Mr. Stuart disproves both things by his remarks on this subject. In what way then does he discuss, and to what result does he come respecting the antiquity of proselyte baptism? My limits will only permit me to notice in the briefest way, his topics of evidence, and the results of his investigations.

Mr. Stuart first examines the Old Testament, to see if proselyte baptism is taught there. pp. 54—59. His result is :— ‘ I cannot find a word to this purpose in the scriptures.’ Well, examine the Old Testament, whether gehenna there means ‘ future punishment,’ and we arrive at the same result. Mr. Stuart says, respecting proselyte baptism :— ‘ Our present inquiry respects only the *antiquity* of the usage in question,’ and denies, ‘ such a custom existed among the Jews, antecedently to the ministry of John the Baptist and of Jesus.’ I might repeat his remarks, for they equally apply to the question, Did gehenna mean future punishment antecedently to this period ?

Mr. Stuart next proceeds to examine the Jewish writings of antiquity respecting proselyte baptism. Let us see how he proceeds in this examination, and the result of it. The first reference to proselyte baptism he finds in the Mishna, ‘ collected by Rabbi Judah Haggodesh about A. D. 220.’ But this date is too late. Besides, Mr. Stuart remarks :— ‘ This work contains an almost infinite number of Jewish superstitions, usages, and rites.’ He quotes the Jerusalem Talmud in proof of proselyte baptism, but adds :— ‘ The Jerusalem Talmud, it will be remembered, was composed during the latter part of the third century, some fifty or sixty years, (the time is not exactly known,) after the Mishna was reduced to writing.’ He concludes — ‘ It is probable, then, that the custom in a greater or less extent of baptizing proselytes must have existed in the second century, and possibly still earlier.’ So might gehenna at that period mean future punishment, but the second century is not ‘ in the days of the Saviour.’ And if this period is too modern to prove the antiquity of proselyte baptism, it is also too modern to prove that gehenna was uniformly used in the days of the Saviour to mean future punishment. Mr. Stuart will not admit it evidence in the one case ; and why should I admit it evidence in the other ? The *superstitions* in the books, too, are alike in both cases.

Mr. Stuart goes on to say :— ‘ We come now to later testimonies, and such as cannot be of any great weight in determining the question relative to the antiquity of

proselyte baptism.' He then quotes the Babylonish Talmud, but adds : — 'The Talmud of Babylon is a work of a late period, being a compilation made by the Babylonish Jews, during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries.' He also refers to 'other Rabbinical works, such as *Be-reshith Rabba*,' etc., and adds : — 'I have not thought it of sufficient importance to transcribe the originals here; for the amount of all the testimonies from the Talmud, especially the Babylonish Talmud, and the other works of the Rabbins, can be but of small importance, in determining the question concerning the antiquity of proselyte baptism.' After referring to Tacitus, Epictetus, and Josephus, Mr. Stuart comes to the following result. 'Thus much for Rabbinic and other external testimony, in regard to the antiquity of the baptismal rite among the Jews. Nothing from among the heathen writers or Josephus, seems in any degree to confirm this antiquity. From the Rabbinic writers all that we can gather is, that sometime in the latter part of the third century, when the Jerusalem Talmud was written, the custom of baptizing proselytes was common; still more so did it become, during the times when the Babylonian Talmud was written, i. e. from the commencement of the fifth century onward, some two hundred or more years.' He adds : — 'On the whole we must admit, that independently of the scriptures, we have evidence which ought to satisfy us that at the commencement of the third century, the custom of proselyte baptism was known and practised among the Jews.' All this may also be said respecting gehenna; for at this period, it meant future punishment among the Jews. But to use the words of Mr. Stuart, such 'works of the Rabbins, can be but of small importance, in determining the question concerning the antiquity "of this sense of gehenna among the Jews."' And I may add from him : — 'Nothing from among the heathen writers, or Josephus, seems in any degree to confirm this antiquity.' Can you show, that Mr. Stuart is mistaken in all this? But further;

Mr. Stuart justly remarks : — 'There are so many narrations in the Talmud, which are gross mistakes and ridiculous conceits, that one hardly feels himself safe in trusting to any of its statements respecting facts that hap-

pened long before the period when this book was written.' Mr. Whitman, how happens it that you feel yourself perfectly safe, in trusting to the statements given in the Talmud about gehenna? The statements you quote, are respecting the meaning of this word in the days of the Saviour, which was long before the period when this book was written. Your principal quotations are from the Talmuds: and concerning 'the other works of the Rabbins' which you quote, Mr. Stuart says:—'They are of small importance.' Of as small importance, sir, in determining the question that gehenna meant future punishment in our Lord's day, as that proselyte baptism was then practised among the Jews. But you seem to consider them of the greatest importance, in proving your sense of gehenna.

But Mr. Stuart asks:—'Is there any other source of evidence to which we can appeal? What have Philo, and Josephus, and the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan said or hinted, relative to the baptism of proselytes? The answer to this question, so important to our present purpose, is, Nothing; at least, nothing which serves at all to confirm the idea that the practice in question was extant, or at any rate notorious, at the time when these authors composed their works. All of them lived not far from the commencement of the Christian era; Philo somewhat before; Josephus somewhat after; and Onkelos and Jonathan about the same periods. I know the age of these two Chaldee translators has been questioned, and set down to a period much later, by Eichhorn and some others; but it is more generally admitted that they may be fairly ranked among writers who lived at, or very near the commencement of the Christian era. In all these writers, so far as their works have yet been examined, there appears a deep and universal silence on the subject of baptizing proselytes; a thing quite unaccountable, in case such baptism were usual at that period.' On this quotation, I remark,

1. Philo and Josephus have said *nothing* relative to gehenna meaning future punishment. Just as little as on the subject of proselyte baptism. And if *nothing* is an important answer to Mr. Stuart on the last question, it is of equal importance to me on the first. We stated

above, and he admits it here, that Philo and Josephus 'lived not far from the commencement of the Christian era.' Mr. Whitman, here then are two writers, who lived about the days of the Saviour, as all allow, yet are silent about gehenna meaning future punishment at that period. But,

2. You will say — Mr. Stuart declares, 'Onkelos and Jonathan lived about the same periods,' and certainly Jonathan uses gehenna as meaning future punishment. I am aware of this, but must call your attention to the following circumstances, which go to prove that Jonathan's Targum did not exist in the days of the Saviour. If it did, how happened he to mention that gehenna then meant future punishment? Onkelos is silent about this, and yet his Targum is allowed to be older and better than all the other Targum's, Jonathan's not excepted. Besides, Philo, Josephus, and I may add some of the Apocryphal books, certainly were written about the days of the Saviour, yet none of them hint that gehenna then meant future punishment. And observe, sir, Mr. Stuart is candid enough to say: — 'I know the age of these two Chaldee translators, (Onkelos and Jonathan) has been questioned, and set down to a period much later, by Eichhorn and some others.' This being admitted, to say the least, the age of these writers is very doubtful, and is much disputed among critics. The very circumstance of Jonathan mentioning gehenna as meaning future punishment, while Onkelos, Philo, and Josephus are silent about it, shows his Targum to be of a more modern date, or your quotations from it are the corruptions and additions made to it in later ages. To use the words of Mr. Stuart: — 'In all these writers, so far as their works have yet been examined, there appears a deep and universal silence on the subject of gehenna meaning future punishment; a thing quite unaccountable, in case such a punishment was uniformly designated among the Jews in the days of the Saviour, by the term gehenna.' You assert, this was its uniform sense in the days of the Saviour, among the Jews. Philo, Josephus, and some of the Apocryphal writers, lived in the Saviour's day. They were Jews, they believed in future punishment, and yet they are all uniformly silent about gehenna.

In face of such evidence, must I believe your assertion? Must I shut my eyes to all this certain evidence that it is false, and receive it on evidence which is very uncertain? Had Jonathan's Targum mentioned proselyte baptism, Mr. Stuart would have urged all the above things, and likely some others, that on this doubtful testimony no dependence could be placed.

Mr. Stuart comes to the following conclusion. 'In fine, we are destitute of any early testimony to the practice of proselyte baptism, antecedently to the Christian era. The original institution of admitting Jews to the covenant, and strangers to the same, prescribed no other rite than that of circumcision. No account of any other is found in the Old Testament, none in the Apocraphy, New Testament, Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, Joseph the blind, or in the work of any other Targumist excepting Pseudo-Jonathan, whose work belongs to the 7th or 8th century. No evidence is found in Philo, Josephus, or any of the earlier Christian writers. How could an allusion to such a rite have escaped them all, if it were as common, and as much required by usage as circumcision.' I come to a similar conclusion, sir, respecting gehenna. To use the words of Mr. Stuart with a slight alteration, I say — 'In fine we are destitute of any early testimony that gehenna meant future punishment antecedently to the Christian era. No account of this is found in the Old Testament; none in the Apocrypha; none in the Targum of Onkelos; none in the New Testament; none in Philo or Josephus, etc. How could the mention of such a punishment escape them all if what you say be true, p. 183, that 'gehenna was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour to mean future punishment?' May I not say with Mr. Stuart, 'there is no certainty that such was the case, but that the probability, on the ground of evidence, is strong against it.' Mr. Stuart observes — 'I am aware that we cannot always argue from the silence of writers, against the existence of this or that practice; but this would seem to be one of the cases, in which silence speaks strongly against the probability of the practice in question at that period. Now, sir, if silence speaks strongly against the probability that proselyte baptism was practised in the days of the Sa-

viour, silence speaks still more strongly against the probability, that gehenna meant future punishment in the days of the Saviour. Does the silence of the Old Testament writings, the silence of Philo, Josephus, and others, not prove, that you are mistaken in saying gehenna was uniformly used in the days of the Saviour by the Jews to mean future punishment.

I shall make one more quotation from Mr. Stuart. He says — ‘ That we cannot point out the exact time when proselyte baptism began among the Jews, is little to the purpose of those who hold to its great antiquity; for where are the monuments which show how and when a rite began, which came into general reception in the churches of Christ in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries.’ That we cannot point out the exact time when gehenna began among the Jews to mean future punishment, is as little to the purpose of those who hold to its great antiquity. It behoves those who hold to its great antiquity, to show, when it began, and to prove it had a divine origin. Unless they can do this, all are bound to reject it as an invention of men. But trace this sense of gehenna as far back as you can, no one can tell us when, where, or by whom such a sense was first given to gehenna. I have never found that any one risked his reputation in saying it had a divine origin. Mr. Whitman, you do not assert it had, nor do you pretend to prove this sense of gehenna from the Bible. And you might with as much propriety call proselyte baptism, *spiritual baptism*, as call gehenna punishment ‘ *spiritual punishment both in this life and the next existence.*’ But supposing, ‘ *proselyte baptism*’ and ‘ *gehenna meaning future punishment,*’ were both known among the Jews in the days of the Saviour, does this prove them scriptural? No; for by the same logic it can be proved — the Jewish traditions are all scriptural.

