PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

Division R
Section A-1.99
No. A15
1882

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

https://archive.org/details/presbyterianrevi3101unse

THE

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

No. 10.—April, 1882.

I.

THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM.

THE Greek term *βασιλεία* signifies *dominion, rule, reign*, the exercise of kingly power. It signifies also a *kingdom, dominion, realm*, a people and country under kingly rule. The Greek word answers to the Latin *regnum*, which is also equally adapted to express the English terms, *reign* and *kingdom*. The first relates to the time or duration of the sovereignty; the second, to the place or country over which it extends. Though it sometimes signifies, in the Gospels, *reign*, yet it is always translated *kingdom*.

Three forms of expression are employed in the New Testament to designate the reign and spiritual kingdom of the Messiah. These forms of expression are *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ χριστοῦ*. All these forms of expression are considered to be synonymous. They all signify the kingdom of the Messiah.

The idea of the kingdom of God has its origin in the Old Testament, in which the coming of the Messiah and His triumphs are foretold. We cannot, therefore, adequately understand its import, unless we first trace its historical development in the Old Testament Scriptures.

The book of Genesis begins with the announcement that "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth" (i. 1). It states that He made man in His image, and gave him dominion over all the earth (v. 26); and Abram calls God "the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth" (xiv. 22). God, by the act of creation, is possessor of all things and universal sovereign. Moses in his sublime song (Ex. xv. 18), says, "the Lord shall reign for ever and ever."

But while the Scriptures of the Old Testament represent God as king over the earth and over the nations, He was the king of the children of Israel in a special sense. After He had brought them out of Egypt and overthrown the Egyptians in the Red Sea, He commanded Moses to

"Say to the house of Jacob and tell the children of Israel; ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth is mine, and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation (Ex. xix. 3–6). And all the people answered together and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do" (verse 8).

Here we have the origin of the theocratic kingdom which God established over Israel. Jehovah reigned over Israel in the same direct manner in which an earthly king reigns over his people. Israel was called to be a holy nation, that is, separated from the nations of the earth and consecrated to the service of God. They were a priestly nation, appointed to guard and preserve the divine revelations, and to mediate between God and the nations. They were God's first-born (Ex. iv. 22), and He raised them to the condition of a people possessing a filial relationship to Himself (Deut. xxx. 6, 18; Jer. xxxi. 9). To them "pertained the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises" (Rom. ix. 4).

Israel was a typical nation (Hos. xi. 1, compare Matt. ii. 15; Isa. xlii.) The law is "a shadow of good things to come" (Heb. x. 1). It was "our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ" (Gal. iii. 24). The theocracy was a type of the kingdom of the Messiah. The king of Israel was a theocratic king (2 Sam. vii. 12–16; Micah iv. 7; Luke i. 32).

This typical relation of the people of Israel and of their institutions to the Messiah and His kingdom, moulded the language and imagery of their prophets, when they prophesied of the coming, or Messianic age. They employed language appropriate to their own age and to the institutions under which they lived. This was natural and unavoidable; but it has been the fruitful source of many errors in the exposition of prophecy. The Jewish conceptions of the Messianic kingdom, founded upon their prophetic writings, led to the rejection of Christ. To the same source were due the secular views of the Apostles, relating to the kingdom of the Messiah, before their minds were enlightened by the Holy Spirit; and to the same principle of interpretation which led to these views of the Apostles, is owing the

expectation of many, in our own day, that Christ will come to establish a temporal kingdom upon earth.

Messianic prophecy did not originate with the Hebrew prophets. The first Messianic prediction was uttered by Jehovah himself, immediately after the fall of our first parents; and it forms what is called the *protevangelium* (Gen. iii. 15). This prediction is obscure; but its obscurity is partially removed in Gen. xlix. 10,* where the person of the Messiah is brought before us. In Num. xxiv. 17–19, Balaam sees a star coming out of Jacob, and a sceptre rising out of Israel. He beholds one coming out of Jacob "that shall have dominion." Here the prophet sees, in vision, the rise of an Israelitish kingdom in the form of an ideal king. In Deut. xviii. 15–19, we have the promise of a prophet like unto Moses.

Messianic prophecy was not, therefore, something wholly strange and absolutely new to the Hebrew people. It had a historical basis in the religion of antediluvian and patriarchal times, and was genetically connected with the hitherto existing consciousness of all believers. It had an organic genetic connection with the fundamental ideas of the patriarchal religion.

There are three ideas, the exclusive, it may be said, possession of the Israelitish nation, from which the Messianic knowledge of the Hebrew prophets principally sprang. These are the idea of *the covenant*, the idea of *the kingdom of God*, and that of *the theocracy*.† Our subject requires the consideration of only the second and third.

The idea of the kingdom of God is a fruitful germ of Messianic prophecy. That idea, as delineated in the Old Testament, is that Jehovah was the king of His people Israel; that His will was their law; that all the relations of His subjects to each other were regulated by Him; that every one was required, in obedience to His God and king, to hold them sacred. His kingdom was to be a kingdom of righteousness—a kingdom in which mercy and truth were to meet together; righteousness and peace to kiss each other (Ps. lxxxv. 10). As king, God was also Judge, administered justice and sustained the authority of law (Deut. x. 17, 18; Ps. lxxxix. 14; Ps. xcvi. 10; Ps. xcvii. 2). He was the protector of the poor and destitute. He rendered the wicked harmless by frustrating their plans (Job v. 13; Ps. vii. 14, 15, 16). In this kingdom deeds of violence were to cease; none should "hurt nor destroy" (Isa. xi. 9).

---

* The writer prefers the translation "Until Shiloh come." (See Hengstenberg's "Christology of the Old Testament," Sec. Ed., Vol. I., p. 69. Edinburgh, 1871.

† Riehm's "Messianic Prophecy," p. 33.

This kingdom was to be universal (Ps. lxxii.) "God is the king of all the earth" (Ps. xlvii. 7). To Him "every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear" (Isa. xlv. 23). "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it" (Isa. ii. 2).

This was the ideal of the kingdom of Jehovah in the minds of the Hebrew prophets. The reality was very different. How often do the prophets denounce the avariee, injustiee, and violence of rulers; and the bribery and corruption of judges. How often do the distressed and needy cry to God for help against their powerful oppressors. How frequently in that kingdom, whieh was to be a kingdom of righteousness, did the wieked possess the power and exereise it for unjust ends, and for the accomplishment of ambitious and selfish purposes. The kingdom was far from being a kingdom of righteousness and peaee.

There was another difference between the ideal and the reality. The kingdom was confined to the people of Israel, to the narrow limits of Canaan. Jehovah was not acknowledged by the nations around; He was the king of Israel only. Yet He was believed by the Israelite to be the only true God and the king of all nations. Here then we find the vital germ of the expeetation that the kingdom of God would find its eompletion in a universal monarehy embraeing all nations; and that its ideal character of righteousness and peace would be realized in the last days, when all nations shall eome and worship before the Lord; when "men shall be blessed in Him, and all nations shall eall Him blessed" (Ps. lxxii. 17; Ps. lxxxvi. 9).

The germ of Messianic propheey, in its more restrieted sense, was the theocratic kingdom.

What is the Old Testament idea of that kingdom?

There was no king over the people of Israel until the time of Saul. When it was proposed to make Gideon king, and to make the kingly authority hereditary in his family, he replied: "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: the Lord shall rule over you" (Judges viii. 22, 23). That was the idea of the State as founded by Moses. Jehovah was king of Israel, and all authority belonged to Him. But He was not a visible king. His throne had no earthly locality. There was no display of regal magnifieence and power before the eyes of the people. In the administration of His government over Israel, He made use of human instruments. He raised up Moses, Joshua, and the judges to be the leaders of His people; but they possessed neither supreme authority nor kingly rights. These belonged to Jehovah.

This state of things continued until the time of Samuel, who, in obedience to God's command, anointed Saul to be king over Israel, who, in the spirit of some of the present day, demanded a visible king that they might "be like all the nations" (1 Sam. viii. 19–20).

Saul ruled like an autocrat, and not as a theocratic king. He was rejected, and David, a man after God's own heart, was chosen (1 Sam. xiii. 14). David was the first theocratic king and a type of the Messiah (2 Sam. vii. 12–16). He is called the Lord's anointed (2 Sam. xix. 21; Ps. lxxxix. 20). He was God's representative, His vicegerent on earth. On the ground of this relation, God and the king are mentioned conjointly (Prov. xxiv. 21; Hos. iii. 5). To resist the Lord's anointed is to resist Jehovah (Ps. ii. 2). The king is said to "sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord," and "on the throne of the Lord" (1 Chron. xxviii. 5; xxix. 23).

The duties of the theocratic king were those of a vicegerent—to defend the kingdom against the attacks of its enemies, and to execute the commands of Jehovah with regard to the administration of the internal affairs of the kingdom. He was required to yield a willing and perfect obedience to Him who appointed him, and by whose authority he reigned.

Such was the ideal. The reality fell far short of it; for many of the theocratic kings were wicked men and unjust rulers. But the ideal furnishes the ground for the expectation that the theocratic king, who was the representative of Him who is king of all the earth, would one day possess unlimited authority; that he should "have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth" (Ps. lxxii. 8).

It has been already remarked that the typical relation of the people of Israel, and of their institutions to the Messiah and His kingdom, moulded the language and the imagery of their prophets, when they prophesied of the coming, or Messianic age. The future was imaged in the present and the past. The known was used to give shape and form to the unknown. Existing things were contemplated as types of things to come, though in the coming things there may be very great differences of a formal kind.

The prophetical writings furnish many illustrations of this.

Hosea (viii. 13), speaking of the Lord's purpose to visit the sins of Israel, says: "they shall return to Egypt." In chap. ix. 3, he says, "Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria": in chap. xi. 5, "he shall not return into the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his king." He shall return to Egypt, and he shall not return to Egypt. The meaning is that the things, which

he was about to suffer, were to be after the type of what his forefathers had experienced in their Egyptian bondage. The Egyptian condition was to return, though the locality and external circumstances were to differ.

Ezekiel, too (xx. 35), in his peculiar manner, predicts the return of the wilderness-state of the children of Israel; but calls it the "wilderness of the nations." This means that God's dealings with Israel should be of the same character with His treatment of them in the wilderness of Arabia; but not a literal and formal repetition of it.

Dr. Fairbairn remarks ("Typology," Vol. I., p. 86):

> "How much it is the native tendency of the mind to work in this manner, when itself endeavoring to descry the events of the future, is evident from the examples transmitted to us by the most cultivated minds of human divination. Thus the Pythoness in Virgil, when disclosing to Aeneas what he and his posterity might expect in Latium, speaks of it merely as a repetition of the scenes and experiences of former times."
>
> "Non Simois tibi, nec Xanthus, nec Dorica Castra
> Defuerint. Alius Latio jam partus Achilles,
> Natus et ipse dea.—ÆN. vi. 88–90."

Many other examples may be adduced from the Old Testament of this kind of prophecy. Take Isa. ii. 2, 3, in which the prophet represents the nations as flowing unto the "mountain of the Lord's house," and resorting "to the house of the God of Jacob" for instruction. Take also Zech. vi. 12, 13: "Behold the man whose name is the Branch; and he shall grow up out of his place; and he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne." Here the prophet takes occasion, from the building of the second temple in Jerusalem, in the time of Zerubbabel, to foretell a more glorious work in the future. Ezekiel predicts (xxxiv. 23, 24) the return of the person and times of David: "And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them." The same prophet (chap. xl.–xlviii.) gives, in terms appropriate to the Old Testament dispensation, a representation of the blessings of the coming dispensation of the Gospel. We would greatly err, if, in these chapters, we looked for an actual repetition of the past. It is the nature of the "ordinances and institutions, not their precise form that is unfolded to our view. The representation is of an ideal kind, and the history of the past merely supplies the mould into which it is cast." In the same class of prophecies we rank that of Malachi (chap. iv. 5, 6) concerning Elijah the prophet, which, our Saviour says, was fulfilled in the person of John the Baptist (Matt. xi. 10–14).

The same principle of interpretation is applied to the prophecies against Edom (Isa. xxxiv; Ob. 15; compare Isa. lxiii. 1). Edom is mentioned in these passages, as a representative of the enemies of the Church.