I cannot believe with some, that if the Jews in our Lord’s day used gehenna to mean future punishment, it follows, our Lord used it in this sense. No; Dr. Campbell says, ‘ Our Lord spoke to his countrymen in the dialect of their own Scriptures, and used those names to which the reading of the Law and the Prophets either in the original, or in the versions then used, had familiarized them. Our translators, and indeed most European trans-

lators, represent him as using words which even in their own translation of the Old Testament never occur, and to which in fact, there is nothing there that corresponds in meaning.' Say, sir, is there anything in the Old Testament, which corresponds in meaning to the sense you give to gehenna in the New? Had the reading of the law and the prophets in the original, familiarized them to such a sense? Or, had even the reading of the law and the prophets in the versions then used familiarized them to it? What version, sir, deserving the name of a version, could contain such a sense of gehenna? Will you risk your reputation in saying, that any Jewish writing you have quoted, deserves the name of a version of the Holy Scriptures? Did our Lord ever stand up in a Jewish synagogue, and read as Scripture the silly nonsense given in your quotations? If our Lord then spoke to his countrymen in the dialect of their own Scriptures, he could not use gehenna to mean future punishment, for no such dialect was found in their Scriptures. This, all allow; nor will any man assert, that our Lord was in the habit of laying aside the Old Testament sense of words, and adopting a different sense given to them in your Jewish writers. I really thought, sir, that Unitarians contended for the scriptural usage of words in interpreting the Bible.

The following remarks of Mr. Stuart, well deserves your attention on the question before us. He says— 'The Christian religion is built upon the Jewish. The Christian Scriptures are intimately connected with the Jewish sacred books, and they cannot be understood and explained, except by means of them. The words of the New Testament are Greek, but its idioms, its costume, its manner of thought and reasonings, its allusions, in short, the *tout ensemble* of it is Jewish; nor can these ever be duly understood by any person who is ignorant of the Jewish nation, its laws, customs and history.' You have been laboring to convince us to the contrary; that the Christian religion is built upon Jewish writers of antiquity. That the Christian Scriptures are intimately connected with these Jewish uninspired books, and they cannot be understood and explained, except by means of them. Have you not said, p. 183, 'I know of no other way of arriving at the true meaning of Hebrew words

and phrases.' And p. 176, you said concerning gehenna, 'all judges of this subject will assure you there is no other certain way of arriving at its true meaning.' Is not this telling us 'the words of the New Testament are Greek, but its idioms, its costume, its manner of thought and reasonings, its allusions, in short, the *tout ensemble* of it is *Rabbinic*; nor can these ever be duly understood by any person who is ignorant of the Jewish writings of antiquity, and the things contained in them.

It would be easy to show by a variety of other considerations, that gehenna did not mean future punishment among the Jews in the days of the Saviour; and if it was so used then, he did not sanction such a use of this term. But enough has been said on this question, and my limits admonish me to proceed to another department of the subject.

2. The *nature* of the punishment described in your quotations. The Jewish writers describe a hell, but the question is, do they describe yours? You said p. 165, '*All valuable commentators affirm that Jesus employed gehenna as an emblem of the spiritual punishment of the wicked, both in this world and the next existence. This is the view I take of the subject, and the one which I shall attempt to defend.*' And this spiritual punishment, you told us, consists in '*the torment of inimical and revengeful feelings,*' p. 167. But, sir, do your quotations from the Jewish writers, describe a *spiritual hell*? Do they affirm that *Jesus* employed gehenna in this sense? It is obvious, not one of your Jewish writers mentions *Jesus* in any way, or in what sense he used the word gehenna.* And if they do not describe a spiritual hell in your quotations, you have quoted them in vain, and have given the Gentlemen at the University much unnecessary trouble.

My object is now, to examine the *nature* of your quotations, whether they describe your spiritual hell: and if they do not describe it, to ascertain what kind of hell is taught in them. I shall, therefore, go over your quotations in a brief way, collecting the prominent features of the hell which they describe. In this way, we shall see whether it is the same as yours. The leading features of the hell described in your quotations are the following:

1. *Its origin.* We are very plainly told, that God creat-

ed *gehenna*. Just as plain, sir, as we are told Gen. i. 1, that 'God created the heavens and the earth.' The last we believe on the testimony of scripture; but the first, we must receive on the testimony of your Jewish writers. But I ask, did God create your 'spiritual punishment?' Did he create your 'inimical and revengeful feelings?' This you will not affirm.

2. *Its antiquity.* Few things can boast of higher antiquity, than the hell described in your quotations from the Jewish writers. It was created on 'the second day of the creation.' It seems then, it was created before a single sinner existed; before there were any 'inimical and revengeful feelings,' to constitute your hell, either in this or the next existence.

3. *Its location.* The hell described in your quotations is a *place*, and a place *beneath*, for persons descend into it. And, the descent is from the earth; for some saw 'them descending into the earth, to *gehenna*.' But do persons descend into the earth, to get into your 'spiritual punishment,' your 'inimical and revengeful feelings?' Surely not.

4. *Its visibility.* It seems 'Abram saw *gehenna* belching forth smoke and burning coals, and sending up sparks to punish the wicked.' You say — 'Surely he did not see the valley of Hinnom, for this would make him witness what no one pretends took place until a thousand years after his time.' So be it, sir; but surely he did not see your 'spiritual punishment,' your 'inimical and revengeful feelings?' And surely, until some person saw hell, or fancied he saw it, how could the valley of Hinnom be made an emblem of it? *Gehenna*, or the valley of Hinnom might, with some propriety be made an emblem of the hell described in your quotations, but I cannot conjecture, how it could be made an emblem of your spiritual punishment. What resemblance has the valley of Hinnom to this kind of punishment?

5. *Its nature.* The hell described in your quotations is evidently a raging fire. It 'belches forth smoke and burning coals.' Its very 'snow is changed so as to become like fire.' And we are told about, '*embers in the fire of gehenna*.' That it is material fire, is obvious, for it is to operate on the *body* as well as the *soul*. 'God

will redeem my soul from condemnation to gehenna, and he has delivered my *body* from condemnation to gehenna.' And we shall see presently, persons are not only frightened but *scorched* in gehenna. Is this your 'spiritual punishment?' Is this your 'inimical and revengeful feelings?' Your hell, sir, I should think had nothing material about it. Does it send 'up sparks to punish the wicked?'

6. *Who are to suffer its torments?* They are in general the wicked; particularly 'heretics, traitors, apostates, epicureans,' etc. 'All Angels and Seraphim shall not deliver the wicked from the condemnation of gehenna.' Dr. Whitby on Rom. ii. declares the Jews considered the Gentiles all wicked, and fit fuel for hell fire. And in your quotations, as well as his from the Jewish writers, hell is made very favorable to the Jews. You tell us, 'circumcision is regarded with favor: for the Holy and Blessed swear to Abram that no one who was circumcised should descend into gehenna.' Circumcision is a wonderful preservative from going to hell, for you say from your Jewish writers, Hereafter Abram will sit at the gates of gehenna, and will suffer no circumcised Israelite to descend thither; but what will he do with those who have sinned beyond measure? He will restore to them their foreskin, and they will descend into gehenna.' But the case of such Jews, even in hell is not hopeless, for you tell us — 'The fire of gehenna does not prevail against the sinners of Israel so as to consume them, but they are sent down into it to be *frightened* and *scorched* awhile on account of their evil deeds; afterwards Abraham, who kept all the commandments and went down into the fire of the Chaldeans to sanctify the name of God, descends thither and through his merits brings them forth from thence, that he may establish the promise of the covenant.' The Jews, sir, shaped their hell to suit themselves. They did with their material hell, what you do with your 'spiritual punishment,' modified it by their own religious opinions. The Saviour's gehenna punishment was chiefly threatened to his Apostles; theirs for all the wicked Gentiles, and for very wicked Jews.

In the Jewish hell there were literal torments by fire, and this torment commenced at death. According to

your quotations from the Jewish writers, persons 'became heirs of gehenna at their death.' And we have seen above, both *soul* and *body* went to gehenna. But your 'spiritual punishment' must commence as soon as a person has 'inimical and revengeful feelings,' and of course is suffered both in this world and the next existence. The torments of the Jewish hell, began at death in your intermediate state for both soul and body. In short, sir, how could material fire torment a spirit, that which is immaterial. Material fire required a material body to operate upon, and in this the Jews were consistent in contriving their hell torments. We now notice,

7. *Their duration.* Are the torments of the Jewish hell *limited* or *endless*? They are both, if I mistake not, suited to the persons who descend into gehenna. You tell us in one part of the quotations — 'The wicked are to be judged, that they may be delivered to eternal burning in gehenna.' The Jews considered all the Gentiles wicked, deemed them fit fuel for hell-fire; and such was their hatred of them, that they made their punishment eternal. But if the punishment of any Jews in hell was endless, it was only for such as were extremely wicked. 'Heretics, traitors, apostates, epicureans, those who deny the resurrection of the dead, those who separate themselves from the doctrines of the congregation, and those who cause terror among the dwellers upon earth, and those who have sinned, and caused many to sin, as Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and his companions; these all descend into gehenna, and are punished therein ages of ages.' It is evident, that '*ages of ages*,'* cannot mean endless, when applied to the punishment of Jews in gehenna, for we have seen 'the fire of gehenna does not prevail against the sinners of Israel.' No; 'they are sent down into it to be frightened and scorched *awhile*, on account of their evil deeds,' but 'through the merits of Abram they are to be brought forth from

* Mr. Stuart, in his Exegetical Essays affirms, the phrase '*ages of ages*,' is 'an *intensiv* expression, in order to designate with emphasis, the idea of a never-ending period of time.' From its usage by the Jewish writers here, this seems to be a mistake, at least when this expression designates the duration of punishment to Jews.

thence. It is a very plain case here, that restoration from hell at least for the Jews, can be proved on the authority of Jewish writers. Yes, sir; and as some say you are a believer in *universal* restoration from hell, you ought on their authority to correct your mistake; for it does not appear any of the Gentiles are to be delivered from it. You know, your Jewish writers, are just as good authority for this, as for your sense of gehenna. And if their authority is good, the safest course for us all, is to become Jews. The sooner we are all circumcised, the better it will be for us. Being Gentiles, we are only fuel for the fire of gehenna. Your Jewish writers seem to prove the universal damnation of all Gentiles, which we should think is proving too much for your own comfort.

8. I shall only add, your quotations prove an old and generally received opinion to be false. How often have we been told, that the '*great gulf*,' fixed between hell and heaven, is impassable. That there is an eternal non-intercourse between the two places. That no one in hell can pass to heaven; nor can any one in heaven pass to hell. Now, sir, on the authority of your quotations from the Jewish writings of antiquity, this is a gross mistake. We have already seen that all Jews who go to hell, go there only to be '*scorched awhile*, on account of their evil deeds.' But afterwards, through the merits of Abram, they can get over this '*great gulf*,' and dwell with their brethren, the Jews in paradise. Here the gulf is got over from the one side: let us then hear you, whether it cannot be passed also from the other? You say, in your quotations, 'God admitted Hiram king of Tyre into paradise, because he had built the temple, and had been from the first a pious man; and he lived in paradise a thousand years; but when afterwards he began to be filled with pride, and made himself a deity, he was expelled from paradise and descended into gehenna.' It is evident, then, from your Jewish writings, that this '*great gulf*,' is passable by persons from both sides of it. Father Abraham must have been mistaken, then, when he said to the rich man in hell, 'And besides all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot;

neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence.' In short, sir, unless this 'great gulf' is passable, how can the doctrine of restoration from hell ever be established? Your Jewish writers of antiquity say it has been passed, and they are just as good authority for this, as for the question at issue between us. You must either take the whole of the Jewish hell as they have made it, or reject the whole. You have no right to claim the Jewish writers as authority, to prove one thing about it, and reject them in others. With what face can you prefer such a claim?