"This is manifestly," says Dr. Fairbairn ("Prophecy," p. 222), "the aspect presented of the matter in verse 15 of the prophecy of Obadiah; the fate of all the heathen is bound up with that of Edom; 'For the day of the Lord is near upon all the heathen; as thou (viz, Edom) hast done, it shall be done unto thee, thy reward shall return upon thine own head'—that is, in Edom, the quintessence of heathenism, all heathendom was to receive, as it were, its death blow."

The same writer remarks: "The same view is unfolded by Isaiah, in chap. xxxiv.; where all the nations of the earth are summoned together, because, it is said, 'the Lord's indignation was upon them all'; while still the fury to be poured out was to discharge its violence, and in a manner rests upon the land of Idumea. It is clear that the passage is throughout an ideal representation—clear from the very conjunction of all the heathen with Edom, and also the peculiar boldness of the images employed—such as the dissolving of the host of heaven, the sword of the Lord bathing itself in heaven, the mountains melting with blood, the turning of the streams into pitch, and the dust into brimstone. . . . . The ideal character of representation still further appears from the relation which Edom is represented as holding toward Israel, and which was such that the execution of judgment upon the one was to be the era of deliverance, joy, and blessing to the other—the era when the controversy of Zion should be settled, and everlasting prosperity be ushered in. So that the personification here employed respecting Edom, is entirely of a piece with that which identifies Jacob or Abram with the whole family of God, and connects the names of those patriarchs even with the final issues of the divine kingdom" (Gen. xxii. 18; Matt. viii. 11; Luke xvi. 22, etc.)

The prophets, we are inclined to think, never intended that these prophecies should be understood literally, that the typical things of their economy were to be repeated in a formal manner in Messianic times. They knew that they were speaking to people whose religious ideas were formed under the Mosaic institutions, and they adopted the forms of religious expression of that age. At the same time they gave plain intimation that the Mosaic ritualistic covenant should be succeeded by one of a spiritual worship (Jer. xxxi. 31–34; compare Heb. viii. 8–13, and John iv. 21–24). They looked upon the characteristic features of their dispensation—such as the earthly kingdom and the building of the temple on Mount Zion—as prophetic forms and symbols of things to come. They were shadows (Heb. x. 1), rudimentary institutions, incapable of accomplishing man's salvation, and pointing to a higher order of things. This higher order of things came when Christ set up His kingdom among men. This kingdom did not assume the aspect of something absolutely new; but it was the natural result and completion of the old dispensation.

We are now prepared to understand the meaning of the phrases *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ*

χριστοῦ. They are the modes of expression employed in the Gospels, to denote the New Testament form of the theocracy—the divine kingdom which our Lord Jesus Christ set up, and which is founded on His mediatorial work.

Before, and at the time of Christ's birth, there was a general expectation among the Jews of His advent. We find traces of it in the Gospels. When John the Baptist appeared, preaching the near approach of the kingdom of heaven, "the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or not" (Luke iii. 15). In order to ascertain this, a deputation of priests and Levites was sent to Him from Jerusalem (John i. 19). A similar demand was made of Christ himself (John x. 24; compare John vii. 26, 27, 31, 40–43). The devout Simeon was "waiting for the consolation of Israel" (Luke ii. 25). Paul speaks of the same expectation (Acts xxvi. 6, 7). We find also traces of this belief in some of the Apocryphal books (2 Esdras ii. 34–47).

This expectation was founded chiefly on the prophecies of the coming of Shiloh; the raising up of a Prophet like unto Moses (Deut. xviii. 15); the setting up of a kingdom by the God of heaven "in the days of these kings" (Dan. ii. 44); and on other prophecies, among which we may mention the seventy weeks of Daniel (Dan. ix. 25, 26). Here we have two notes of time. The fifth, or Messianic kingdom, was to be set up in the days of the kings, or kingdoms, symbolized by the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his night visions. The image was one symbolizing a succession of despotic monarchies; hence the prophet says with propriety, "in the days of these kings," though only one can be intended, unless we include the more immediate time of preparation for Messiah's coming. The other note of time is "that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks," etc. (Dan. ix. 25).

The Samaritans also expected the Messiah (John iv. 25).

The expectation of the Messiah was not confined to the Jews and the Samaritans: it was diffused throughout the East. Wise men came from the East to Jerusalem, saying, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" (Matt. ii. 1, 2).

Suetonius says (Vaspasian, chap. iv.), "Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur" [an old and constant opinion had spread over the whole east, that at that time some going forth from Judæa should obtain the empire of the world].

Tacitus relates that Christ, whom we acknowledge to be the Mes-

siah, was put to death as a criminal by Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa, in the reign of Tiberius. His words are: "Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat." He also mentions the opinion that prevailed throughout the East, in nearly the same words that have been already cited from Suetonius (Annal. 15 : 44 ; Hist. 5 : 13).

Virgil, who lived before the time of Suetonius and Tacitus, sings, on the authority of the Sibylline prophecies, of the approach of some illustrious personage in such strains as the following :

> "Jam nova progenies coelo demittitur alto.
> Cara Deûm soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum."
> —Ecl. iv. 7, 49.

In accordance with Old Testament prophecy, and in accordance with this general expectation, Christ came. Has He set up His kingdom? Was the New Testament form of theocracy fully established, when, after His resurrection, "He ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things"? (Eph. iv. 10). Did "the Lord God then give unto Him the throne of His father David"? (Luke i. 32).

For answers to these questions, we must depend upon the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles. Christ spoke much of the kingdom of heaven and claimed it to be His own.

The following points are plainly deducible from those passages of the New Testament Scriptures relating to the kingdom of heaven.

1. An order of things called "the kingdom of heaven," was "at hand," in the days of John the Baptist, and when our Saviour entered upon His ministry (Matt. iii. 2 ; iv. 17 ; x. 7 ; Mark i. 15). The fact of its being "at hand" was urged by John as a motive to repentance to the men of his generation. The phrase "is at hand" and the use made of that fact by John are both inconsistent with the view that the coming of that kingdom was removed centuries from the time of John and Christ, and that it is still future. Our Saviour commissioned His Apostles to preach that it "is at hand" (Matt. x. 7).

Observe the tense employed by John the Baptist and our Saviour. It is not the present which may be used to designate the proximate future ; but the perfect (ἤγγικεν), which "is employed in strict accordance with its proper import, whenever the past is to be put into relation with the present ; that is, when something past is intended to be represented as something just now (in the present) completed. The Perfect is used for the Present, only in so far as the Perfect denotes an action or state whose commencement and occasion were

completed in time past" (Winer's "Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament," pp. 270, 272, Andover, 1869).

The use of the perfect tense places the kingdom of heaven in continuity with the Old Testament theocracy.

2. Our Saviour plainly intimates that the kingdom of heaven had already begun, and that it was in existence in His time.

(*a*). Its coming had taken the Jews by surprise (ἔφθασεν) and found them unprepared (Matt. xii. 28).

(*b*). "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force" (Matt. xi. 12).

The view that this means that the kingdom of heaven is violently persecuted by its enemies, and that the violent take it from men, is inconsistent with the context, "which is evidently intended to explain the greatness of John, the contrast between the days of the Baptist and those of Christ, and the manifestation of the kingdom of heaven. The expression is evidently metaphorical, denoting the violent bursting forth of the kingdom of heaven, as the kernel of the ancient theocracy, through the husk of the Old Testament" (Lange's Com. on Matt. in loc.)

(*c*). "The kingdom of heaven shall be taken from you, and given unto a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof" (Matt. xxi. 43). The Jews forfeited, by their unbelief, the kingdom of heaven, and it was to be taken from them. When was this done? Was it not when their house was left desolate, when their temple, the centre of the Old Testament theocracy, was destroyed? If not, when was it fulfilled? or when will it be?

(*d*). Our Saviour speaks of the kingdom of heaven as a place, or condition, into which men were entering in His time (Matt. xxi. 31; xxiii. 13). In both instances the present tense is used—literally, are going in.

(*e*). It is spoken of as a present attainable possession: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness" (Matt. vi. 33).

(*f*). Christ gave to Peter, as the representative of the Apostles, "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xvi. 19), by which we understand primarily the opening of the door of the Church to Jews and Gentiles. The keys of an establishment imply its present existence. They certainly imply the existence of "the kingdom" in the time of Peter.

(*g*). The Apostle John says: "I, John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ" (Rev. i. 9). The Apostle was persecuted for

the cause of Christ, and was a companion of others in their tribulation, and a fellow-subject with them of Christ's kingdom on earth. It seems very forced to refer "kingdom" in this passage entirely to the future, and "tribulation and patience" to the time of John. The Apostle was referring to his present condition, not to a condition partly present and partly future.

(*h*). Our Saviour says: "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in His kingdom" (Matt. xvi. 28). Whatever these words may mean, there can be only one opinion respecting the time of their fulfilment. It was to be within the lifetime of some of those who were standing with our Saviour when He uttered them.

3. Christ lays down the fundamental laws of the kingdom of heaven, and exhibits its righteousness in its relation to that of the Old Testament theocracy. The kingdom of heaven is the fulfilment of the Old Testament theocracy: Christ came not "to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil" (Sermon on the Mount, Matt. chaps. v., vi., vii.)

4. Notice some of the characteristics of the kingdom of heaven. Some of the characteristics mentioned in the Gospels belong to it as an invisible spiritual state, or condition; and others belong to it as a visible organized society.

(*a*). It is invisible. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. The kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii. 20, 21).

This language is directly opposed to those who lay so much stress upon "a glorious visible advent of the Son of man." Is it necessary to the existence of the kingdom of heaven that its King should be visible? Jehovah was not visible under the Old Testament theocracy. Satan has a kingdom, yet he is invisible.

Verse 21 marks the antithesis between the external coming of the kingdom and its being already actually present.

(*b*). It is a spiritual kingdom. "My kingdom is not of this world" (John xviii. 36). "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xiv. 17).

(*c*). Its subjects are of a mixed character. (Parable of the tares, Matt. xiii. 24–30; and the parable of the net, vv. 47, 48).

(*d*). It grows from a small beginning to great dimensions (Parable of the mustard seed, Matt. xiii. 31, 32).

This characteristic renders it perfectly consistent to pray for its coming. The petition, "Thy kingdom come," is not, therefore, incompatible with its present existence.

(*e*). It has a pervading, transforming, intensive, dynamic power. (The parable of the leaven, Matt. xiii. 33).

5. Christ exercised His kingly power in establishing His kingdom, when He was upon the earth; and also after He ascended to the right hand of the Father.

(*a*). He wrought miracles, proving His control over the elements of nature, and over the spiritual world.

(*b*). He chose disciples whom He appointed to be officers in His kingdom, and gave them power to "heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, and cast out devils" (Matt. x. 8).

(*c*). Before His ascension, He said to His disciples: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations," etc. (Matt. xxviii. 18, 19). Here Christ asserts His kingly authority and exercises it.

(*d*). The effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost was also an exercise of kingly power. "Therefore," says Peter, "being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear" (Acts ii. 33). "Him hath God exalted with [or at] His right hand to be a prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins" (Acts v. 31). To "give repentance and forgiveness of sins" are kingly acts.

(*e*). The Apostle Paul says, when Christ "ascended up on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men" (Eph. iv. 8–11). He exercised kingly power.

(*f*). When God "raised him from the dead, He set him at his right hand in the heavenly *places*, far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and He put all things in subjection under His feet, and gave Him to be head over all things to the Church" (Eph. i. 20–22). This supreme authority was given to Christ at His ascension.

(*g*). When Christ ascended to the right hand of the Father, He took complete possession of and fully established His kingdom; and He has carried it on ever since by continuing the Church and the ministry, by His continual presence with them, and by still giving to men repentance and forgiveness of sins (Matt. xxviii. 20; Acts v. 31).

6. The kingdom of Christ, as now existing, is the true kingdom of His father David.

(*a*). It was predicted of the Prince of Peace, that "of the increase of His government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon His kingdom, to order it and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even forever" (Isa. ix. 7).

This prophecy, the angel announced to Mary, was to be fulfilled in her son Jesus. "And the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of his father David; and He shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of His kingdom there shall be no end" (Luke i. 31–33).

(*b*). Those who accompanied Christ from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem, cried: "Blessed be the kingdom of our father David, that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Mark xi. 10). "Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass. And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David. All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet" (Matt. xxi. 4–9).

(*c*). The Apostle Peter states explicitly that the promise of Messiah's succession to the throne of David was fulfilled, in the resurrection of Christ and His exaltation to the right hand of the Father (Acts ii. 29–36).

(*d*). Christ himself identifies His present kingdom with that of David. "And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth" (Rev. iii. 7; compare Isa. xxii. 22).

Pre-millennialists deny that Christ is now sitting on the throne of David; but admit that He will sit on it at some future time. Christ's resurrection, according to this view, was not a fulfilment of the prophecy of David, but it only prepared the way for the future fulfilment of it. God raised up Christ that the prediction of David *might be fulfilled* some time in the future. The apostle seems to have taken a different view of it. He says: "Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear"—He has exercised regal authority by sending down the Holy Spirit. And that Christ's exaltation to the right hand of the Father is His proper Lordship, Peter affirms, by saying: "Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ" (Acts ii. 33, 36).

That the kingdom of heaven is still future, is argued by pre-millennialists on the ground that some passages of Scripture represent it as synchronous with the second glorious advent of the Messiah. But its futurity brings these passages into direct conflict with others, which affirm that it has been already established, and which imply that it has a present existence. They cannot be reconciled, except

on the hypothesis that the sacred writers speak of the kingdom of heaven in its incipiency, progressive advancement in time and space, and final consummation in glory. The rider of the white horse, who goes forth, with bow and crown, conquering, and to conquer (Rev. vi. 2), is the same, who rides on a white horse, before the armies of heaven, on whose head are many crowns, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and whose vesture is dipped in blood (Rev. xix. 11–16).

That interpretation, which makes the establishment of the kingdom of heaven still future, destroys the continuity of Messianic prophecy; for having, by gradual disclosures, brought us to the first coming of the Messiah, it abruptly terminates, and does not resume the thread of its information, until Christ, the Second David, shall, according to the pre-millennarian view, reign literally, in Jerusalem, over the house of Israel restored to their land. It destroys not only the continuity of Messianic prophecy, but it destroys also its completeness; for it leaves out of view the rise and progress of the Christian Church. If the Christian Church is not the kingdom of the Messiah, what is it? It has laws and officers of Christ's own appointment; and He has promised to be with these officers, in the discharge of their duty, unto the end of the world (Matt. xxviii. 20).

Such an interpretation, moreover, divests Christ of the present possession and exercise of kingly power. The kingdom, it affirms, has not yet been given to Him; it is to be given to Him at a time still future. The Mediatorial offices of Christ are the prophetical, the priestly, and the kingly. Are these offices, in their operation, separable from one another? Is Christ discharging the functions of a prophet and of a priest, and not those of a king? The three offices have for their object the salvation of men; and in accomplishing that salvation, they are exercised inseparably. Christ has entered, as our great High Priest, "into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us" (Heb. ix. 24); and "He is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them" (Heb. vii. 25). As a Prophet, He illuminates the Church by His word; and by the Holy Spirit, whom He has sent, who speaks not of Himself, but receives from Christ, and communicates what He receives to us (John xvi. 7–14). As a king, He grants repentance and forgiveness of sins (Acts v. 31). The exercise of these offices is not visible to the eye of sense; for He is exalted at the right hand of God. There He sits king and priest "after the order of Melchizedek" (Ps. cx. 4).

The interpretation that the promise, "the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David" (Luke i. 32), will not be

fulfilled until the people of Israel are restored to the land of their forefathers, and constituted into a body politic under the personal and visible reign of Christ in the city of Jerusalem, is utterly at variance with the teaching of the New Testament and with that of the Old properly understood.

The Apostles did not promise to the Jews any national, spiritual, and ecclesiastical pre-eminence over the Gentiles. The uncircumcised Gentile was admitted into the kingdom of the Messiah on terms of perfect equality with the Jew. Salvation is promised to every one who believes in Christ, and Jew and Gentile alike share in that salvation through faith. Salvation through faith is the true blessing of Abraham; and the believing Gentile, though uncircumcised, is more truly the child of Abraham than the circumcised unbelieving Jew. "God," said John the Baptist to the Jews, "is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham" (Matt. iii. 9). Paul said to the Gentiles, "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise" (Gal. iii. 29). The Epistle to the Hebrews clearly teaches that the ecclesiastical system of the Jews has been done away; that the priesthood, sacrifice, and tabernacle of Aaron have been superseded by the priesthood, sacrifice, and tabernacle of Christ (Heb. ix.) Jesus "is our peace, who hath made both [Jews and Gentiles] one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; having abolished in His flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in Himself of twain one new man, so making peace" (Eph. ii. 14, 15).

These passages teach the perfect equality, both spiritual and ecclesiastical, between Jew and Gentile. "There is no difference; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon Him" (Rom. x. 12).

This equality will continue. The ritual wall of partition between Jew and Gentile will never be raised again. Many pre-millennarians assert that it will. We might ask such, as Paul asked the Galatians: "Are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" (Gal. iii. 3).

They found their expectation on Jeremiah xxxiii. 17, 18: "David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; neither shall the priests the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and to do sacrifice continually"; and on the xl.–xlvi. chapters of Ezekiel, which prescribe, with great minuteness of detail, the ordinances of the sanctuary. But the literal interpretation of these and similar prophecies involves us in conclusions contradictory to other passages of Scripture. Malachi says: "in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering" (i. 11). "The hour cometh, when ye shall

neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. . . . . The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth" (John iv. 21, 23). Isaiah throws open the temple to the Gentiles (ii. 23); Ezekiel excludes from it all who are "uncircumcised in flesh" (xliv. 9). Ezekiel confines the priesthood to the sons of Zadok (xliv. 15); Jeremiah extends it to all the priests of the tribe of Levi (xxxiii. 18); and Isaiah to strangers of the Gentiles (lxvi. 21).

It is a mere evasion to say that the animal sacrifices in the millennarian temple will be eucharistic and not expiatory; for Ezekiel speaks of trespass-offerings (xlvi. 20), sin-offerings (xlv. 17, 19, 23), offerings to reconcile (xlv. 20), offerings to cleanse (xlv. 18), and offerings to purge (xliii. 20, 26).

It is a still bolder evasion to urge the compatibility of the Mosaic ritual and worship with Gospel ordinances, from the occasional conformity of the Apostle Paul to the law of Moses. No writer of the New Testament teaches so fully and so clearly as he, the entire and perpetual abrogation of the Mosaic economy. Listen to his ringing words to the Galatians:

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law: ye are fallen from grace. For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love" (Gal. v. 1–6).

It has been already intimated that the first Messianic predictions are anterior to Mosaism. They promise a universal blessing (Gen. xii. 3; xxii. 18). The call of Abraham was a preparation for a system of Particularism, which, perfected by the agency of Moses, was intended to be a depository of divine revelation and a preparation for the coming of Christ. When He came this system of Particularism ended by divine limitation. In Him it attained its fulfilment. Particularism was abolished and the Universalism of the Patriarchal economy was restored. Christ founds a universal, spiritual kingdom, which admits no distinction between Jew and Gentile, but places them on an equality. Of this kingdom all who believe in Christ and obey Him are subjects. It is visibly represented by the Christian Church. Spiritually it is in the heart of every believer. It gradually extends its limits by a hidden and almighty power; and it will continue to extend them until it reaches "from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth." Then when God's purposes of salvation shall have been fulfilled, it will merge in the kingdom of glory.

CHARLES ELLIOTT.

II.

THE HOMILETICAL VALUE OF WORDSWORTH'S POETRY.*

THE criticisms which immediately followed the publication of the several volumes of Wordsworth's poems, read to-day, aid in confirming the cheerful faith, that criticism is impotent to destroy, or even seriously to impair, the influence of genius. It is difficult to believe that a man as great as Lord Jeffrey, characterized the "Excursion" as "a tissue of moral and devotional ravings," and added, "it is often difficult for the most skilful and attentive student to obtain a glimpse of the author's meaning, and altogether impossible for the ordinary reader to conjecture what he is about."† Lord Byron cordially hated Lord Jeffrey. They were at war with each other on many subjects. They were bitterly at war on the subject of poetry. But Byron's view of Wordsworth did not differ materially from that of Jeffrey. Two years after Jeffrey had published his criticism of the "Excursion" in the *Edinburgh Review*, Byron published a new edition of the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers"; in which the author of the "Ode on Immortality" is described, as one

> "Who, both by precept and example, shows
> That prose is verse, and verse is merely prose."

These quotations accurately express, as they aided largely to form, the popular opinion of Wordsworth at that time. How greatly this opinion changed, even before his death, may be inferred from a description of the scene at Oxford, when Wordsworth came forward to receive his honorary degree. "Scarcely had his name been pro-

---

* Poems of Wordsworth chosen and edited by Matthew Arnold. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, D.C.L., Poet Laureate, etc. 7 vols. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1854.

"Biographia Literaria; or, Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions." By Samuel Taylor Coleridge. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

† "Modern British Essayists," Francis Jeffrey, p. 459. D. Appleton & Co.

nounced than from three thousand voices at once, there broke forth a burst of applause, echoed and taken up again and again when it seemed about to die away, and that thrice repeated."* This was in 1839. From this date until his death, his poems maintained their popularity. But from his death onward their popularity waned. "I remember," Mr. Arnold writes in the preface of his "Selection of Wordsworth's Poems," (p. v.) "I remember hearing Lord Macaulay say after Wordsworth's death, when subscriptions were being collected to found a memorial of him, that ten years earlier more money could have been raised in Cambridge alone, to do honor to Wordsworth, than was now raised throughout all England." Within a few years the conviction has been deepening and spreading, that he has suffered undeserved neglect. Something like a Wordsworth revival has been attempted, not without success. To this revival Mr. Arnold three years since made a valuable contribution. He "disengaged" from the body of Wordsworth's works "those poems which show his power"; and declared his firm belief to be, that mentioning those poets only who are dead, "the poetical performance of Wordsworth is, after that of Shakespeare and Milton, undoubtedly the most considerable in our language from the Elizabethan age to the present time" (p. x).

Though we thus connect what we shall say with Mr. Arnold's preface, it is not our purpose to repeat the considerations by means of which he defends his opinion. We mention his paper, mainly because it attacks a large portion of Wordsworth's poetical product; and this the very portion most highly valued—we believe with justice—both by Wordsworth himself and by Coleridge. To this poetry, whose poetical character Mr. Arnold denies, our specific subject invites special attention. We have distinctly in view the function of the sacred orator: to whom we wish to commend Wordsworth's poetry, and to recommend a study of it, long enough and careful enough, to enable him to grasp Wordsworth's dominant and persistent motive and to imbibe his spirit. Such a study, not to mention at this point other reasons for urging it, would prove specially valuable to the preachers of to-day; because they preach in communities, in some degree under the influence of sceptical theories or habits of thought, and are tempted either to yield somewhat to this influence, or to oppose it with fierce pugnacity and by special arguments. The temptation to choose between these methods of preaching—alike if

* "Life, Letters, Lectures, and Addresses of F. W. Robertson," p. 820. Harper & Brothers.

not equally vicious—would, we believe, in all cases be seriously weakened, and in most cases be rendered innoxious, by the study which this paper recommends.

In one respect, we are fortunate in our particular subject. It does not involve a detailed criticism of any of Wordsworth's poems. It compels simply a notice of the bold and outstanding features of his poetic product, considered as a whole. And here, we may say in passing, that whatever interest this subject shall excite, ought to be deepened by the fact that Frederick Robertson was indebted more to Wordsworth than to any other English author, certainly than to any other poet, for what was best in him as a preacher. The sermons of Robertson have largely determined the spirit of the later preaching of the British and American pulpit. We may well ask, who inspired him? His biographer informs us, that

"During the beginning of his college life, the poets that seem most to have attracted him, were Coleridge and Shelley; but the more his thoughtfulness deepened, the more he gave to Wordsworth a veneration which increased as life wore on, and which gained additional depth from the respect which he felt for the poet's character."*

Poetry, it will be conceded by all who have reflected on this subject, should engage the special study of the orator. Between poetry and oratory there is indeed a striking difference; both in the instruments they employ and in the ends they seek. Poetry presents truth in forms addressed to the *imagination*, for the purpose of awakening *emotion*. Oratory presents truth in forms addressed to the *discursive faculty*, for the purpose of securing *action*. To awaken emotion is the end of poetry; to secure action is the end of oratory. But this wide difference is itself the basis of an alliance, by which each becomes the complement of the other in lofty speech. There is no great oration which does not owe its greatness largely to the poetic element it contains. There is no great poem that is not also eloquent.