Such are the leading features of the gehenna, or hell, described in your quotations from the Jewish writers. He must be a man of super-human discernment, who can find a single feature of your 'spiritual punishment' in them. The Targum and Talmud hell has no kind of resemblance to yours. Was it not, then, a very strange mistake in you, to quote these writings in proof of your spiritual hell, when it is as clear as noon-day, their hell was a material raging fire? Your Jewish writers would have deemed it a gross misrepresentation of their views of gehenna, to call it 'spiritual punishment, the torment of inimical and revengeful feelings.' And would not you say, that I misrepresented your views of gehenna, if I stated you believed in a material hell of fire? Yes, as much as you do mine, when you say, that I believe gehenna means 'being burnt in the valley of Hinnom.'

But taking your hell, and the hell described in the Jewish writings as given by yourself, I have now a few questions to ask about both. I shall begin,

1. *With the Rev. Bernard Whitman's hell.* It is not sheol, hades, tartarus, or gehenna, as described in the Bible. Nor, is it any of these as altered by Pagans, Jews, Mahomedans, or most Christians, to suit themselves. No; it is a *new* hell of modern invention, which is little known in the community, except perhaps among Unitarians. Indeed, I am not sure, if it is even generally adopted among them. If I understand you correctly, your hell has no *location* or *materiality* whatever. This is a very different hell, sir, from Calvin's, in the belief of which I was brought up, and for years preached to others. It is not the hell in which many orthodox people believe

at the present day. The good old orthodox hell, has a strong resemblance to the one described in your quotations; your's has no resemblance to either of them. Permit me then to ask, who made your hell? On what divine authority am I to believe in it? I cannot even believe in it on the authority of your Jewish writers, for this is not the hell which they describe. And surely you cannot suppose me silly enough, to believe in your hell on your bare assertion about it. Had you advocated the old orthodox hell, your quotations would have been somewhat to the purpose. But you have missed it entirely, to advocate a spiritual hell, thinking to prove it from the Jewish writers of antiquity. How could you commit such a great blunder?

Some ten or twelve years ago, after a serious examination of the Scriptures, I was constrained by evidence to abandon the old Calvinistic hell, as without foundation in the Bible. Since that period, I have been somewhat careful to avoid believing in any hell of man's making. I should feel like a fool, to have abandoned the old hell of my fathers, and now receive your spiritual hell without scripture authority. ^{derived} Until scripture authority is produced, do not blame me for rejecting it, for I reject all hells made by men, without any exception. I shall as soon believe in the Pagan hell, the Jewish hell, the Calvinistic hell, Dante's hell, any one of the Chinese hells, or any other hell, as in your's, until it is proved from the Bible. I will believe in any hell taught there, but in no other. If I believe in a hell of man's invention, I shall invent one of my own. I have as good a right as any of my neighbors to make my own hell, and make it to suit my own taste, and when my hell is made, I have the same right as others to call it *gehenna*, and quote the Jewish writers to prove it. It must be a nondescript in the history of hells, if the Targums and Talmuds do not prove it, just as much as your's.

I am aware the old Calvinistic hell, which is so like the Targum hell, has of late years been falling into disrepute. It is much too heathenish for modern refined notions. But I am unable to say, what kind of hell is generally substituted in its place. Professor Stuart in his Exegetical Essays, seemed to have abandoned the old orthodox hell; but what one he had adopted, did not ap-

pear distinctly from his book. Your own opinions on this subject, seem not as yet very fixed or definite. Like the Professor, you have abandoned the old hell; you have got a new one; you call it by the old name gehenna; you are at a loss how to describe it; and have not yet learned to prove it from the Bible. But I must ask — Is it correct in you to abandon the hell of your fathers; invent a new one; call it by the old name; quote the Jewish writings which prove no such hell; and pass this off to your readers without proof from scripture? Do not misunderstand me, sir; We have had many hell makers since the world began, and I allow, you have the same right as others to engage in this business. What I object to is — you have no right to palm your *new* hell on the public under the old name *gehenna*, and quoting the very same proofs for your spiritual hell, which for ages have been quoted to prove the old material hell of fire. It is true, in the course of your letter, you change your *spiritual hell* into *future punishment*, but give no intimation you have changed it from *spiritual* to *material*. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, if your quotations prove a future punishment, they also prove it is *in feelings* in its nature; who are to suffer it; and that the Jews are to be delivered from it, etc.

I hope you have altered your ‘spiritual punishment,’ into something different from ‘inimical and revengeful feelings.’ If you have not, it will involve you in some difficulty. If this is your hell, you must admit all without exception are sometimes in it, even in this world. Few, if any pass through life, without occasionally having ‘inimical and revengeful feelings.’ And sometimes clergymen, are in this hell in the *sacred desk*; for there we have seen them indulge these very feelings against their Christian brethren of a different sect. And we suspect, all must go into your hell in another world, for few die without some such passions in their natures. And I doubt, if we must not extend the torments of your hell to the brute creation; for we have seen in some of them, something very like ‘inimical and revengeful feelings.’ But I hope, if you write again on this subject, you will more minutely describe your hell, to avoid all

misunderstanding about it. But I have a few questions to ask about,

2. *The Targum and Talmud hell.* It is manifest, from your quotations, that this is a *place*, and a *place of literal torment by fire*. I must then ask — Where was this knowledge obtained? From what bible, book, god, or man, did your Jewish writers learn all their precious information? They tell us, God created hell on the second day of the creation. But I can find no such information in Gen. i. 6—9, or in any other part of scripture. They also tell us, Abram saw their gehenna or hell. But can you point out in what part of his history I can find such information? And, as their descriptions of gehenna or hell are comments on certain texts of scripture, Can you inform us how such information can be dug out of them? You do not pretend, you could find such information in the Old Testament; and the Jewish writers did not derive it from the New; for you tell us they detested this book. It was not derived from the New Testament; for you say, p. 183: — ‘Gehenna was uniformly used by the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, and in succeeding ages, to mean future punishment.’ As the Jewish writers must have derived their information from some other source, and as you do not specify any divine source, from which it was received, I must press you with the question, From whence did they derive all this information about their gehenna, or hell? I know, you and the gentlemen at Cambridge, derived your quotations from the Jewish writers. What I demand of you is — To tell us, from what source the Jewish writers obtained their information? And, if you assert that it was derived from God, why are you ashamed of it? Why do you say — ‘I have nothing to do with their theology or religious sentiments’ on this subject. Are you ashamed of anything which has come from God? Does it require the apology of Mr. Whitman, a Unitarian minister at Waltham? If you believe it did not come from God, why impose on your readers such Jewish traditions?

You have read Homer, Virgil, and other heathen authors. Permit me then to ask, Is not the Targum and Talmud hell, very like the hell described by the heathen authors? And does not the old orthodox hell, bear a

strong resemblance to both? Are they not all so much alike, that I cannot be far wrong in concluding, they had one common origin? I admit there is some difference between the heathen and Targum hell. But the difference is easily accounted for, from Jewish opinions and their national prejudices. And the difference between the heathen and Targum hell, and the old orthodox hell, is also accounted for, from their peculiar views and circumstances. That the one hell is copied from the other, with certain modifications and amendments, seems pretty obvious. The question is, which was the original hell from which the others were copied? You seem to determine this question yourself. On p. 184, you plainly intimate, no such hell is taught in the Old Testament. Professor Stuart advocated no such hell from it. But it is well known, while no such hell was taught by the inspired writers, this hell was perfectly familiar among the heathen. Of course, the Jews adopted the heathen hell, and this is confirmed by Dr. Campbell and other writers. They inform us, the Jews derived many of their opinions from the heathen, and particularly on the subject of a future state. And it is easily perceived, that when Jews and heathens embraced Christianity, such opinions were introduced into the Christian church, and modified to suit the times and views of the people.

Should it be asked, where did the heathen obtain their information about their hell, from which Jews and Christians have copied theirs? I answer, we find it in their fables; and as I have traced it to a heathen source, if you say it came from God, you must prove its origin divine. But I may answer this question, by asking another, — From what source did the heathens derive their notions about idolatry, demons, transmigrations, and a variety of other things? The answer is, — From the inventions of men. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools. And as after ages of men deemed themselves wiser than those who preceded them, they have altered and modified the rude hell of the heathen, to suit their own taste and the times they lived in. The heathen hell was too gross for the Jews; and the Jewish writers you quote, shaped it to suit their own nation. But their hell, and the orthodox hell, are both too gross for you, hence you have so modified them as to reduce them to 'a

spiritual hell,' consisting in '*inimical and revengeful feelings.*' And whether we have now got to the end of modern modifications and improvements of hell, I do not pretend to say. It is certain, half a century has vastly improved this article, in reducing it from a material, raging fire of coals and brimstone, to a thing purely *spiritual*, without *materiality* or *location*, etc.

But I must do justice to your Jewish writers, and commend their honesty. When they copied the heathen hell, with their own alterations and modifications of it, they did not call it by the heathen name *Tartarus*, but gave it the new name *gehenna*. But, when you wholly change the Targum material hell, into a spiritual hell, you still call it by the old name, and quote the Jewish writings in proof of it. You retain the name of their hell, but seem to be ashamed of their descriptions of it. But, this is very inconsistent in a Unitarian. Have not Unitarians blamed our orthodox brethren, for altering and modifying Calvinism into a very different system, yet calling it by the old name *Calvinism*? Ought not you, either to call your new *spiritual hell* by some other name than *gehenna*, or, cease from censuring them? Are Unitarians the only sect in the land, who have the right to call new things in religion by old names? For one, I must object to your manufacturing *a spiritual hell*, adapted to modern refined notions, and baptizing it with the name *gehenna*; for it bears no resemblance to any of its pretended ancestors. If you are ashamed of the pagan hell, the Jewish hell, or the orthodox hell, do not attempt to impose on Universalists by adopting the names of them. I have called yours '*a spiritual hell*,' as expressive of its nature, but if this name does not please you, give it some other which sufficiently distinguishes it from all the hells of other sects or religions. The Jewish hell and yours are essentially different, and ought not to be called by the same name. I may add; — if your hell consists in '*inimical and revengeful feelings*,' it would be to some a heaven, for they seem to delight in such feelings. They find '*revenge is sweet*:' and, like Milton's devil, would rather '*rule in hell than serve in heaven.*' Indeed, if hell is inimical and revengeful feelings, most people would look on it as a very trifling affair. And some would say, what a *fuss* the clergy for ages have been making about

nothing. At any rate, sir, they have made a mighty *fuss* about a very different hell from your's. Whether your's will produce similar effects as their's, remains to be proved. It has not been long enough in use to make a fair experiment.

Such are your quotations, and the remarks we have deemed proper to make on them. Let us now hear what you have to say about them yourself. After giving us the quotations, the very first sentence you utter is this. 'You learn from these various quotations, that gehenna was used by the Jews at and after the times of our Saviour to mean future punishment for the wicked.' But have you forgotton, sir, your own statements, pp. 165, 172, that these quotations were to prove, — 'That our Saviour used gehenna to mean the spiritual punishment of the wicked, both in this life and the world to come?' Did you not say 'this is the view I take of the subject and the one which I shall attempt to defend?' But now you seem inclined to drop your '*spiritual punishment*,' and all we are to learn from 'these various quotations' is, '*future punishment for the wicked*,' leaving its *spirituality* and everything else out of the question. But if we learn anything from these quotations, we certainly learn that the punishment is material, and by fire; and if you prove by them a future punishment, you must just take the one they describe. But such is the way you modify your own system, so as to make it more conformable to your quotations. And, of course, Christ must alter his sense of gehenna to suit it. Hence you add — 'That he used gehenna in the same sense there can be no doubt in the minds of sound critics.' Thus, Jesus Christ and sound critics, shift their sense of gehenna to suit Mr. Whitman's convenience.

But you say — 'The only objection you will be likely to make to this conclusion may be thus stated. You may ask if there is any degree of probability that our Lord and his Apostles knew anything about the Targums?' A pretty weighty objection, sir, but not the only one I could make. I shall, however, make no other, but shall watch carefully how you remove it. You say — 'I have already furnished you some evidence on this question; and I may remark that those scholars who

have given this subject a thorough investigation, have a firm belief that some of these Hebrew writings were then in existence.' What kind of evidence you have already given, we have seen. Here you assert, *some* of those Hebrew writings were in existence in 'the time of our Saviour,' but which of them you do not specify. And it seems, your faith in this rests on some scholars, who have '*a firm belief*' in it. No doubt the Cambridge scholars gave you the evidence which produced *their firm belief* about this. But why should it convince me, for it is not satisfactory to yourself? No; for you add — 'I will present one or two considerations which seem satisfactory to my mind.' A frank confession, that all their evidence, and all you have hitherto adduced, is not very satisfactory to yourself. Well, I hope we are now coming to some evidence, which will be satisfactory, 'that our Lord and his apostles knew about the Targums.' What then are these considerations?

You say, 'In the first place it appears the Jews had lost their national language, the Hebrew, after the return from the captivity, since you find Ezra was obliged to employ interpreters while he read the law to the people.' And after stating, this gave rise to translations of the Scriptures and comments upon them, you ask — 'What more natural than that such translations should be made for the benefit both of the synagogue and of private families, and that they should be generally used?' All this, sir, is perfectly natural and proper. But why [do you forget, that your quotations above, are not from any *translation* of the Scriptures, but are *comments* on the texts. They are silly *stories* and *glosses*, which have no foundation in the text, and of which you yourself are ashamed. Besides, all this is no proof our Lord and his Apostles knew about the Targums. Nor, had they existed in their day, they would have approved of that of which you are ashamed. If they knew about the Targums, it is strange they never stumbled on any of your precious quotations. A strange omission this, if they believed what is contained in them.

You say — 'But in the second place, we have positive evidence that there were translations of the Scriptures in common use among the Jews in our Saviour's time.'

True ; for we are certain the septuagint version then existed. But if a thousand translations were then in common use among the Jews, it could not serve your cause ; for no decent translation of the scriptures could contain your sense of gehenna, or the silly things contained in your quotations. To produce ‘*positive evidence.*’ that *translations* existed in our Lord’s day, is nothing to the purpose. Nor will it answer, if you could produce ‘*positive evidence,*’ that *Targums* then existed. No ; what you have got to do is this — You must produce *positive evidence* that some *Targums* existed in our Lord’s day, which contained your quotations, and that he *approved* of the sense of gehenna given in them. But, sir, it is idle in you to pretend, that any positive evidence can be produced, that a single *Targum* existed in our Lord’s day. And how can you ever prove, that our Lord or any of his Apostles, approved of the sense given to gehenna in your quotations ? Onkelos’ *Targum*, is allowed to be the oldest and best of all the *Targums* in existence ; but you well know it is of no use to you, hence you say nothing about it. But I must ask, had such nonsense, as is contained in your quotations, been foisted into any translation in our Lord’s day, do you think he would have quoted it with approbation ? I suspect not, sir ; the *Targums* and *Talmuds* would not have been such favorite authors with the Saviour then, as they are with you on the present question.

You proceed thus. ‘In addition to the books of the Old Testament, the Jews had a collection, oral, of laws or traditions, as they were called, which had been handed down for many ages, from father to son, until finally, about one hundred and ninety years after the time of Christ they were committed to writing, and received the name of *Mischna*, under which name they have come down to us.’ Yes, sir ; but you seem to conceal, for I cannot suppose you forget it, that our Lord condemned the whole mass of Jewish traditions, whether oral or written. See Matth. xv. 1 — 10. Mark vii. 1 — 24. But let us see what use you make of the *Mischna* on the question before us. You say, ‘Now, on turning to the *Mischna*, we find it plainly intimated that there were translations, or *Targums* of the Scriptures in common use

among the Jews, at least as early as the time when the Mischna was composed, (Targum is a Chaldee word, meaning translation,) and that is even before the time of Christ, since Christ himself often speaks of the traditions of the Jews, and it is of these traditions, as has been remarked, that the Mischna is made up.' On these statements I must remark,

1. Your explanation given in the parenthesis needs an explanation. The word *targum* means *comment*, as well as *translation*. Onkelos' Targum may be called a translation; but, the Targums you have quoted, do not deserve this name. Your quotations are *comments*, the silly *stories* and *glosses* of some persons on the sacred text. You will not risk your reputation in asserting, that they are translations of the original scriptures, or have any foundation in the Old Testament. What madman's brains then invented them?

2. You intimate, that 'the mischna was composed before the time of Christ.' If this be true, it was composed 'one hundred and ninety years' before it was written. This is a distinction between *composing* and *writing* which is new to me. But let it be *composed* or *written* at what period you please, it cannot help your cause, for Christ condemned the whole mass of Jewish traditions. Nor, could it aid your cause, if the *Mischna* mentioned a thousand translations or Targums then in use among the Jews. No, sir; to serve your purpose, the *Mischna* must not only mention some Targums which contain your quotations, but prove that such Targums existed in the days of the Saviour, which was one hundred and ninety years before the writing of the Mischna. Even all this would not be sufficient, sir, until it is proved, that our Lord approved of the mess of nonsense contained in your quotations. Does the Mischna prove this? No, this never can be proved.

It is amusing, to see you break off in the midst of a paragraph, to repeat your old caution to your readers, thus: 'You will keep in mind that I never refer to these traditions for proof of a religious doctrine, but simply to ascertain the use of a Hebrew word at that period.' The period you refer to is, 'the time of Christ.' But you refer to all these Jewish writings in vain, for none of them existed in 'the time of Christ.' I shall, however, keep

your caution in mind, and allow you to speak for yourself, how you attempt to ascertain this. You say — ‘It is one of these traditions, as laid down in the Mischna, that “all sacred books ought to be preserved from fire, whether they are read or not: *and whatsoever language they are writ in*, they ought to be laid up carefully.”’ But what does this *ascertain*? You say — ‘This plainly implies that the Jews had their sacred books* in more languages than one, in at least one other language besides the Hebrew. But no one pretends, that at this time there were any translations of the Hebrew scriptures in existence besides the Greek and Chaldaic.’ But still, this *ascertains* nothing to your purpose, by your own statements. We are certain the septuagint version existed in our Lord’s day. Here then, was ‘at least one other language besides the Hebrew,’ and answers to all which you say is implied in your quotation from the Mischna. By your own showing, then, there was no need for any other translations; for this with the Hebrew, were *sacred books* to be preserved from fire, and laid up carefully. But let us see what you say about the *Greek*, and also a *Chaldaic* version, which you say then existed.

1. *The Greek version.* You say — ‘It was used by those Jews, who lived in foreign countries, and by them the traditions were never received nor acknowledged to be of any sort of authority.’ This, sir, is a precious confession, and is much to the honor of the foreign Jews, for they agreed with Christ and his apostles in rejecting the Jewish traditions. This is also confessing that they rejected your quotations from the Targums and Talmuds. You do not pretend such things are to be found in the Bible, and it is of no consequence whether they are Pagan, Jewish, or Christian traditions. Had all Jews, like the foreign Jews, strictly adhered to the Scriptures, whether in the original Hebrew or Greek version, such

* Mr. Whitman, if the Targums and Talmuds, or any other Jewish writings, except the Scriptures are sacred books, why are not your’s and mine sacred books, also? They have as good a title to this name as any Jewish writings you have quoted. But when we speak of *sacred books*, we confine this name to the sacred Scriptures. And until further evidence is produced, I must believe the Jews only gave this name to the books of the Old Testament.

traditions could not have existed. You would have had no Targums or Talmuds to quote from. But one of two things is certain: either the foreign Jews did wrong, in rejecting the traditions as of no sort of authority, or you do wrong, in making them authority, in determining the true sense of gehenna. I leave you to say which of these is the truth.

I remember that you say, I refer only to these traditions — ‘ simply to ascertain the use of a Hebrew word at that period.’ But you seem to forget, that none of your Jewish writings containing these traditions, existed in our Lord’s day; and at whatever period they did exist, if you adopt their sense of gehenna, you must take also the theology they connected with it. In fact, sir, they cannot be separated; for the very sense they attached to gehenna, is a part of these traditions. Neither can be found in the Bible. Had it contained them, this would have saved a great deal of labor to certain gentlemen at the University. Could the foreign Jews learn from the Septuagint, or those in Judea from the Hebrew scriptures, that gehenna ‘ meant future punishment for the wicked?’ Say, sir, could they learn that it meant ‘ spiritual punishment both in this life and the world to come?’ You must answer in the negative. I ask again, Did the foreign Jews reject the traditions, but like you advocated the sense given to gehenna in the Targums and Talmuds? No, the honor was reserved for Mr. Whitman, of Waltham, to separate the sense given to gehenna by the Jewish writers, from the doctrines they connected with it. But I demand of you to tell us, where the Jewish writers got their sense of gehenna and the doctrines connected with it, as neither are to be found in the Hebrew scriptures or Greek version? You admit, this was not learned ‘ from the Christian scriptures, a book which the Jews utterly detested,’ p. 174. And you maintain, gehenna ‘ was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour, and in succeeding ages to mean future punishment.’ p. 183. Let us have no evasion here, sir; you must either point out that their sense of gehenna originated from God, or inform us, at what point we are to stop in believing your Jewish traditions.

But it is very certain, some of the Jews in Judea re-

jected the traditions as well as the foreign Jews. The sect of the Sadducees did so. Nor did Christ or his apostles blame them for this, for they also rejected the traditions. Christ told the Sadducees, they erred, not knowing the *Scriptures*; but where did he ever say to a single individual, — he erred, not knowing the *Targums* and *Talmuds*? Surely you will not say, that your quotations from the Jewish writers, were scripture in those days? It was the sect of the Pharisees who chiefly venerated the traditions. But did Jesus ever commend them for this? No; and yet you cannot support your views of gehenna without them.