This alliance, noticeable in all great poetry and eloquence, becomes absolute fusion when the poet or the orator is engaged on a spiritual theme. The cause of this fusion is plain. In the realm of spirit, emotion the end of poetry, and action the end of oratory, are one; indivisible and indistinguishable. The characteristic action of spirit is emotion; love or hate. This emotion is no involuntary and constitutional feeling like the feeling of remorse. It is self-determination and action, and may be, as it is, the theme of a commandment.† For

* "Life of F. W. Robertson," p. 37. Harper & Brothers.

† In the realm of spirit we must distinguish between active and direct feeling on the one hand, and passive and reflex feeling on the other. The former is personal and voluntary; the latter is constitutional and necessary. The spirit loves God. This love is active feel-

this reason it is always difficult and often impossible to separate the poetry from the eloquence of a literary product, composed for the purpose of awakening spiritual feeling. The synthesis of its poetic and its oratorical elements is not artistic, but vital, and therefore absolute.

Hence the oration, in proportion as it grows eloquent, assumes even the more formal traits of poetry; and the poem, in proportion to its reflective character, assumes the trait of oratory. It is said that those listening to Grattan were often surprised by finding themselves beating time to his rhythmical sentences; and to refer to an example more familiar to us in America it is obvious that—whether regard be had to its musical periods, or to those higher qualities by means of which it presents truth to the imagination, and by rendering it vivid, excites emotion—the peroration of Webster's reply to Hayne may accurately be described as poetry. Mr. Arnold tells us in his preface, that "if he is to tell the very truth, he finds the great ode not wholly free from something declamatory." It may be that he employs this language without precision and definiteness; and in very much the way in which as he tells us in "Literature and Dogma," the writers of the Bible employed language. "The language of the Bible," he says, "is literary, not scientific language; language thrown out at an object of consciousness not fully grasped." This phrase, "not wholly free from something declamatory," which Mr. Arnold "throws out" at the great ode, would seem to indicate that he believes that the poetry of the ode approaches eloquence. We are sure that it does, and that very closely, if indeed it is not eloquence itself.

But to see the consummate fusion of poetry and oratory, the preacher must go to those holy men of old who are his predecessors. The preacher of the New Testament Church is the successor, not of the priest, but of the prophet of the Old Testament. In the writings of the Hebrew prophets, we find abundant examples of poetry and oratory that are absolutely one. Space does not permit us to illustrate largely. But we cannot refrain from asking the question whether the fortieth chapter of Isaiah's prophecy is poetry or eloquence? Is it poetry and not eloquence? But what element of eloquence is want-

---

ing and personal determination or inclination. The reflex influence of this love on the person loving is the constitutional and necessary feeling of blessedness. Of this *active* feeling, it is true that it is both emotion and action, or rather the absolute union of the two in abiding self-determination. Here then the end of oratory (action) and the end of poetry (feeling) are one. The ends being one, the means (poetry and oratory) are not only similar, but indistinguishable. This we take to be the truth which lies at the basis of Wordsworth's contention, satirized by Byron, that the language of prose may be the lar guage of poetry.

ing, or what peculiar effect of eloquence on man does it fail in producing? Is it then eloquence and not poetry? But by what canon shall we deny it a place among poems? Where shall we find poetic elevation, poetic "heightening" of style, of language; or, where shall we find poetic imagery if not in its answer to the question, "to whom then will ye liken God, or what likeness will ye compare unto Him?"

Because the poet and the orator, in their inspired moments, are so strikingly alike, and because in the prophet they are in fact one, it behooves the orator to pore over the great poets; not indeed to find quotations that shall serve to patch his brief or pad his thin discourse, but to imbibe their spirit and glow with a kindred fervor. Mr. John Bright has for many years employed his annual season of retirement from public duties, in studying one of the greater poets of our mother tongue; and Mr. Gladstone has confessed that it is to Homer that he returns again and again for rest not only, but for inspiration.* The sacred orator may well follow the example set by these great living orators of the British Senate. If there is truth in the assertion that the pulpit is losing power, it must be due largely to the fact that lofty oratory is becoming a lost art. The art needs to be found. The sustained and glowing locution of the prophets and earlier preachers must be revived. It cannot be revived until the orators of the pulpit master the great poets of the world. The preacher can well afford to know far less than he does of current politics, and even of current Agnostic and Materialistic theories, if he will devote the time given to their study, to imbibing the spirit of the poets who lived above all current events, or pondered them in the light of the unseen and eternal. The human spirit and its profound needs and experiences abide the same amid all changes of governments and of scientific theories. It is because they addressed the abiding spirit in man, that the great poets are immortal; that Æschylus and Dante and Shakespeare and Milton will always be read. They interpret man to himself. This is also the first function of the preacher. He reveals the human spirit to the human spirit, and thus prepares the way for his declaration of the spiritual gospel.

Moreover, since the end of sacred oratory is spiritual activity (which,

* "Mr. Gladstone's long experience of the world has taught him the better to appreciate Homer's wonderful knowledge of human nature; the practical aspect of his poems, the deep moral and political lessons which they teach, become a far more true and living thing to the man of busy life, than they can ever be to the mere solitary student. And perhaps his familiarity with the purest and most ennobling source of inspiration may have had some effect in adorning Mr. Gladstone's oratory with more than one of its noblest features."—(Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., quoted in Smith's "Life of Gladstone," p. 227).

as we have seen, is also emotion, the end of poetry), the preacher stands nearer to the poet than does the secular orator. And the poet to whom he stands the nearest, with whose spirit and theme he most easily sympathizes, is not the objective and descriptive poet, rapt before the vision of material beauty, but the reflective poet who spends himself in the endeavor to interpret in imaginative forms the profound significance

"Of man, of nature, and of human life."

When, therefore, we say that the sacred orator should study closely the poets, we mean the poets of the spirit of man, the poets of the spirit's tragedy and longings, the spirit's trembling hope and dark despair; the poets who belong to all lands, all ages, and all literature, in that they interpret the underlying and substantial elements of humanity which constitute men one family, and leave to lesser and lower genius to sing the superficial and temporary differences that distinguish and divide men. These great reflective and ecumenical poets, the preacher ought to know—the author of the book of Job, David, Æschylus, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth. Each of these was thoroughly Hebrew, or Greek, or Italian, or English; but it is both their chief and their common glory, that they pierced the outer covering of national or individual peculiarities and addressed the human spirit.

In this careful study of reflective poetry, the sacred orator will do far better at first to bring his mind into contact with one great poet until he is imbued with his spirit, than to range superficially over the vast field of literature designated by that name. Anthologies are valuable to the mere reader who has in view simply enjoyment. But whoever would derive the whole good that the orator may obtain from the poet, must at first study intensively rather than extensively. This will involve selection. In selecting, he may well be guided largely by the age to which the poet belongs. For language and the forms of civilization change so rapidly, that the poets of the Elizabethan age, of the Commonwealth, and even of the age of Anne, are archaic. It is not easy to read them, so widely do their formal traits differ from those of the poets of our time. Wordsworth, on the other hand, may almost be said to have originated the forms of modern poetry; and he is distinctively modern in his view of man. He belongs to our age. He "came to himself" as a poet, under the inspiration of the French Revolution; the reformation by which the social order was subordinated to man. With this reformation he was from the first in full sympathy. His earliest poems therefore breathe the

modern spirit. We find ourselves at once *en rapport* with him. Of no other great reflective poet can this statement so emphatically be made. If, indeed, Wordsworth left his students content with his own poetry, this nearness to our times would not of itself entitle him to special study. But it is one of his great merits that he awakens a love of lofty poetry as such. His catholic spirit is caught by his disciples; and he thus conducts them to the great poets of all ages.

If the sacred orator, led by considerations like these, shall begin the earnest study of Wordsworth, he will find in his poetry distinct qualities, which give it great and peculiar homiletical value. These will be evident on a brief consideration of his theme and spirit, his philosophy and his style.

The theme of Wordsworth's poetry is man; and of man—and this is his spirit—he writes with the sympathy of a brother; never with the contempt of the cynic or the hatred of the misanthrope; never even with the indifference of the artist. This is the testimony of all his reviewers.

"Long ago," writes Mr Arnold, "in speaking of Homer, I said that the noble and profound application of ideas to life is the most essential part of poetic greatness. I said that a great poet receives his distinctive character of superiority from his application, under conditions immutably fixed by the laws of poetic beauty and poetic truth from his application, I say to his subject, whatever it may be, of the ideas 'on man, on nature, and on human life,' which he has acquired for himself. The line quoted is Wordsworth's own; and his superiority arises from his powerful use in his best pieces, his powerful application to his subject of ideas 'on man, on nature, and on human life'" (Preface, p. xiv.)

Mr. Arnold unfolds this remark in his own happy and striking manner. But he was by no means the first to make this statement. This is the feature on which both hostile and friendly critics fasten for censure or for praise. Prof. Wilson attacked Wordsworth as an enemy of religion on the ground of what he omits. But that he does not disagree with his friends as to his theme, is evident from his statement that "from the first line of the lyrical Ballads to the last of 'The Excursion,' Wordsworth's poetry is avowedly one system of thought and feeling, embracing his experiences of human life and his meditations on the moral government of this world. The human heart, the human soul is the haunt and main region of his song."* His close association with Wordsworth, and his own original and poetic mind gave Coleridge a better right than that which any other contemporary possessed, to speak of Wordsworth's subject and his treatment of it; and the testimony of Coleridge agrees with the testimony of both Arnold and Wilson. Writing of his friend's poetry

* "Modern British Essayists" (Wilson, p. 188).

in the "Biographia Literaria," he refers, among other traits, "to his meditative pathos; a union of subtle thought with sensibility; a sympathy with man as man; the sympathy indeed of a contemplator, rather than a fellow-sufferer or co-mate; but of a contemplator, from whose view no difference of rank conceals the sameness of the nature; no injuries of wind and weather, of toil, or even of ignorance, wholly obscure the human face divine. The superscription and image of the Creator still appear legible to him, under the dark lines with which guilt or calamity had cancelled or cross-barred it." *

Man then, without controversy, is Wordsworth's theme. Not man in his surroundings, except as these are the "properties" by which he is set off; not his secular or intellectual life; but man the responsible spirit,

> "Trailing clouds of glory as he comes
> From God, who is his home,"

is the subject that constitutes the whole body of Wordsworth's poetry an organism, and causes it to throb and glow with a common life. Nor does he contemplate man with mere artistic regard, which distinguished that consummate genius, Shakespeare.† He loves man with a profound spiritual affection; and this because of man's spiritual nature and his consequent unlimited possibilities of glory. He is not, indeed, a poet of the religious sentiment, like Herbert or Cowper. He is a poet of the human spirit; and there is little in the life of the human spirit that has escaped his searching and loving scrutiny.

We might well content ourselves with this testimony of Coleridge to Wordsworth's love of man as a spiritual being. But we add, as a striking and direct evidence of it, the fact that his muse almost utterly ignored the mere accessories of human life. One of the finest passages to be found in any modern fiction, is in the first chapter of

---

* "Biographia Literaria," p. 493.

† That Shakespeare, when writing his dramas, contemplated man chiefly with artistic regard, is, we think, conclusively proved by the perfection of his plays regarded as dramas. His intuition of man is almost absolutely accurate and universal. But he takes as much delight in Iago's as in Hamlet's action. This impartiality or indifference is exactly the feeling of the artist. Wordsworth's love of the spiritual man, and of the spiritual in man—in other words, his partisanship and partiality—prevented his becoming a dramatic artist. Byron was a partisan of another kind; and his dramas as such are failures. Shakespeare is the consummate dramatist, not more because of his wide and accurate, if not profound, intuition of man, than because he is the partisan neither of the good nor of the evil. He simply portrays men; or, rather, makes men portray themselves. His delight is in his varied exhibition; in the contrasts of high and low, good and bad, great and little, on one stage in one picture. The exhibition is unexampled. But Shakespeare's affection for his characters is the exhibitor's, that is, the artist's affection. This is not Wordsworth's, nor should it be the sacred orator's love of man.

Thackeray's novel of the reign of Queen Anne, "Henry Esmond." "The Muse of History," writes Esmond, "hath encumbered herself with ceremony as well as her Sister of the Theatre. She, too, wears the mask and the cothurnus, and speaks to measure. She, too, in our age, busies herself with the affairs only of kings; waiting obsequiously and stately, as if she were but a mistress of court ceremonies, and had nothing to do with the registering of the affairs of the common people. I wonder, shall History ever pull off her periwig and cease to be court ridden? Shall we see something of France and England, besides Versailles and Windsor? Why shall History go on kneeling to the end of time? I am for having her rise up off her knees, and take up a natural posture; not to be forever performing cringes and congees like a court-chamberlain, and shuffling backward out of doors in the presence of the sovereign." The muse of poetry, during this period, was encumbered, as well as her sisters of the drama and history. Literary rewards were dispensed, largely by the patronage of the socially and politically great. There was little hope for the poet of man, when Addison owed his preferment to his fulsome eulogy of Marlborough, in "The Battle of Blenheim"; of which poem Thackeray makes Esmond say, "Many a fourth form boy of Mr. Addison's school of Charter-house could write as well as that now." The great reflective poem of the age was Pope's "Essay on Man"; and this is simply a system of morality, derived from Locke, modified by Bolingbroke, and done into heroic measure. The "Essay on Man" is undoubtedly a great literary product; but it may well be doubted whether it is poetry.

The influence of the poetry of the reign of Anne on the poetry of the reigns immediately succeeding it was in a high degree pernicious. The thirty years preceding the year 1780, according to Lord Macaulay,

"form the most deplorable part of English literary history. They have bequeathed to us," he goes on to say, "scarcely any poetry that deserves to be remembered. Two or three hundred lines of Gray, twice as many of Goldsmith, a few stanzas of Beattie and Collins, a few strophes of Mason, and a few clever prologues and satires were the masterpieces of this age. They may all be printed in one volume, and that volume would be by no means a volume of extraordinary merit. It would contain no poetry of the highest class, and little which could be placed very high in the second class."*

* Lord Macaulay makes this statement in his review of Moore's life of Byron. The statement is perhaps undeservedly harsh. Mr. Palgrave, whose large knowledge and critical discernment have enabled him to accomplish the difficult task of compiling a satisfactory anthology of English Lyrics, whose opinion therefore is entitled to great respect, feels for the poetry of this period, by no means the contempt to which Macaulay gives such vigorous expression. He refuses to call it "artificial." But he evidently regards the poetry of the eighteenth century as far below both that of the

Poetry like this could not long satisfy a people from among whom had sprung Shakespeare and Milton. A change was demanded in poetic themes and in their treatment. This demand synchronized with the first mutterings of the French Revolution; the revolution, which, with all its horrors, and even by means of them, called attention to the wants and hopes and woes and longings and spiritual possibilities of man, as distinct from king or subject, noble or commoner. The demand was made, not formally, but spiritually, by the pervasive spirit of the age; that the muse of poetry, to quote again the words of Henry Esmond, should no longer "be forever performing cringes and congees, like a court-chamberlain, and shuffling backward out of doors in the presence of the sovereign."

Of the great English poets who obeyed the voice of this potent spirit, Robert Southey was chronologically the first. But though first in time, he was far from first in poetical genius; and, because he wrote too much, was not even second in poetical performance. The greatest of these English poets was William Wordsworth. He also heard the call. He obeyed it with the heroism of a missionary; against the invective, and, what was worse, at times the neglect of the reviewers. Against all this he persisted in fulfilling his conscious mission, to write of man as man, and apart from all accessories. For this he lived in great simplicity among the pastoral people of the Lake Country. He would not be moved from among them, because

---

seventeenth and that of the nineteenth. He says that the tendency, which led poets to expend their power in portraying "the aspects of courtly or educated life, represented by Pope, was carried to exhaustion by his followers." The poetry of Collins and Gray he calls the "Poetry of Nature and Man, viewed through a cultivated, and, at the same time, an impassioned frame of mind."

It may serve to illustrate the influence on his poetry of the "cultivation," which tempered Gray's "passion," to follow Coleridge in setting side by side a bold metaphor of Shakespeare, and the metaphor as employed by Gray in "The Bard." A comparison of the two extracts will also throw light on Wordsworth's impatience of what he called "poetic diction."

"How like a younker or a prodigal,
The scarfed bark puts from her native bay
Hugged and embraced by the strumpet wind!
How like a prodigal doth she return,
With over-weather'd ribs and ragged sails,
Lean, rent, and beggar'd by the strumpet wind!"
—*Merch. of Venice. Act II., Sc.* 6.

"Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
Youth at the prow and pleasure at the helm;
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
Which hushed in dim repose, expects its evening prey."—*The Bard.*

he would not be disturbed by the conventionalities of the city, in his loving study of man, as related to God and nature. He wrote poems of common men and women; of common life; and of the more familiar scenes and objects of nature. He found heroes and heroines in his humble neighbors; Ruth and Margaret and the mother of the Idiot Boy. The beauties of nature that he celebrated, are those that he discerned during his walks:

> "A primrose by the water's brim."
> "A crowd of shining daffodils,"

a storm that he saw gathering while standing at the door of his cottage. To him

> "The meanest flower that blows, could give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

This was the first impression that he made on Coleridge. While the reviewers were "writing him down," while the wits of "Maga" were finding food for sport, on an "Ambrosial night," in the Ode on Immortality—Coleridge was receiving the impression, which a closer acquaintance deepened, and which he afterward recorded. Speaking of what it was that first awakened his admiration of Wordsworth, he says, "It was the union of deep feeling with profound thought; the fine balance of truth, in observing, with the imaginative faculty in modifying the objects observed; and above all, the original gift of spreading the tone, the atmosphere, and with it the height and depth of the ideal world, around forms, incidents, and situations, of which, for the common view, custom had bedimmed all the lustre, had dried up all the sparkle and the dew-drop."*

The close affinity between the sacred orator, and the poet whose theme is the human spirit and whose predominant emotion toward man is sympathetic affection, is obvious upon its statement. For the theme and spirit of the sacred orator and of such a poet are one. Indeed one, at least, of the functions of the former cannot better be described than in the very words employed by Coleridge to designate Wordsworth's pre-eminent and original gift—"the original gift of spreading the tone, the atmosphere, and, with it, the height and depth of the ideal world, around forms, incidents, and situations, of which, for the common view, custom had bedimmed all the lustre, had dried up all the sparkle and the dew-drop." We but paraphrase the words of Coleridge, when we say, what will not be denied, that, as preparatory to the declaration of the Gospel, and as only second in

* "Biographia Literaria," p. 201.

importance to that declaration, it is the function of the sacred orator to exhibit the ideal, the spiritual significance of common duties, joys, and trials; and so, to awaken men's consciousness of their spiritual being and to produce the conviction of their spiritual destiny. The value, to the preacher, of such a poet is limited only by the limitations of the latter's poetic genius. The limitations of the genius of Wordsworth we shall not now discuss. But if the estimate of both Coleridge and Arnold may be taken as correct; that is, if his poetic product is below only those of Shakespeare and Milton, his distinctive spirit renders him more valuable to the sacred orator than even Shakespeare himself. In all that preparatory preaching, by which, awakening the consciousness of a spiritual nature, he draws his hearer toward the One, in whom alone all spiritual longing is satisfied; Wordsworth, among all the great English reflective poets, is best fitted, by the union of theme and spirit, both to inspire and to inform the sacred orator.

But it is not only his theme and spirit that give homiletical value to Wordsworth's poetry. That value derives a special quality from the philosophy which pervades his entire literary product. Mr. Arnold writes at some length, and in a vein of delicate and playful satire, of those "fervent Wordsworthians," who, like Mr. Leslie Stephen, value Wordsworth "because his philosophy is sound; because his ethical system is as distinctive and as capable of exposition as Bishop Butler's"; because "his poetry is informed by ideas, which fall spontaneously into a scientific system of thought." Mr. Arnold has never professed to hold in high esteem the formulas of either philosophy or theology. He announces the thesis, as one prepared to defend it, that "poetry is the reality; philosophy the illusion." Still he acknowledges the existence of Wordsworth's "formal philosophy": and we are glad to refer to so eminent a name, as authority for the statement, that the poetry of Wordsworth is highly charged with that spiritual philosophy of which Plato was the apostle in Ancient Greece, and Coleridge was the apostle in Modern England.

The remark has often been made, and in a large way is true, though it is somewhat unjust to Aristotle, that differ as men may on minor points, there are at last but two schools of philosophy: those of Aristotle and of Plato.* It were better, perhaps, to call them tendencies or drifts. The history of philosophy is largely a history of the conflicts and compromises between these two tendencies. Men have been driven by them into the extremes, now of philosophic

* Shield's "Final Philosophy," p. 539. Hamilton's "Metaphysics," p. 75.

scepticism and now of philosophic credulity. On the one hand, the world has been asked to believe in "Nescience," "Relativity of knowledge," "Positivism," or "Agnosticism." On the other, the world has been asked to "assist," in the next lecture, at the creation of God; or to assent to the process, by which the Absolute and the Nothing are resolved into the same idea. When one or the other of these drifts has landed men into one or the other of these extremes, it has expended all its power. "The force of nature can no further go." Men thus disprove their own systems, to the satisfaction of reasonable men, by a process not unlike *reductio ad absurdum.*

Of these two tendencies, the sceptical or Aristotelian has commonly attended the despair of men, when suffering under political tyranny. This was the case just before the French Revolution. Sceptical philosophy was dominant on the Continent and in Britain. We say the sceptical philosophy; we mean the sceptical drift. To speak only of England, it were difficult to exaggerate the hold on the English mind, possessed by Locke's formula, "There is nothing in the intellect which was not beforehand in the senses." From Locke's formula to Hume's nescience was an easy descent; and it thus occurred that just before that great social upheaval, the French Revolution, scepticism, nescience, pyrrhonism—call it what we will—was in England in the ascendant. Then came the political revolution; and with it new hope for man; and with the new hope a new philosophy, a revival of belief in man and spiritual truth, a revival of Platonism. Happily for us the apostle of this philosophic revival in Great Britain was a man not only of profound and original intellect, but also of profound religious experience—Samuel Taylor Coleridge. To his intellectual force, his conservatism, and his religion, it is largely due that English philosophy and literature escaped the vagaries of extreme transcendental thought. His Platonism was expounded and defended by himself as a distinctly Christian philosophy.

The philosophy of Coleridge has been criticised on many grounds by those who, like himself, have defended fundamental truth, and have proclaimed the gospel of spiritual reality. We express no opinion here as to the value of some of his distinctions, as that between the reason and the understanding. It may be true that, as the school of Scottish realism believes, his rich and fertile imagination endowed his metaphysics with imaginative rather than with real wealth. Or it may be that Coleridgians are right in retorting upon their North British allies, that the metaphysics of the latter is too meagre. But the irenic student will not attach too much importance to these differences of detail. He will note the alliance rather than the oppo-

sition, and will emphasize the great fact that both are engaged in defending the trustworthiness of the intuitions.

This intuitional philosophy is, we believe, at this very time, surely defeating the scepticism, which, whether as materialism or agnosticism, so lately announced the destruction of spiritual beliefs. Signs are abundant that the term of the dominion of this scepticism is fast approaching. Nor will it be difficult for the pulpit to complete the defeat which the intuitional philosophy has begun to achieve. For this great work, the pulpit can find no better weapons than this philosophy itself furnishes.

This spiritual philosophy, that discerns the spirit in man, that affirms his accountability, his childhood of God, and his capacity for fellowship with God, that fixes a great gulf which cannot be passed between brute and man, and that predisposes us to believe that man will one day hold communion with the Father and with the Son; this philosophy saturates the poetry of Wordsworth. It may be seen as well in the Lyrical Ballads, and the Sonnets, as in the Prelude, the Excursion, and the great Ode; in the last of which the poet revels in his delight in the intimations of man's immortality, and in the very child's perception of

> "Truths that wake
> To perish never;
> Which neither listlessness nor mad endeavor,
> Nor man nor boy
> Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
> Can utterly abolish or destroy."

But while it pervades the whole body of Wordsworth's poetry, it is not there in scientific formulas. It is there as the animating, the formative spirit. It is the presupposed but unformulated premise, the primal postulate of all his poetic teaching. He employs it, just as the preacher should employ it, not as a conclusion reached by logical processes, but as the introduction to all high religious discourse.