By saying — ‘the Septuagint was used by those Jews who lived in foreign countries,’ you intimate, that it was not much used in Judea. But it was once the common opinion that Christ and his apostles always quoted the Septuagint. Dr. Kennicott says, — ‘That the writers of the New Testament did not make it a *constant rule* to quote from the Greek version, is certain; as appears from the many places, where their quotations *differ from that version*, and *agree with the Hebrew*. And as the quotations now agree with the Hebrew, frequently in the express words, generally in the sense; so it is most probable, that *they universally agreed at first*, and that where the Hebrew was expressed properly in the Greek version, they used the words of that version; and where that version was not proper, *they translated for themselves*.’ The New Testament writers, sir, appear to have been very careful what they quoted for Scripture. Now, if they did not quote the Greek version where it differed from the Hebrew, but translated for themselves, can any man believe that they would have quoted or sanctioned any of your quotations from the Targums or Talmuds, supposing they then existed? My credulity is not a match for this, if all the world had a *firm belief* in it.

2. *The Chaldaic version.* You do not positively assert, but very plainly intimate, that a Chaldaic version of the Scriptures was in use among the Jews in our Lord’s day, as well as the Septuagint. But all you say about this, is — ‘It is evident, then, that in the passage which has been referred to, (in the Mischna,) the Chaldaic Targums must be meant. I can see no room for further doubt on

this subject.' In this brief way, you wrap the matter up about the Chaldaic Targums, although they principally claimed your attention. But you must not slip out of my hands in this way. Be pleased then to notice. 1. You seem to consider all Targums translations of the Scriptures. But who will risk his character in asserting, that your quotations deserve the name of translations?

2. You deem the Targums sacred books. Perhaps they, and other books mentioned above, might be considered sacred by the Jews. But is it any proof of their sacredness, that the Jews deemed them so? Or, does it prove their sacredness, that the Mishna contains a tradition — 'That all sacred books ought to be preserved from fire, whether they are read or not; *and whatsoever language they are writ in*, they ought to be laid up carefully.' Say, sir, does this prove that they were deemed sacred by God, Christ, or his apostles? If the quotations you have made from the Jewish writers, are from sacred books, what you have quoted ought to be called *sacred nonsense*, for you are ashamed of it yourself. But,

3. The quotation you have made from the Mischna, although it mentions *sacred books*, does not mention Chaldaic books of any kind whatever. The question you are bound to prove is this, that some of the sacred books referred to in the Mischna, were the Jewish writings you have quoted, and that these writings were known to Christ and his apostles, and approved by them. But not a scrap of evidence have you produced of this. No, sir, you leap to this conclusion, by assuming that, because the Mischna mentions sacred books — 'The Chaldaic Targums must be meant.' But let it be supposed they are meant — what then? This is not proving that these Chaldaic Targums existed in the days of the Saviour, or, that he would have approved of what you quoted from them, and noticed above.

4. If you *must* have a Chaldaic Targum referred to in the Mishna, why not give Onkelos' Targum the preference? It is on all hands allowed to be the oldest and best of all the Targums. It is a translation, but the Targums you quote are not. It may be called a sacred book, but your Targums and Talmuds have no claim to the appel-

lation. But, had the Mishna expressly mentioned Onkelos' Targum as one of the sacred books, it would not have answered your purpose, for it contains no silly *stories* and *glosses* about gehenna. Prideaux declares, — 'The Targum of Onkelos is rather a version than a paraphrase; for it renders the Hebrew text, word for word, and for the most part accurately and exactly; and it is much the best of all this sort; and therefore it hath always been had in esteem among the Jews much above all the other Targums.' Such a Targum as this, would be of no more use to you, than our English version of the Old Testament. On the subject of gehenna, the 'Targums which contain *stories* and *glosses* and *enlargements* to the sacred text, are your lively oracles.

But according to Jahn, Onkelos' Targum could not be mentioned in the Mishna, if it was written as early as you assert. He says — 'The Chaldee paraphrases are known by the name of Targums (which means *a version* or *an interpretation*.) The most celebrated among them is that of the Pentateuch, ascribed to Onkelos, whom the Babylonian Talmud makes cotemporary with Gamaliel, adding many incoherent tales respecting him. It is evident, however, that he lived several centuries before, the Talmudical writers, since they knew so little of him, although he wrote in Babylonia. Onkelos, therefore would seem to have written, not in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era, but in the third, or rather in the second, and this is confirmed by his paraphrase itself.' And we have seen, Onkelos' Targum is not only 'the first in order of place as being on the Pentateuch, but the first also in order of time, and the ancientest that was written of all that are now extant.' If these statements of the critics are correct, sir, it settles the question forever, that no Targum existed in the days of Christ and his apostles.

I am aware that you have mentioned, the Targums now extant are partly made up from older Targums not now in existence. But, supposing this to be true, it affords your cause no assistance. You must still prove these older Targums existed in Christ's day, contained your quotations, and that he sanctioned them as giving the correct sense of gehenna. But this never can be

done. You cannot prove, that Targums so old ever existed. Nor can it ever be shown, that your quotations are not the corruptions and additions of later ages. Who can believe, sir, that our Lord and his apostles would approve of the childish nonsense you have quoted from your Jewish writers? I am surprised at your reasoning, your conclusions, and the premises from which you draw them.

You add — ‘Here then you have one good reason for my definition of the word gehenna.’ What is this ‘*grand reason?*’ You answer, — ‘It was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour, and in succeeding ages, to mean future punishment.’ But this is no *reason*, but a mere *assertion*. The first part of it is utterly false. You have given us no proof, that gehenna ‘was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour to mean future punishment.’ And as to the last, that it was so used in ‘succeeding ages,’ no one disputes. You have produced no proof, that the Targums were known to Christ and his apostles, and that they used gehenna in the sense given to it in your Jewish writings. In vain, sir, do you labor to show, that the Scripture sense of gehenna and the Targum sense of it are the same. You quote the Targums to prove your sense of gehenna; and yet your sense of the word differs from the Targum writers, as much as ‘spiritual punishment’ differs from ‘material punishment,’ etc.

Your next sentence is remarkable. You, say — ‘I know of no other way of arriving at the true meaning of Hebrew words and phrases.’ Astonishing! Is there no other way of arriving at the true meaning of gehenna, but by consulting the Targums and Talmuds? If we admit this to be true, not one in ten thousand can ever understand the Scriptures. And not one preacher in a thousand is competent to teach them to others. You confess your own incompetency, as you got some persons at the University to consult the Chaldaic Targums for you. But I suspect this sentence of yours will communicate a new discovery to the critics. It shows a wonderful *march of mind*. But to me it appears to be *marching backwards*; marching away from the Bible as its own best interpreter, into the bewildering and uncertain

light of Jewish traditions. It appears, the Bible is of no great use, unless people understand the Chaldaic language, and are familiar with the Targums and Talmuds.

Such are your reasons for believing, that our Saviour used *gehenna* to mean spiritual punishment, both in this life and the world to come. And such are the 'two considerations,' which you said were 'satisfactory to your mind,' that 'our Lord and his apostles knew about the Targums.' You conclude this division of your letter by telling us, you have some other reasons, but want room to state them. You assert your sense of *gehenna* is the true one: you declare the critics and commentators favor your views; and you repeat your old misrepresentation of my opinions. But none of these things require notice here, being sufficiently remarked on above.

In concluding my remarks on this second general division of your Letter, I would ask, What proof have you offered, that *gehenna* means a 'spiritual punishment,' here or hereafter? Certainly your quotations from the Jewish writers prove no such punishment, and no attempt has been made to prove it from Scripture. Supposing all the texts which speak of *gehenna* did teach a future punishment, who could ever learn from them it was spiritual, consisting in 'inimical and revengeful feelings?' One would much sooner conclude from them, that *gehenna* was a literal torment by fire; and more resembles the Targum hell than yours. But I must proceed to the third division of your Letter. You say,—

'III. In the third place, I will answer the objections which may be made to my definition of the word *gehenna*.' But these objections, sir, are a few of the facts stated in my first Inquiry, which you convert into objections. And you admit, they have some 'weight with candid inquirers' against your views of *gehenna*. This was a mere random *hit* in me, for when I wrote my first Inquiry, I was not aware any man defined *gehenna*, 'spiritual punishment of the wicked, both in this world and the next existence; the torment of inimical and revengeful feelings.' My book, sir, was written not against such a hell as this, but against the old Calvinistic hell I had believed in from my childhood. You must still claim kindred with it, if my facts, which you turn into objections,

have weight against your spiritual punishment. But be this as it may, let us see how you manage with them. You say,—

'1. Perhaps you will affirm, that neither *gehenna* nor any other word is used in the Hebrew Scriptures to denote a place of endless misery for the wicked.' You say 'this I readily grant.' But, instead of attempting to account for this fact, you go on to say, the Old Testament does not clearly teach 'a future existence,' or 'future retribution.' Notwithstanding this, you say, — 'I must grant that the great majority of the Jewish nation in the time of our Saviour had a decided belief in both a future life and future retribution.' I grant this, sir, but ask, how they came by this *decided belief*? for by your own confession, it could not be from the Old Testament. Such doctrines, you say, were not '*taught with distinctness*' there. Some of the best critics say, the Jews in the time of our Saviour had derived many of their opinions from the heathens, particularly on the subject of a future state. They had a *decided belief* in demons, Satan, transmigration, witchcraft, etc.; but did their decided belief in such things make them true? According to your logic, as the heathens had a decided belief in idols, this made them true Gods.

To get rid of my fact, like some others, you place the doctrine of 'a future life' and 'a future retribution,' on the same footing in the Old Testament. You say, the Jews had some 'faint belief in both.' I think it can be shown, that persons under the Old Testament dispensation, had a decided belief in a future happy existence; but this is not the point in discussion. But, where is it taught under that dispensation, that any one had 'a faint faith in,' or 'a faint fear about' punishment after death? It is admitted, *gehenna* then did not express this. Where or how then is such a punishment expressed in the Old Testament? You only contend, '*gehenna* was used to teach future punishment for the wicked in the time of Christ's personal ministry,' and your faith about this seems to rest on the testimony of 'those who have given this subject a thorough investigation.' But neither of you pretend to deny my fact, nor can you find anything to destroy it, as any objection against your views of ge-

henna. The fact is so palpable, it will not be denied. But you say,—

'2. Perhaps you may affirm, that gehenna occurs but twelve times in the Christian Scriptures, and is the only word which is supposed to mean a place or state of misery for the wicked.' You add, 'I admit that the word gehenna occurs but twelve times in the New Testament.' But you say, — 'if our Saviour has taught the doctrine of future retribution in but one sentence in the whole of his teachings, I am perfectly satisfied.' So am I, sir; and when you are at leisure, select that '*one sentence*' where you are sure it is taught, and let us discuss its true meaning. I agree with you, Jesus 'was not ignorant of the truth on this question; neither can I allow that he uttered even one falsehood.' You say — 'I am willing to confess that the removal of gehenna from the controversy would not shake my belief in the doctrine of a future retribution.' Remove it, then; for why encumber yourself with it? But, remember, sir, that in p. 163, you called the texts about gehenna your '*undoubted instances*' of the truth of a future retribution. If you dismiss them from the controversy, you ought to make a long apology to Messrs. Nicols and Peabody, for putting them to so much unnecessary trouble. But is not this mere *finesse*? If it is not, why did you call the texts about gehenna *undoubted instances* of proof? why did you divide them into six divisions? why so much time spent at the University poring over Jewish writings about gehenna? and why did you place your gehenna troops in the front of the battle, if no dependence was placed on them for a victory? Did you perceive the gehenna troops are not to be depended on — hence deemed it good generalship, to boast you can dispense with their services? Take care; — the moment you give up the texts about gehenna, you may give up the contest. People will tell you to your face, Mr. Whitman, if your '*undoubted instances*' of proof have failed, we can place no dependence on any other texts you may adduce. Dr. Allen, Professor Stuart, and others, never boasted that victory could be obtained without the gehenna division was in the field. Thus, instead of destroying my fact, you expose your own weakness. But you say.—