But it is time to notice the literary quality and traits of Wordsworth's poetry, which specially commend it to the sacred orator. Mr. Arnold, quoting with approval a remark made by Wordsworth, namely, "Goethe's poetry was not inevitable enough," adds: "Wordsworth's poetry, when he is at his best, is as inevitable as nature herself. It might seem that nature not only gave him the matter for the poem, but wrote the poem itself." Wordsworth's "plain manner" in his "best poetry," Mr. Arnold declares to be "unique and unmatchable. His expression may be often called bald, but it is bald as the bare mountain-tops are bald, with a baldness

that is full of grandeur." This is superlative praise. It is his recognition of the great literary value of "his best poetry" that has led Mr. Arnold to place Wordsworth almost beside Shakespeare and Milton. His assertion that "it might seem that nature not only gave him the matter for his poem, but wrote the poem for him," or, as he repeats it, "Nature herself seems to take the pen out of his hand and to write for him with her own bare, sheer, penetrating power"—this assertion recalls Wordsworth's own remark, that "language is not so much the dress of thought as its *incarnation*." In point of fact, Mr. Arnold's eulogy is simply a periphrastic mode of saying, that Wordsworth's supreme literary excellence is this: that his language not only expresses and conveys, but *incarnates* his thought. This is almost an ideal employment of language, and the resultant style almost an ideal style. A literary product in which thought thus incarnates itself is not only life-like, but living.* Its "thoughts breathe" and its "words burn."

---

* We use the phrase, "a literary product in which thought incarnates itself," because, in a style naturally formed, thought is the *active agent;* and language is the plastic material which it instinctively seeks out, and moulds for its most intimate and expressive habitation. So Wordsworth's thought (for it is eminently true of his poetry, that it began in thought and not in expression), burst the prison-house of the "heroic couplet" and the "poetic diction," in which custom would have confined it; not, however, that it "might be unclothed, but clothed upon." It is perhaps impossible to find on earth an analogue of that "spiritual body," which will at last supersede the body of flesh and blood, that at present as often conceals as it reveals the spirit. But one may well look for it, if anywhere, in great poetry; as of Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth; in which thought is embodied so perfectly, that we recognize the incarnation as ultimate; and say, as by intuition, "these words will never die. This body will not dissolve. It needs no resurrection."

It is the fact that the incarnation of thought is consummate, that enables us so easily to remember and repeat great poetry. This ease in remembering is not due merely or chiefly to the happy collocation of words. For words themselves, however rhythmical, are not easily remembered, as all know who have studied the Greek verb. But thought is easily remembered. And when a great thought has found its perfect embodiment in language. the language will abide in the mind together, and almost as consubstantial with the thought.

The whole subject of "the Relation of Thought to Language and Style" should be carefully studied by the sacred orator. For no one else is so often called on to exemplify that relation in lofty discourse. The study of Wordsworth's reflective poetry might well be commended on this ground alone. But the preacher will do well to go deeper, and instruct himself in the philosophy of the subject. In thus instructing himself, he will find great aid in Dr. Shedd's profound and luminous paper with this title, published in his "Literary Essays." In addition to its other merits, that paper is itself a noble example of the view which it defends; the view, namely, that the mind by deep thought must have effected a living union between thought and language, "before it can speak *out* (*e loquor*) the given topic in a grand, impressive style which, while it is weighty and solid, also dilates and thrills and glows with the living verity."

Thought forming for itself a body out of language: this is the genesis of style. The process is vital and dynamic. Language confining thought in predetermined forms, whether of prose or of poetry, whether couplet, epigram, or antithesis: this is the

Mr. Arnold has undoubtedly seized the fundamental literary quality of Wordsworth's poetry. But he is conspicuously in error, in limiting his eulogy to what *he* calls "his best poetry"; and in reserving for satire, largely on the ground of the absence of this high quality, that portion of Wordsworth's poetry in which he "unites poetry and philosophy." Mr. Arnold's error we believe to be due to his habitual failure to distinguish two things in themselves very different: the emotion that follows upon the poetic representation of the sublime or beautiful of *nature*, and the emotion that follows the poetic presentation of the sublime or the beautiful of *truth*. The former emotion is not wholly relieved of its sensuous element. It is still allied, however refined, to passion, and is therefore physically exciting.* The other emotion is purely spiritual. It is, however profound, without passion or physical excitement. It is emotion of the very kind that we can predicate of the spiritual Deity who, while he loves and hates, is also the impassable God. Mr. Arnold's failure to appreciate the depth, or even, it would seem, the reality of purely spiritual emotion, constitutes him an incompetent critic of Wordsworth. Poetry, to secure Mr. Arnold's praise, must provoke sensuous excitement. He is simply an artist. Delicate and refined as are his æsthetic perceptions and his artistic tastes—because their refinement constitutes his consummate culture—he must fail in estimating any poetry which evokes only spiritual emotion. Had the son of Thomas Arnold cultivated his spiritual nature with the assiduity that his father brought to that culture, or with the care with which he has cultivated his æsthetic nature, he would have escaped both the error he committed, when attempting to formulate the Hebrew conception of Deity, and the error he has committed in placing Wordsworth's poetry of nature above Wordsworth's philosophic poetry.

For the fact that this philosophic poetry does not call forth the

---

genesis of mannerism. The process is mechanical manipulation of dead matter. Labor of this latter kind is unworthy of the orator; certainly of the sacred orator. But let him not underrate the value of *style*. To quote the concluding words of Dr. Shedd's paper: "Style, when having this mental and natural origin, is to be put in the first class of fine forms. It is the form of thought; and as a piece of art, is as worthy of study and admiration, as those glorious material forms which embody the ideas of Phidias, Michael Angelo, and Raphael. It is the form in which the human mind manifests its freest, purest, and most mysterious activity—its thinking. There is nothing mechanical in its origin or stale in its nature. It is plastic and fresh as the immortal energy of which it is the air and bearing."

* The subject of the intimate relation between æsthetic emotion and physical excitement, is finely, if briefly, treated by Isaac Taylor in one of the papers in *Saturday Evening*, entitled the "Dissolution of Human Nature." A thorough knowledge of this intimate relation would serve to correct not a few of the mistakes that are made with respect to the relations of Fine-Art and Christian Worship.

sensuous excitement awakened by poems of nature, cannot be used to prove the absence of the supreme literary merit which Mr. Arnold attributes to Wordsworth's best poetry; the merit, namely, of exact incarnation of thought in language. We venture to assert that never is the relation between Wordsworth's language and Wordsworth's thought so intimate and vital, never does his theme so formulate and vitalize his poetic style, as when he is employed on what Mr. Arnold would call "a philosophic theme." One needs only to turn for proof to the ninth strophe of the Ode of Immortality, at once the most profoundly philosophic passage of the poem, and the passage whose language is, above that of all the others, tremulous with the life of the lofty theme.

That Wordsworth united abstract philosophic thought with vivid poetic expression, not rhetorically, but vitally, by a real incarnation, we take to be his greatest literary achievement. To embody, in poetic forms, the aspects of nature or of the external life of men, and to give exalted expression to the feelings they evoke, is to employ one's self wholly in the realm of the outward and temporary. This is not the final triumph of poetic genius. But to give *truly poetic* (*imaginative*) *expression to philosophic thought*—this is to make the invisible visible.* Pope failed in the attempt; for he sacrificed

* Mr. Arnold, in order to make out his case against Wordsworth's philosophic, or, as we prefer to call it, reflective poetry, quotes from the "Excursion" the following lines:

> "Duty exists; immutably survive
> For our support, the measures and the forms
> Which an abstract intelligence supplies,
> Whose kingdom is, where time and space are not."

He adds, "The Wordsworthian is delighted, and thinks that here is a sweet union of philosophy and poetry. But the disinterested lover of poetry will feel that the lines carry us really not a step farther than the proposition which they would interpret; that they are a tissue of elevated but abstract verbiage, alien to the very nature of poetry" (p. 19).

On which we remark, that Mr. Arnold's quotation is unfairly made. He has violently wrested these lines from a passage, the poetical character and merit of any part of which can be determined, only after reading it where Wordsworth placed it. Indeed Mr. Arnold has not quoted an entire sentence. No one knows better than he ought to know, how great is the injustice that he has done to Wordsworth, in asking judgment from an æsthetic point of view, on an amputated limb. A feature of the face, however beautiful when seen in place, can scarcely be expected to reveal its beauty when cut out or cut off. Had he given his readers the entire sentence, he would not have been so unfair to the poet. But his remarks would have lost most, if not all of their apparent pertinence. In proof of this we quote the entire sentence:

> "Possessions vanish, and opinions change,
> And passions hold a fluctuating seat;
> But, by the storms of circumstance unshaken
> And subject neither to eclipse nor wane,

the poetic to the philosophic style. He announced truth discursively; not in imaginative forms. Indeed, the "Essay on Man" is simply an argument in verse. Neither Pope's literary genius, nor his temperament, nor his spiritual life was such as to make him equal to the achievement, we will not say, of writing philosophy, but of writing philosophic poetry. It required a profounder spiritual nature, a calmer temperament, and a far higher literary quality than Pope possessed. These Wordsworth possessed. His intuition of first truths, "Truths that wake to perish never," was profound and rapid. So unmoved by passion as to seem cold to his nearest friends, he was always under the sway of calm, but strong and profound spiritual emotions; while language and poetic imagery were as plastic to him as clay to Angelo. Never so possessed by his theme as not to possess it, never so excited as to be unable genially to employ all his powers and soar calmly "on ample pinion"—Wordsworth, especially in his philosophic poetry, is at an almost infinite remove from the poets of the second class: the poets of nature and of the human passions.

Duty exists; immutably survive
For our support, the measures and the forms
Which an abstract intelligence supplies;
Whose kingdom is, where time and space are not."

As will be seen, the lines quoted by Mr. Arnold for the purpose of justifying his adverse criticism of Wordsworth's philosophic poetry, are part of a bold and vivid contrast between things on the one hand, that "vanish," "change," or "fluctuate"; and things on the other, that "immutably survive." Each member of the antithesis must of course be present, to enable the reader to determine the poetical character and merit of the whole passage. Mr. Arnold would scarcely justify one who should blot out the foreground of a painting by Claude, in order to determine the merits of the picture, by the merits of the middle distance and background; regarded not as middle distance and background, but as fairly representing the whole painting. But his treatment of this passage from the "Excursion" is treatment of this very kind.

Undoubtedly the second member of the contrast is "elevated and abstract verbiage" (if by verbiage is meant expression); for Wordsworth's theme is an "elevated and abstract" theme. In order to give this theme poetic vividness—that is to say, in order to present this abstract truth (usually addressed to the discursive faculty), in the form which would effectively address the imagination and awaken feeling—the poet properly employed antithesis; and he employed it powerfully and in a truly poetic manner. Now it is just this antithesis by which vividness is secured for abstract truth; by which, in other words, the invisible is made visible; it is just this that Mr. Arnold conceals, in order to make out his case; and while he quotes the elevated and abstract statement, "Duty exists," which by itself is prose, he omits the two noble lines which precede it, and lift it up into poetry:

"But, by the storms of circumstance unshaken,
And subject neither to eclipse nor wane,
Duty exists."

This we say is an unfair mode of quotation. That Mr. Arnold was compelled to resort to it, in order to make out a case against that "sweet union of philosophy and poetry," in which the "Wordsworthians delight," reveals the weakness of the case he has made out.

These latter breed passionate excitement in the reader, both by their subject and by their own frenzied efforts after expression. Wordsworth's literary genius was not only equal to the achievement of philosophic poetry, of incarnating abstract thought in poetic imagery, but so easily equal to it, that we may employ what Coleridge has said of Shakespeare, to describe him as a philosophic poet.

"No automaton of genius, no passive vehicle of inspiration, possessed by the spirit not possessing it—he first studied patiently, meditated deeply, understood minutely; till knowledge, having become habitual and intuitive, wedded itself to his habitual feelings, and at length gave birth to that stupendous power by which he stands alone, with no equal or second in his own class."

This vital union of philosophy and poetry, of spiritual truth and vivid imagery, this exact incarnation of ideas in forms of imperishable beauty, in order, by making the spiritual world vivid, to awaken spiritual feeling, is Wordsworth's supreme literary merit; and his philosophic poetry is the supreme triumph of his genius.