‘3. Perhaps you will affirm that the word gehenna is used only by our Saviour and James, and ask why it was not mentioned by the other apostles?’ You say, — ‘I admit the truth of your assertion.’ But, is it a satisfactory answer to the question, ‘why gehenna was not mentioned by the other apostles,’ to tell us, gehenna is a word ‘which some of their hearers or readers could not understand?’ No, sir; for you admit ‘gehenna was a word which the Jews of Judea understood.’ And did not the apostles often address the Jews in Judea, yet never used the term gehenna? Again, you tell us, ‘Some to whom the apostles preached, and to whom several of the epistles were partly addressed, were indeed of Jewish extraction. But then they had been educated in foreign countries. They used the Greek language; they knew little or nothing of the colloquial usages of Judea: they were acquainted with the Old Testament only through the Septuagint.’ But what a forgetful man you must be; for did you not tell us, p. 163, gehenna ‘is a Greek word.’ And you have just told us, the Jews ‘educated in foreign countries used the Greek language: they were acquainted with the Old Testament only through the Septuagint?’ Now, if gehenna was ‘a Greek word,’ what could hinder the foreign Jews from understanding it? But you told us also, pp. 174, 175, that Joseph’s Targum, and the Baylonish Talmud, were composed at Babylon. Gehenna, sir, must have been understood there; for you refer us to these writings for gehenna, meaning future punishment. Surely Babylon was not in Judea in those days. And if gehenna was understood there, why not by Jews in other foreign countries? And why could not the colloquial usage of gehenna in Judea be understood by foreign Jews; for all allow our Lord and his apostles quoted the Septuagint version, which the foreign Jews understood. And have you forgot, sir, that the foreign Jews often visited Judea, at the feasts, and on other occasions. On the day of Pentecost, Acts ii. there were at Jerusalem, ‘devout men out of every nation under heaven.’ But Peter, in preaching, did not use the term gehenna, or any other word in any other language to express future punishment.

But there is a very good reason, why the apostles never-mentioned gehenna, either to the foreign or domestic Jews: it is one given by yourself, and is conclusive against your views of gehenna punishment. You say, p. 182, 'The Greek translation, or the Septuagint, was used by those Jews who lived in foreign countries, and by them the traditions were never received nor acknowledged to be of any sort of authority.' It is not pretended, sir, that gehenna either in the Hebrew scriptures or Greek version means future punishment. If it was therefore a Jewish tradition, the foreign Jews would have rejected it, had it been mentioned by the apostles. And that it was a *tradition*, seems manifest from the fact, that the apostles never mentioned gehenna to foreign or domestic Jews, or to any one else. How happened this, if it was used in their day among the Jews to mean future punishment? Its being a tradition, accounts for the silence of the apostles about it. For if our Lord used gehenna to mean future punishment, why did the apostles never mention this to the Jews in Judea, who certainly understood its colloquial meaning there? The importance of gehenna punishment, demanded, that gehenna should be explained and understood by all, whether Jews or Gentiles, in all countries. But the apostles did not concern themselves about *gehenna*, which plainly shows, no such sense was then attached to this word. Or, if it had this sense, they looked on it as a Jewish tradition.

But you go on to say, the foreign Jews 'were firm believers in future retribution, before and after their conversion, and consequently had no special need of elementary instruction on this doctrine.' Strange! Why then, sir, did our Lord's apostles need so much of this '*elementary instruction*;' for most of what he said about gehenna was specially addressed to them? They were certainly acquainted with its colloquial usage in Judea; and you told us, a moment ago — 'the great majority of the Jewish nation in the time of our Saviour had a decided belief in a future retribution.' And on p. 183, said, 'gehenna was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of our Saviour to mean future punishment.' Do explain to us, then, why Christ's apostles should need more of this

'elementary instruction' than all the world besides. More than foreign Jews, and more than the wicked Jews who lived in Judea. As you will not say it was to convert them, or constitute them apostles, why did they receive so much of it? It could not be, to fit them for preaching gehenna or hell torments to others, for you confess they never preached *gehenna* to either Jews or Gentiles. I insist, therefore, that you must tell us, why Christ gave his own apostles so much more of this 'elementary instruction' than the wicked Jews? The foreign Jews received none of it. And if preaching gehenna, or hell torments, is now so excellent a thing for converting people, as many suppose, how is it accounted for, that our Lord and his apostles used it so little for this purpose? Like you 'they seldom used the word hell in their discourses.' But you say, —

'4. Perhaps you will affirm, that the word gehenna is not once used in addressing the Gentiles, and ask the cause of this omission?' Here again you say, — 'I admit the truth of your affirmation.' But what you say here, is, for substance, repeating what you said under the preceding particular, which has been replied to. I may just notice, you go on to say the Gentiles could not understand gehenna, and add, 'consequently it would have been talking or writing an unknown tongue to have reminded them of the gehenna fire.' Well; but why did they not remind them of the 'hades of fire,' or 'the tartarus of fire,' which the Gentiles did understand? The apostles spoke all languages, and could use the word which any Gentile understood, to mean the same as gehenna. But they never did this. You add, the Gentiles 'believed already in future rewards and punishments, and only needed confirmation in their present belief.' Well, what persons ever received this *confirmation* from the hands of the apostles? By what words, which the Gentiles did understand, did the apostles confirm them in their belief of future punishment? Had you found any such words, no doubt but you would have produced them. But you say, —

'5. Perhaps you will affirm, that the greater part of what our Saviour said concerning gehenna, was addressed to his disciples, and ask why he did not say more on

the subject to the unbelieving Jews, if the word meant future misery.' Yes, sir, I have affirmed this, and you say 'the truth of your assertion I admit.' But it is beyond your powers to devise a reply to this fact or objection. Is it any answer to ask the following questions? 'To whom were most of his (Christ's) discourses addressed? To whom were his doctrines entrusted? Who were selected to propagate his gospel? And to whom was the greater portion of his instructions on every subject delivered? To his disciples, certainly. Why then should he make a distinction in this question?' What connexion have these questions with my fact? How they affect it, I am unable to perceive. Do they account for the fact, why our Lord said so much to his own apostles about gehenna, and so little to the unbelieving Jews? surely not. But you say,—'He did preach gehenna to the unbelieving Jews; and the different manner in which he declared this doctrine to the two classes of hearers, fully establishes the truth of my exposition. Mark this peculiarity.' This still leaves my fact untouched; and directs the attention of the reader away from it, to 'the *different manner* in which Christ declared this doctrine to the two classes of hearers.' Well, let us see what you say about '*the different manner*' in which gehenna was preached to the apostles and the wicked Jews? You say,—'When addressing his disciples, he speaks of gehenna as something they might avoid by being his faithful disciples. Now if gehenna means a literal, temporal punishment, the very way to be exposed to it was by embracing his religion, and thus exciting the anger of the Jews. But, if the word means future punishment, then surely they might escape by being righteous and holy. On the other hand, when he addressed the unbelieving Jews, he uses language like the following:—'How can *ye* escape the damnation of gehenna?' Now, if gehenna meant a literal, temporal punishment, these Jews were in no danger of suffering it; for they were the ruling party, and of course would not condemn themselves to death by fire; and at the destruction of Jerusalem, the Roman armies did not burn any individuals outside of the city. According to your definition of the word, therefore, our Saviour threatened them with a pun-

ishment to which they were not exposed, and would never suffer.' On this quotation we remark,

1. You can do nothing against my views of gehenna, without your old misrepresentation,—*being burned in the valley of Hinnom*; for here it is again introduced. Now, if gehenna, and the 'damnation of gehenna,' meant the vengeance of God which was then coming on the Jewish nation, as I believe it did, how stands this case both with Christ's disciples and the unbelieving Jews? As to the disciples, there was no way for them to escape this vengeance but by continuing Christ's faithful disciples. Such of them as endured to the end should be saved from it. See Matt. xxiv. Embracing his religion, and being righteous and holy, was the only safety from this tremendous judgment of God on the Jewish nation. As to the unbelieving Jews, they had filled up the measure of their iniquity, and our Lord told them they could not escape this 'damnation of gehenna.' Were they, sir, in no danger of suffering this punishment? Could their being '*the ruling party*' save them from it? You will not say so. Why then, my dear sir, did you not state my views of gehenna to your readers? Why misrepresent them? But,

2. How, on your own views of gehenna, is my fact accounted for, that Christ should say so much about gehenna to his disciples, and so little to the unbelieving Jews. This fact is not touched. To use your own words, with a little addition, 'these unbelieving and persecuting Jews were in danger of future punishment from their very wickedness, and on this account ought to have had more said about it to them than the disciples.' But those who needed most of your '*elementary instruction*' receive the least of it. Do preachers now say most about hell or future punishment to the church? Do they say little about it to the wicked? There is no way, sir, to account for my fact, but on my views of gehenna punishment. But you say,

'6. Perhaps you will affirm that in all the places in which gehenna is used, the persons addressed are supposed to be acquainted with its meaning.' You add — 'This I readily grant.' You then say — 'When the word hell is now mentioned we uniformly understand fu-

ture misery. This was not the original meaning of the term by any means.' And after telling us, this was not its *exclusive* meaning when our English translation of the Bible was made, you observe — 'So it was with gehenna. It was originally used to mean the valley of Hinnom. But in the time of our Saviour it was generally understood to mean future punishment, as the word hell is now supposed to convey the same idea.' Here, sir, you very frankly confess, the words *hell* and *gehenna* have been changed from their original signification, and made to mean future punishment. But you do not risk your reputation in asserting, that this change of sense was by God's authority. No, this was too much for Mr. Whitman. And Unitarians would be the last people on earth, to receive a sense given by men to the words *atonement*, *logos*, and others, unauthorized by Scripture. Well, Universalists are the last people on earth, who will receive a sense given to gehenna which is unscriptural. Our object, sir, is, to ascertain the sense which the Scripture writers attached to their words, and reject all others given to them by Jews, or any one else.

But you risk your reputation in asserting — 'It was our Saviour's boldness in threatening the self-righteous Pharisees with misery beyond the grave, which so exasperated their anger and enmity.' Well, since you risk such an assertion on paper, I assert you are mistaken, and am willing to risk the whole controversy on the truth or falsehood of your assertion. Prove it, and the controversy is ended. Christ's disciples, had more occasion to be *exasperated* at him than the self-righteous Pharisees; for did you not tell us a moment ago, most of his discourses were addressed to them; and you admitted above, most of what he said about gehenna was to them. It was them, not the self-righteous Pharisees, he 'threatened with misery beyond the grave.' Once, and but once, did he say to the self-righteous Pharisees, 'How can ye escape the damnation of gehenna,' yet it produced little, if any exasperation of their enmity. Saints in our day, would soon get exasperated at their ministers, if they addressed them about hell or gehenna as our Lord did his disciples, and said but little about it to sinners.