The method which the poetic genius of Wordsworth adopted to secure this triumph, like most of the methods of genius, was an open secret. It was simply a return to nature in the employment of language. Of course, just as Sir Joshua mixed his colors "with brains," Wordsworth's simple and natural diction was always radiant with "the light that never was on sea or land." Even simplicity and naturalness in expression will not render fruitful barren thoughts, or elevate a sentiment essentially low. The invaluable service performed for English literature, in the department of style, by the great lake poet, was his demonstration and illustration of the great truth, that profound and abstract thoughts and elevated sentiments and spiritual emotions are not aided, but hindered in their expression, by what, in his day, was called "poetic diction." Wordsworth substituted the art of imaginative expression for the artifice of mere fanciful expression;* with the marvellous result which Mr. Arnold has so finely de-

* Perhaps in the distinction between the fancy and the imagination, as these two words have been defined, and as the two faculties they designate have been described by Coleridge, is to be found the true secret of Wordsworth's power as a "philosophic poet." In the "Biographia Literaria," this subject is discussed at length. But in the "Table Talk" (p. 518), a remark is preserved sufficiently distinct and full for the purposes of this note. Coleridge there says, "The fancy brings together images which have no connection, natural or moral; but are yoked together by the poet, by means of some accidental coincidence. The imagination modifies images and gives unity to variety. It sees all things in one." When, therefore, Coleridge tells us that that which first impressed him in Wordsworth, was "the fine balance of truth in observing, with the *imaginative faculty* in modifying the objects observed," he uses the words "imaginative faculty" in this special sense, and as distinct from the fancy. The imagination, the esemplastic power, the power which "sees all things in one," and gives "unity to variety," must obviously act under the influence of laws or ideas, that, to the

scribed in the words already quoted; "nature herself seems to take the pen out of his hand, and to write with her own bare, sheer, penetrating power."

Wordsworth did not write poetry characterized by this fine simplicity of a natural rhetoric, in ignorance of its greatness; as we may conceive Bunyan to have written the "Pilgrim's Progress." He wrought always upon a theory that was the product of reflection, and with a purpose that he was prepared to defend. Just as he was driven by conviction to his theme, just as the spirit of his treatment of it was spiritual affection—a knowing choice as distinct from blind sensibility—and just as a philosophy of man pervades his poetry, so also a conscious philosophy of expression is exemplified in his natural and original diction. Wordsworth possessed, in almost exact equipoise, both the critical and the creative gift. He not only wrote "philosophic poetry," but defended the theme as poetic. Written, as this paper is, to recommend, not a mere leisurely perusal, but a study of Wordsworth, it is proper to say that such a study cannot be intelligently conducted by one who neglects the prefaces and appendices of the several volumes of his poems, which announce and defend his rhetorical theory; the theory by whose application he achieved the singular power of making abstract truth vivid to the imagination, as well as plain to the discursive faculty; and by which, in his poems of nature, he displayed the "bare, sheer, penetrating power of nature herself."

Without attempting duly to set forth this rhetorical theory, we may say that, historically, its origin was Wordsworth's profound dissatisfaction with the "poetic diction" of the English poetry of the period immediately preceding his own; because of its utterly artificial character, and because the feeling, which it expressed and excited, was as artificial as the diction itself. In the appendix to the preface of the "Lyrical Ballads," after affirming that "the earliest poets wrote naturally as men," he points out that "in succeeding times, men ambitious of the fame of poets," but not animated by the passion which naturally seeks figurative language, "set themselves to a mechanical adoption of these figures of speech. A language was thus insensibly produced, differing materially from the real language of men in any situation." This poetic diction he denounces and dis-

poet, are permanent, uniform, and universal. The fancy acts obviously under no fixed ideas or laws, but in an arbitrary manner, according to the individual poet's temporary pleasure. Now, if as Coleridge thought, Wordsworth's supreme poetic endowment was imagination as distinct from fancy, it is easy to understand what it was that impelled him to write "philosophic poetry."

cards, because it "thrusts out of sight the plain humanities of nature by a motley masquerade of tricks, quaintnesses, hieroglyphics, and enigmas." For this crying evil Wordsworth proposed, as a remedy, a return to the language that men naturally use in the situation which the poet depicts. Believing in the adequacy of this remedy, as he believed in his own existence, Wordsworth dared to defy the reviewers; to write "The Brothers," and "Michael," and "She dwelt among the untrodden ways." He dared to be "bald" in the "Prelude" and the "Excursion"; and his reward was, that he brought man and nature into the closest sympathy; he invested elemental truth with new power; and bald as his poems became, they were "bald as the bare mountain-tops are bald, with a baldness that is full of grandeur."

That a great poet, whose fundamental trait is the exact incarnation of his thoughts in language; whose genius is equal to this incarnation in poetic forms, even when his thought is abstract thought; and who achieves it by the open secret of a return to nature in the employment of speech; that such a poet merits the careful study of the sacred orator, is a proposition for whose further proof no one will ask, if he has reflected at all on the function of the preacher. Never was this study more emphatically needed than it is to-day. For, to-day, the chief rhetorical danger that besets the pulpit is the danger of sensationalism; an evil, so protean, that it may be defined in many ways, but whose supreme viciousness is this: that being meretricious artifice itself, it provokes an artificial excitement that simulates spiritual emotion.

But "the whole is more than all the parts." Worthy of study as Wordsworth's poetry is, in view of the special traits on which we have dwelt, and of others that we have not mentioned, the supreme value of these traits will not be understood by the preacher, until he sees them in living synthesis; until he is brought into communion with the deep, solemn, sincere, and spiritual man. We have no space left in which to say anything of Wordsworth's character beyond this: that he was a subjective poet, in the sense that his character as well as his thought is incarnate in his poetry. His theme and its treatment reveal the man. Robertson finely describes Worthworth's subject, in a sentence in which he contrasts him with Shakespeare. "Shakespeare is a universal poet, because *he utters all that is in men;* Wordsworth, because *he speaks that which is in all men.*" What is "that which is in all men"? What is the same in every age and circumstance but the *spirit?* The spirit of man, with its beliefs and aspirations, its love and grief, its dissatisfaction with self, and its crying out

after God, found a universal voice in Wordsworth, above all, because Wordsworth was a profoundly spiritual man. Herein is the supreme homiletical value of his poetry.

The poems which this paper recommends the sacred orator earnestly to study, are those especially of what we may call Wordsworth's philosophical period; those in which he reveals himself as under the powerful and almost exclusive sway of spiritual ideas; ideas that are universal; which exist, uninterpreted perhaps, but still exist in all men. Now, it may be objected, and this is the objection of Christopher North, that precisely these are the poems in which Wordsworth is not "a sacred poet," because he does not present in imaginative forms, Christian dogma. To quote Prof. Wilson's words, "he speaks not, he expounds not the word as the servant of the Lord, as the follower of Him crucified."* Prof. Wilson is writing of the "Excursion"; and he laments that it was not written at the later date at which the Ecclesiastical Sonnets were composed. "These," he says, "are sacred poetry indeed." But it is not in the interpretation of Christian doctrine that the preacher may expect to derive special aid from Wordsworth; but, rather, in that great preceding and preparatory work of convicting man of his spiritual nature, and of predisposing him to belief of the spiritual gospel. It is indeed true, that the announcement of positive, distinctive, and revealed Christian truth, must always be the great work of the sacred orator. But never, since Christ came, has the preacher's function of making the spiritual universe vivid to the view, and powerful in the life of men, been so important or so difficult as it is to-day. To-day it is especially "desirable that the religious teacher dwell consecutively upon topics that are connected with that which is *within* man; his settled motives of action, and all those spontaneous on-goings of his soul, of which he takes no notice, unless he is persuaded or impelled to do so."† In this difficult and, at present, all-important preaching, whose method is psychological, and whose theme is man, Wordsworth's subject, spirit, philosophy, and style will all be found special and powerful auxiliaries. Called, week after week, to confront men and women, whom the prevailing habits of thought and tone of society tempt to doubt or deny the reality of everything that the eye sees not or the ear hears not, the sacred orator may well join to his other studies the faithful study of this original and profound poetic and philosophic mind. It is his chief glory, that, in an age when poetry was the slave

* "Modern British Essayists," Wilson, p. 19.

† Shedd, "Sermons to the Natural Man." Preface, p. 9.

of earthly pomp and circumstance, he gave not only freedom, but spiritual range to the English muse. He sang, not of accessories and men, but of nature and man. The eternal pomp and circumstance of the spiritual universe

> "Flashed upon that inward eye,
> Which is the bliss of solitude."

The beauty and sublimity of nature he invested with a new significance, as penetrated by the revelation of the spiritual God. And man, he invested with a dignity to which the poets of his age of kings were blind; for the poets of his age, until he compelled them, would not see that

> "The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting
> And cometh from afar."

JOHN DEWITT.

III.

JOHN MITCHELL MASON.

A HUNDRED and twenty years ago, when the population of New York city had not yet reached twenty thousand souls, a frame building of plain appearance and modest dimensions, used as a church by a society of Scotch Presbyterians, stood on the south side of Cedar Street, between Nassau Street and Broadway. The society was composed of persons who had seceded from the Presbyterian Church of Wall Street, the first church of this name established in the city. Diversity of view on the question of Psalmody was the main disrupting influence, the staunch folk who went off resolving to "chant their artless notes" in the Lord's house, in the "simple guise" that the fathers in Scotia had practiced and the children here dearly loved. To make this privilege secure, and to vindicate a right of conscience at the same time, they formed themselves into a separate organization. To this inchoate society, came in 1761, "Mr. John Mason, Teacher of Philosophy in Abernethy," a young man of scholarly attainments, and of other goodly gifts thought suitable to edify the Church. Clergymen were less common commodities in America in that day than in ours. The indigenous supply was of the smallest, and the churches in need of preachers were obliged to import recruits from the parent land. Broad fields whitening for the harvest were expanding on every side, and the laborers were few; and so Mr. Mason listened favorably to the appeal, "come over and help us," regarding it as a Providential call. With this mission in view, ordaining hands were duly laid upon him by the Presbytery of Perth, and he was dispatched, with the benedictions and prayers of the brethren, to reap in his transatlantic field. He found on his arrival a flock to greet him, feeble in number and resources indeed, but strong in hopefulness and faith; and after a few months spent in making proof of his ministry, he was formally inducted into the office of their pastor. His character and labors vindicated the favorable estimate of those who had invited him and of those who sent him forth. The society grew steadily in numbers and strength under his fostering care, till the Revolution came to distress Church, State, and the

land with its sharp and perilous agitations. His labors interrupted in one direction found room for exercise in another, and Mr. Mason entered the army of his adopted country as a chaplain. He was stationed, during most of the time the struggle lasted, with the American garrison at West Point, returning, when the war closed, to resume his ministerial duties in New York. There, for nearly a decade of years, till his death in 1792, he prosecuted his work, with an earnestness, devotion, and efficiency that won for him a high place in the regards not only of his own parishioners, but of all who could prize the worth of a man who had aimed to make, and did make, his life a benediction.

A few years after settling in New York, Mr. Mason married. The lady chosen, Catharine Van Wyck, was a scion of the old Knickerbocker stock, and excellently fitted by her qualities of mind and heart for the station she was called to occupy. Of nine children springing from this marriage, John Mitchell, born March 19, 1770, was the second—a fitting representative, as the coming years showed, of the sterling quality of the amalgam formed by the blending of the Scotch and Netherlandish blood. To him, as one of the notable preachers of his day and, indeed, of the century, and a man who impressed himself upon his times, by his spirit, character, and work as few of his contemporaries did, we purpose to devote a few paragraphs which may, perhaps, be found not destitute of present interest.

It was fortunate for the son that his early training was under one so well fitted as his father to instruct and guide him—a man who, to solid and varied learning and experience as a teacher in theology, added a sound judgment and sturdy common sense in practical affairs. Favored by this tuition, the young student entered Columbia College in his seventeenth year, graduating therefrom with honor in 1789, at the age of nineteen. Having decided previously to enter upon the Christian ministry, he at once began a course of theological study under his father's direction. After two years' earnest application to his work in this home school, it was determined to send him to the University of Edinburgh, that he might reap the advantages which an institution of this high character afforded. When about to start on his voyage, his father committed to him a paper containing suggestions designed to direct him as to his course of study and reading, as to how his intercourse with society should be regulated, how his personal piety should be kept alive and deepened—with hints as to the best methods of preparing and delivering a discourse, so as to compass the highest results. The paper is a valuable directory to a student in theology, and attests the fitness of the father for the work

of training young men for the sacred office. I am tempted to present a few extracts from this paper, regarding the hints thrown out, as having a shrewdness, pith, and point which adapt them as well to the present time as to another. It exhibits, with the sound sense and sagacity of the writer, the source whence the son drew the early lessons which stamped their influence on his own literary and ministerial character.