‘7. Perhaps you will affirm, that if gehenna means future punishment, the Apostles never preached it to Jews or Gentiles.’ You say, — ‘I admit that they used not this word.’ No thanks to you for admitting this and other facts, for they are too palpable to be denied. You add, — ‘But it by no means follows, that the Apostles never preached future punishment.’ Perhaps not; but it follows, if they used not the word *gehenna*, they omitted using the word which you declared, p. 183, ‘was uniformly used by the Jews in the time of the Saviour, and in succeeding ages, to mean future punishment.’ Was not this a great and a strange omission? I find, you give us the following reasons for this omission: ‘Most of their discourses recorded in the book of Acts were not preached in Judea, where the meaning of the word could be easily understood. Besides, there were doubtless more or fewer proselytes and heathen in almost every congregation, and the inspired teachers were too wise to use a word which they knew even one of their hearers could not feel. Not only so. There was no dispute on the subject of future retribution, for all believed this doctrine. Other topics engrossed their attention.’ This is in substance the same you stated under the third and fourth particulars, and has been there answered. It is not correct, to say ‘there was no dispute on the subject of future retribution.’ The Pharisees and Sadducees were at variance on the subject. Besides, the wiser men among the heathen denied it, and laughed at tartarus or hell, by which the rabble were frightened. The Saviour found fault with the Sadducees for denying the doctrine of the resurrection; but he, nor no Apostle after him, found fault with them for denying your future retribution. To say, ‘other topics engrossed their attention,’ is a poor reason for neglecting to preach gehenna punishment. It is indirectly telling us, what you and others deem of the utmost importance, the Apostles said little about. Are preachers now content with simply *recognizing* the belief in future punishment? No, they can hardly find words strong enough to express it. You say,

‘8. Perhaps you will affirm, that gospel salvation is salvation from sin, and not salvation from gehenna.’ I

do affirm this, sir, and you admit I am even half right here. You say, — ‘The first part of your statement is correct, and the latter part incorrect.’ Well, let us see how you prove I am half incorrect, that gospel salvation is not ‘salvation from gehenna’ or ‘future punishment.’ You say, — ‘Sin and its consequences are the principal causes of misery in this world; and I believe they are the only causes of punishment in another existence.’ Well, I say in your own words, — ‘The first part of your statement is correct, and the latter part incorrect.’ In the latter part, you assume the question in debate, that there is ‘punishment in another existence.’ I do not allow you to assume this, for I am not a Restorationist. But until you have proved there is punishment in another existence, it is premature to conclude, ‘sin and its consequences are the only causes of it. And as you have never been in another existence, to know sin exists there, how do you know its consequences are felt there? And if sin and its consequences are ever to end, why should they not end with this state of existence, as well as in any future state of existence? If you know, sin and its consequences are to exist, and be the only causes of punishment in another existence, from the word of God, I say you mistake the meaning of the passages which you suppose teach this. No man, sir, ought to believe this on the authority of heathen opinions, or such passages interpreted by Jewish traditions. Nor ought we to believe it from your reasonings, on the principle of analogy; for, allow me the free use of this principle, and I can make the future state just what you please. You add, — ‘When a person therefore is free from sin and its consequences, he is saved from spiritual wretchedness.’ It is certain, sir, from facts, that no man ‘is free from sin and its consequences’ in this life; of course none are entirely free from this and other kinds of wretchedness. And if sin and its consequences do not end in this life, but are carried into another state of existence, the best saints are not free from wretchedness there. And if sin and its consequences are introduced into the next state of existence, what reason have we to hope they will end there, any more than in this state of existence? And, seeing God was

not pleased to free men from sin here, and save them from spiritual wretchedness, why should he do it in the next existence? And if evil men and seducers wax worse and worse here, why not also in the next existence? And so sin and spiritual wretchedness go on to increase to endless duration. But I must ask, Is it not more rational to conclude, sin and its consequences end in the same state of existence in which they began? If they do not end here, it will be difficult to tell when, or where they are to end.

But, you make some indirect references to the Scriptures, to show that gospel salvation is salvation from gehenna, or future punishment. You say, — 'Paul speaks of his converts being already saved, and on this account they would be hereafter saved from wrath or torment. Consequently, he plainly taught that salvation from sin would secure salvation from future misery.' By your own showing, when Paul speaks of his converts being *already saved*, he meant 'salvation from sin.' Well, you tell us, 'on this account they would be hereafter saved from wrath or torment.' But you leap to the conclusion, that *wrath* here means 'future misery,' which is too long a leap at once. Had you consulted Dr. Campbell on Matt. iii. 7, or most commentators, you might have seen '*wrath to come*' referred to the impending vengeance of God 'then coming on the Jewish nation. And this is expressly called *wrath*, 1 Thess. ii. 16. Luke xxi. 23. And '*the damnation of gehenna*,' Matt. xxiii. 33. Now, Paul's converts, yea, all Christ's disciples who continued steadfast, were saved from this wrath, this gehenna punishment.

You next make an indirect reference to the texts which speak of gehenna. But you take it for granted, gehenna means '*future wrath*.' This is assuming the whole question, in discussion. Christ warned his disciples against a gehenna. But did he warn them against '*future wrath*?' If he did, his apostles never warned Jews or Gentiles against such a gehenna punishment, as you have admitted above. Your reference to Heb. ii. 3, is not less unfortunate. The believing Hebrews could not escape, (a just recompense of reward, verse 2,) if they neglected so great salvation. Paul told them, chap.

x. 25, that they saw 'the day approaching,' when this just recompense would be rendered on the Jewish nation, and apostacy would involve them in perdition with the unbelieving part of their nation, verse 39.

But, you renew your reasonings and say, — 'Are not faith and repentance frequently mentioned as unalterable conditions of Christian salvation?' Salvation from what, sir? If faith and repentance are unalterable conditions of salvation from '*future wrath*,' then the whole heathen world, all infants dying in infancy, and nine tenths of the Christian world are not saved from it. You reason further, thus: 'Now, so long as sin exists, misery must continue, and even longer, as you can testify.' Well the question is, How long is sin to continue? for when it ceases, misery ceases, or soon after it. You add, 'So long as there are those whom Jesus has not saved from wickedness, so long there must be punishment.' I admit, sir, that 'so long as sin exists, misery must continue;' and this is granting you also, that if sin continues after death, misery will continue after it; for by your own showing, the existence of misery depends on the existence of sin. You think misery continues longer than sin, but how much longer you do not risk a conjecture. Well, do you even tell us how long sin is to exist? No. Nor do you tell us how long misery is to exist. What you wish to establish is, that sin and punishment exist in another world. Well, how do you make out this? You say — 'that many leave this world in an unsaved condition, you will not deny.' Well, suppose I admit this, — what then? Is this any evidence that they go on to exist, and sin, and suffer, in another existence? No, sir, this is taking the very things for granted, which must be proved. The dead know not anything; but you allege, they go on sinning and suffering after death, a doctrine which I cannot find in the Bible. I should like to know, in what part of the Bible I can find the doctrine of salvation from either sin or misery after death? Until you prove men sin after death, how can you prove they need salvation from it after death? And if they do not sin after death, they cannot be punished after death, unless you hold to the opinion, of punishment for the sins of this life in the next existence. But if you do, how do

you prove that punishment in our present existence, is not for sins committed in a pre-existence, and so introduce the doctrine of transmigration. You say, —

‘9. Perhaps you will affirm, that neither the Hebrew, Greek or English languages, had originally any name for a place of future punishment.’ This fact you seem to admit also. But it is not meeting it to assert, — ‘these tongues had originally no name for a place of future reward.’ Nor is it true, ‘that all the nations which have spoken these several languages have believed in both future rewards and punishments from time immemorial;’ for some Christians have confessed, that the doctrine of future punishment was not taught by God to the Jewish nation, but was learned from the heathen, etc. But I ask, Does the antiquity and universality of a doctrine make it true? Then Idolatry is true; Trinitarianism is true; and Unitarianism must be false. But you say, — ‘If our judges should condemn fifty pirates to be hung, and omit to name any place of execution, would this prove that the sentence would never be executed?’ I answer, No; and ask, if such judges omitted to name both the *place* of execution and the *sentence* to it, would such pirates be hung? You must answer, No. Well, I ask, where has God mentioned either the *place* of future punishment or the *sentence* of men to it? Produce your texts, where either of these things is taught? I am willing to yield you the whole question in debate, if you produce God’s *sentence* to future punishment, leaving the *place* of execution out of the question. You say, —

‘10. Perhaps you will affirm, that gehenna was originally used to mean the valley of Hinnom, and ask when its meaning changed to future punishment?’ You admit this fact, but say, — ‘The word paradise was originally used to denote an earthly garden. The word heaven was first employed to mean the space over our heads. When did their meaning change to a place or state of future happiness?’ I answer, sir, explicitly, — When for the first time, any sacred writer used them in this sense. And if you will show, that any sacred writer used *gehenna* to mean future punishment, the controversy is ended. But again, you say, — ‘When the English translation of the Bible was executed, the word *villain* was

applied to Paul and the other apostles. Its common meaning at that day was a servant. Can you tell me when it was changed to denote *a vile scoundrel*?' Well, as you refer to the original use of the word *villain*, that it did not mean *a vile scoundrel*, but a servant; so do I, that the word *gehenna* did not originally mean future punishment, but the valley of Hinnom, and figuratively for the vengeance of God on the nation of the Jews. You adopt precisely the same course with the word *villain*, which I do with the word *gehenna*, appeal to its original usage in the Scriptures. You justify the course I have pursued. You say, —

'11. Perhaps you will affirm, that if the Jewish meaning be given to *gehenna*, it will prove a material hell.' This objection of your own making, you deny, and say — 'This is one mode of infidel attack upon our religion. They say the Jewish writers describe God as possessed of human limbs, senses and passions, and therefore the God of the Bible is a material being.'

If the Jewish meaning of *gehenna*, sir, does not prove a local material hell of fire, how can words be selected to do this? They describe this hell and no other, as I have pointed out above. And has not a local hell of fire been believed in for ages? Some still believe in no other. But now you tell all good Christians, 'this is one mode of infidel attack upon our religion.' But will your *spiritual hell* shield 'our religion' from infidel attacks? No, sir; my views of *gehenna*, put an end to infidel attacks on *hell*, by removing this whole corruption of Christianity out of the way. Infidels, sir, are left without excuse; for the Bible says in plain language, 'God is a spirit.' But are they left inexcusable in regard to your hell? Does the Bible ever say — '*gehenna* is a spiritual punishment both in this world and the next existence, the torment of inimical and revengeful feelings?' The Bible describes no such hell as this; and no wonder men become infidels, when Mr. Whitman, of Waltham, abandons his Bible, and goes to the Jewish writers of antiquity, to prove a 'spiritual hell,' and behold they prove a literal hell of fire. He makes no attempt to show how their literal hell of fire is to be interpreted *spiritually* to suit his spiritual punishment. It is true 'we must have

sensible things to make ideas plain to uneducated minds ; but will Mr. Whitman affirm, his Jewish writers described a literal hell, to make a spiritual hell plain to such minds ? Will he be so kind as to show how we may *spiritualize* the Targum and Talmud hell ?

‘ 12. Perhaps you will affirm, that if I give to gehenna the meaning of future torment, I prefer the Targums to the books of the Old Testament.’ You deny this. But, how you can with any face deny it, is surprising. Let us see how you manage ? You say — ‘ I do not go to the Jewish writers and commentators for any religious doctrines or precepts ; or for their opinion on any article of Christian faith and practice. But to ascertain the meaning of a word is a purely philological question. And the only way in which this can be done in the present instance is by reference to the Targums and Talmuds. This every critic will tell you. This every man of candor must admit.’ What the *critics*, Campbell, Jahn, Stuart, Horne, and a writer of your own sect, have said about this, we have seen above. It is not true, that you do not go to the Jewish writers for any religious doctrine, any article of Christian faith ; for is not gehenna or hell punishment a very important article of Christian faith ? Is hell torment now no ‘ *religious doctrine* ? ’ Would you have gone to the Jewish writers had they been silent on this doctrine ? No. Why then say it is ‘ purely a philological question ? ’ Why did you not go to the Scriptures instead of the Targums ? Evidently, because they did not give the meaning to gehenna which suited your purpose. You say ‘ the Old Testament cannot give me satisfaction on this question. Why so ? Because the most modern writings in this book were composed about four hundred years before Christ. After this period the Hebrew language underwent many and great transformations.’ So, you tell infidels, the Old Testament is of no use in interpreting the New, because it is four hundred years older. Yea, you tell them, the sense of words in the Old Testament alter with the transformations of time and the traditions of men. Will this cure them of their infidelity ? No, sir ; it must confirm them in it, and increase their numbers. And well

may they smile at Mr. Whitman's hell, when he goes to the Targums and Talmuds to prove it.

But you say, — 'We have few if any Jewish writings of the period wanted except those I have consulted.' You had the writings of Philo, Josephus, and some of the Apocryphal books '*of the period wanted,*' but you did not consult them, and for reasons noticed above. The Talmuds are about as long after the days of the Saviour, as the books of the Old Testament were before; and for the same reason you reject the one, you ought also to reject the other. But if the sense of Scripture words, alter by lapse of time and the innovations of men, they must be wonderfully altered in sense in the nineteenth century. You have given us one fine specimen of these alterations; for gehenna now means, '*spiritual punishment of the wicked both in this world and the next existence, the torment of inimical and revengeful feelings.*' Is it any wonder, sir, men become infidels?

But you go on to tell us, 'the comparatively later Jewish writers use gehenna to denote future punishment in hundreds of instances,' and 'are good authority.' You say, 'they evidently ground their doctrines on the Targums, the early Rabbins and the Talmuds; for to all these they constantly refer.' You tell us further, 'you cannot suspect them of borrowing the signification of Hebrew words from Christian writers.' So you frankly confess, this doctrine about gehenna, is grounded 'on the Targums, the early Rabbins, and the Talmuds.' So we have suspected. Excuse me, sir, from deeming them authority.

You say, — 'The Old Testament in the Septuagint version furnishes no authority one way or the other; for the valley of Hinnom is always rendered in some other form of words.' But even this, sir, is not strictly true; for in Josh. xviii. 16, we have the word *gaihenna*, which is only a trifling difference in the spelling. But this very confession of yours shows, that when the Septuagint version was made, gehenna or the valley of Hinnom, did not mean future punishment. The translators found no such doctrine in the Hebrew Scriptures, and conveyed no such doctrine to posterity in their version.

You add, — 'Perhaps you will ask why great use is

not made of these Jewish writings in illustration of the Scriptures? They have indeed been used to great advantage. Look at Lightfoot, Wetstein, Schoettgen, and others, — the greatest names in biblical criticism, and you will never ask such a question a second time.' Ernesti, Basnage, and others above, condemn Lightfoot, etc. for using as they do the Jewish writers in interpreting the Scriptures. What modern critic does this? It is not common among Unitarians, so far as my knowledge of them extends. It is peculiar to Mr. Whitman, and even with him, on the subject of gehenna punishment. Dire necessity drove him to the Targums and Talmuds in this controversy.

I come now to your concluding paragraph. You say, — 'If you or any of your denomination are not satisfied with my conclusion, I ask you to appoint some well qualified person to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject: all the books are to be found in the library of Harvard University, which is open to all settled ministers within ten miles of Cambridge.' But there is no need of this, for did not you tell us, p. 165, that your investigation of the subject, is '*a thorough investigation.*' No one can doubt, but you have given us in, your book, the best evidence which Cambridge library could furnish. We have examined it, and the reader can judge if it supports your conclusion — that you 'have fairly proved the doctrine of future punishment from that class of passages in which the word gehenna occurs.' If you had, he could have found it out without your asserting it.

Conclusion. I have now finished what I have to say on your letter. I have quoted all your material statements, and replied to them; and I think you will confess, I have neither misunderstood or misrepresented you. Let our readers judge between us.

I am yours, respectfully, W. BALFOUR.

ERRATA.

Please correct the following as the most important errata. P. 17, 9th line, for *Kemchi's* read *Kimchi's*. P. 47, two last lines, dele comma after the words *Me-drasch* — *Pierch* — *Beraschith* and *Masse*. P. 54, 15th line from top, for *Apocraphy* read *Apocrypha*.

BOOKS PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

FOR SALE AT THE FOLLOWING STORES :

Marsh, Capen & Lyon—Baker & Alexander—R. P. & C. Williams—Munroe & Francis—Josiah Loring—B. B. Mussey—J. B. Dow, and at the Trumpet Office, Boston. Also, by the Author, Charlestown—and in the principal cities and towns in the Union.

1. His First Inquiry into the sense of the original terms rendered *Hell*, in the common version. In cloth, \$1.

2. His Reply to Sabine's Lectures on the Inquiry.—50 cents.*

3. His Second Inquiry into the doctrine of Scripture concerning the Devil and Satan, and the duration expressed by the terms *Oulm*, *Aion*, and *Aionios*, rendered everlasting, etc. Boards, \$1—in sheep, \$1.25.

4. Three Essays, on the Intermediate State of the Dead, the Resurrection from the Dead, and on the Greek terms rendered Judgment, Damned, Damnation, etc. With remarks on Mr. Hudson's Letters, etc. Boards, \$1—bound, \$1.25.

5. Letter to Dr. Allen, President of Bowdoin College, in reply to his Lecture on Universal Salvation, addressed to the Students of the College. 25 cents.*

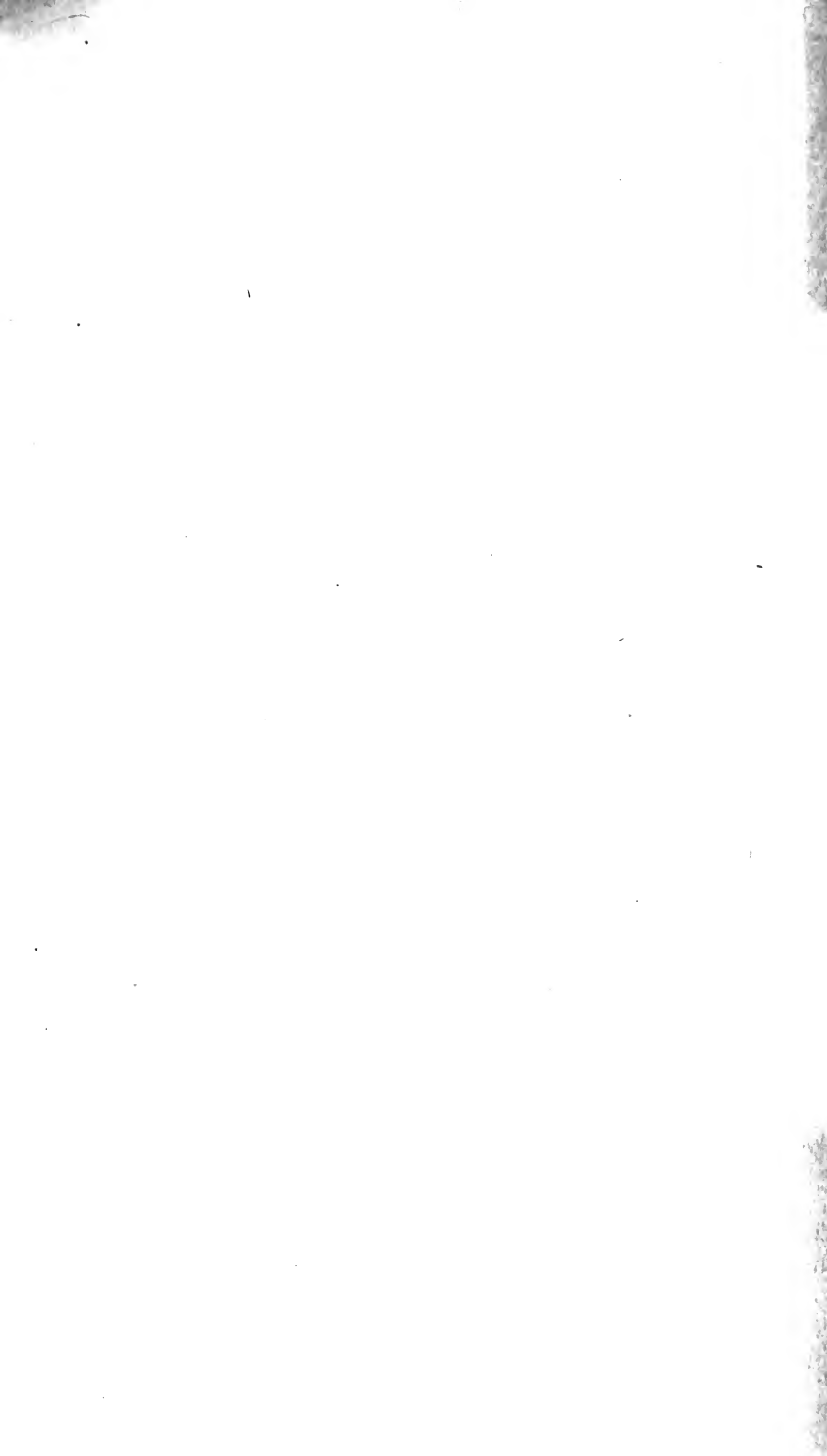
6. Letters on the Immortality of the Soul, the Intermediate State of the Dead, and a Future Retribution, in Reply to Mr. Charles Hudson, etc. Boards, \$1—bound, \$1.25.

7. Reply to Professor Stuart's Exegetical Essays. In cloth, 75 cents.*

8. Letters to Professor Stuart.

Orders for the above works, addressed to the Author, Charlestown, will be punctually and faithfully executed. One third discount will be made for Cash, and twenty per cent. allowed responsible persons, to sell on Commission.

* Very few of the works marked thus, remain on hand for sale.



Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: August 2005

PreservationTechnologies
A WORLD LEADER IN PAPER PRESERVATION

111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 014 652 177 0