"Be very intent," he says, "on the study of the Hebrew language, and make yourself well acquainted with its grammar. When you shall be able to understand the Hebrew Scriptures with some ease, I wish you to attend, as the Professor directs, to the Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldaic, especially the Arabic, as much, at least, as will enable you to make progress in the study of them, after you shall leave the University. . . . . Do not, however, neglect the Latin, Greek, and French languages. Be a classical critic. Read some of Plato's works, and make notes on what you read. In a particular manner, attend to the purity of your own language. Lay in a store of classical words that you may be able to express yourself on any occasion with propriety and ease. In order to do this, labor to have clear ideas of things. Endeavor to acquire the habit of speaking in a plain, neat, unaffected style. Avoid bombast and vulgarity. Seldom let the proud monosyllable 'I' have place in your compositions and discourses. Fill your discourses with useful matter. A multitude of words without sentiments, or with sentiments not adapted to the pulpit, insult a grave, worshipping assembly. . . . . Have short introductions. State the sense and connection of the text with great precision. Let your method be natural, arising out of the subject. Be concise in the doctrinal part, that you may not be hurried in the application. Never depart wantonly from our translation. And, if at any time you shall find it necessary to alter it, do it with great modesty, and without amusing the hearers with Latin, Greek, or Hebrew words." Again, "Endeavor to acquire command of your voice. Never speak louder than is necessary unless some Divine impulse lay a necessity upon you. Screaming and bawling disgrace the pulpit. Despise theatrical airs. Let your actions be easy and natural. Rise above the frowns and applause of men. Consider your hearers as your fellow-sinners, and your fellow-mortals, and realize the presence of the Searcher of hearts. Be serious and pointed and you will command attention. Preach to yourself and you will preach well to others."

These sage counsels did not fall on heedless ears. They were destined to bear good fruit at the proper time. Meanwhile Mr. Mason joined the divinity class in the University, proposing to remain in it for a term of two years. His father's unexpected death, however, in 1792, made it necessary for him to return to New York, shortening thus by a year his Edinburgh studies. He reached home in the autumn of the same year, and within a few months of his arrival, was examined and licensed to preach by the Associate Reformed Presbytery. The church left vacant by his father's death at once sought his services, and after supplying it for a few months, he was, in the spring of 1793, duly installed as its pastor. He occupied this position with great acceptance and widening influence till 1810, and on resigning it, assumed charge of a church that had branched out from the parent stem, whose substantial house of worship was erected about the same

year on Murray Street, whence it was removed in 1842 to Tenth Street, and erected there stone by stone, till it stood before the eyes of all who knew it so well, exactly as it came from the hands of the first builder. In 1821 Dr. Mason felt constrained to resign this charge. The burden of manifold labors of which the pastoral were far from being the heaviest, had begun to tell seriously on his health. The presidency of Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pa., before offered to him and declined, was now accepted, in the hope that a work, so congenial to him, would be found not too severe a tax upon his energies. A trial of three years proved his expectation vain. He came back to his native city in 1824, where in the society of friends he had known longest and loved most, his few remaining years were tranquilly passed, and where, on December 29, 1829, in his sixtieth year, his mortal journey ended. Such is an outline of this remarkable man's career, some phases of which will bear to be dwelt upon with somewhat greater detail.

In the opening years of his ministry, and with the dew of his youth fresh upon him, he became a prominent figure in the New York pulpit. He seemed to reach by quick and easy process the level of men who had won their high place as preachers only after earnest years given to their profession. Some of these were men of uncommon endowments, held in esteem far and wide for learning, piety, and consecration to the duties of their calling, while a few of them had the magnetic power of eloquent speech, the gift that falls to the lot of but a comparative few of the race. Among Dr. Mason's contemporaries in the New York pulpit, were Livingston and Linn of the Reformed Dutch Church, the first Protestant church planted on the island; John Henry Hobart, of the Episcopal Church; Rodgers and Miller, of the Presbyterian. Scattered over the country were other noted names. William White, beloved and honored, was Bishop of Pennsylvania; Archibald Alexander was in Philadelphia; Edward Dorr Griffin in Newark, N. J.; Lyman Beecher was settled in Litchfield, Conn., and William E. Channing in Boston stood at the head of the Unitarian body; Timothy Dwight was president of Yale College. Jonathan Maxcy had left in 1804 the presidency of Union College, seeking a milder climate at the South, and was succeeded the same year in the college, by Eliphalet Nott, a more eminent pulpit orator. These, not to mention other names, were the men who adorned the pulpit at the close of the last and in the opening years of the present century. To stand in the same rank, as John M. Mason did, with men so widely known and influential, is evidence of the esteem in which his ability and personal character were held.

Nature had been liberal to him in her gifts. His appearance in the pulpit was striking. He was tall and erect in person, with a robust frame, capable of high exertion and indicating full health; a lofty and capacious forehead and deep blue eyes that could express every varying emotion, and were wont to kindle at times into a glow that thrilled an audience, were marked features of a face that denoted manly frankness as well as intellectual energy. His action was natural and graceful, with nothing strained or extravagant about it, even when his utterance was most fervid and impassioned. His voice was one of great compass and flexibility, was under admirable control and suited well his sturdy frame and the incisive sentences in which his thoughts were clothed. As an impressive reader of the Scriptures he had hardly a peer; in emphasis, in modulation, in the exact adapting of tone and manner to the varying character of the written page, he seemed to voice the meaning of the sacred oracles so completely, that *his* reading of them was, in great degree, their interpretation. If to this be added a close familiarity with the Scriptures in their original tongues, with theology in its various departments, with classical and general literature, an intellect that was as able to discriminate as to grasp, to apply knowledge as to acquire it; a vivid imagination, controlled by a sound judgment; boldness of speech, that shrank from no utterance which duty demanded; a profound sense of personal responsibility to Him whose message he proclaimed, and withal a diction, copious and chaste, whose force was heightened by its transparent clearness—we shall have some insight into the sources of the pulpit power which had such strong attraction for men.

His church soon overflowed, and of those drawn to it were many whose faces were rarely seen in the Sunday assembly. Among his stated hearers was that saintly and devoted Christian woman, Isabella Graham, who having long sat under the ministers of the Scottish Kirk, felt, in removing to this country, that the loss of their instructions would be the sorest of her privations, but who found in the ministry of Mr. Mason a full compensation for that from which she had regretfully parted.

"Our Young Timothy," she says in writing to a friend, "is a perfect champion for the Gospel of Christ. The Lord has well guided him and largely endowed him. There is probably no church in New York whose discipline is so strict, nor one which has so many communicants. He is reckoned a lad of great talents, and an orator, and many of even the idle and careless go to hear him."

This was in 1793, when Mr. Mason was only twenty-three years old. In the same year he preached a fast sermon occasioned by the ravages of yellow fever in Philadelphia, the profound impression pro-

duced by which led to its publication. This was followed by a Thanksgiving sermon in 1795, and another in 1797 before the City Missionary Society, all of them marked by the strength of thought, happy analysis, terse, elegant, and forceful expression which characterized and gave a singular charm to his pulpit utterances. Within eight years, his church, small in numbers when he assumed charge of it, had grown by an addition of six hundred members, besides those joining it from other Christian bodies, and had become one of the strongest evangelical churches in the land. His popularity and success owed nothing to rhetorical arts or elocutionary devices by means of which shallow men sometimes disguise their deficiencies and achieve a short-lived notoriety; but resulted from the plain, pointed, faithful preaching of the Gospel, which needs nothing meretricious to commend its worth or constrain men to own its power.

In 1801 Dr. Mason visited England, at the instance of the Associate Reformed Synod. The object of his mission was to interest the Scotch churches in the establishment of a Theological Seminary of their faith and order in this country, to invoke their sympathy and aid in its behalf, and to enlist suitable young recruits to serve destitute home churches. He remained abroad nearly a year, prosecuting his work with energy and a fair measure of success. He preached during this period in the principal cities of England and Scotland, producing marked effects; one of the occasions being specially memorable, and as illustrating his rare pulpit power, deserving some particular notice. The occasion was a meeting of the London Missionary Society in Tottenham Court Chapel, on Thursday evening, the 13th of May, 1802, Dr. Mason, by request, preaching the sermon. Writing home about this meeting, Dr. Mason says that he "preached on that occasion to an audience of five thousand people, and above three hundred ministers lined the front of the galleries, and the whole congregation seemed animated with one soul." It needs not to characterize this famous sermon farther than to say of it, that the glowing accounts given of it in that day seem hardly exaggerated, as we judge of it on a calm perusal to-day, and take into account the vastly added force given to it by the preacher's delivery and personal magnetism. An incident, to show its effect, will bear to be recounted. Among the three hundred ministers present was Robert Hall, intellectually and as a preacher, all things considered, without a peer in his age. The effect of the sermon on Mr. Hall was something marvellous. With the modesty which leads great men sometimes to underrate their own abilities, and unduly exalt those of others in comparison, Mr. Hall declared, after the service was over, that "he should never be able to preach again." He

returned to his home at Cambridge dissatisfied with himself, and so discouraged as to be unable to put forth any adequate exertion to meet the requirements of the Sunday then near at hand. So the time wore on without any amelioration of the despondent symptoms, till Saturday evening came, when, as luck or Providence willed it, a good old peripatetic Baptist elder, whom nobody cared to hear, came across Mr. Hall's path. Him Mr. Hall eagerly seized upon, insisting on his favoring him with a sermon the following day. The honest elder shrank from appearing in Mr. Hall's pulpit, but no remonstrances urged by him could prevail against Mr. Hall's importunity, and he at length consented and preached accordingly. The service over, Mr. Hall poured forth his thanks so profusely and warmly, that the wondering preacher could not help exclaiming, "Why, Mr. Hall, how is this? Few people want to hear me preach, while you, the first preacher in England, seem delighted with my services. I can't understand it at all." "Well, I'll tell you how it is," said Mr. Hall. "Last Thursday, in London, I heard a wonderful sermon from an American preacher, and after hearing it, I thought I should never be able to preach again. Now I think I *shall* be able."

Not a very handsome requital for a benefit kindly rendered, but Mr. Hall loved an occasional pungent thrust, as well as Charles Lamb, nor always reckoned what precise direction it might take, nor the cost of its infliction. But a blow of this kind rarely fell from him without proper provocation, as in the young man's case—if a slight digression may be allowed—who once preached before Mr. Hall, and took tea with him after the service was over. Vain of his performance, the fledgling yearned to elicit from the great preacher some eulogistic expression, dropping sundry hints and suggestions looking in this direction. Mr. Hall saw the angler's drift, and was for some time silent or evasive, till at length his patience giving way under the youth's pertinacity, he broke out abruptly with, "You had one passage that pleased me very much; very much, sir." "Indeed," said the young man, smiling complacently and expectantly. "May I venture to ask, Mr. Hall, what that passage was?" "Your passage, sir, from the pulpit to the vestry."

Another sermon of Dr. Mason, entitled "The Gospel for the Poor," stands in the same rank with that preached before the London Missionary Society. It possesses, like the other, all the high qualities before named, in the union and exercise of which his great strength lay; and in the present reading of it—though this is no certain criterion of the immediate effect of a sermon's delivery—we see and own the hand of a master workman.

Dr. Mason gave the former the preference, which he showed by repeating it in various places, and everywhere with extraordinary effects. Dr. Spring, in his "Power of the Pulpit," gives the following account of the effect produced by this sermon in New Haven, where Dr. Mason preached it in 1808:

"The sun had just risen when torrents of men were seen pouring to the house of God. There were ministers of the Gospel, both the aged and the young. Learned professors, reflecting judges of the law, and lawyers in their pride were there. There were Senators and men of learning from every part of the land. There sat the venerable Dwight and the not less venerable Backus melted into a flood of tears. That vast audience which seemed at first only to listen with interest, and then gaze with admiration, with few exceptions covered their faces and wept."

It is rare, indeed, that a preacher or orator of any name is able to produce such impressions as these. Here and there, at long intervals, one gifted soul appears with the power to do it; and if he have the mind, heart, and resolute purpose to consecrate this power to the cause of truth and the highest interests of man, his great endowments will prove great benefactions, for which his name will be held in abiding honor.

The two orations of Dr. Mason on the deaths of Washington and Hamilton, pronounced respectively in 1800 and 1804, show with what fitness his fellow-citizens of New York selected him to perform these melancholy offices. The favor with which these discourses were received, we find it not difficult to understand. For nice and truthful delineation of character, for familiarity with the system of our government, for lofty Christian patriotism, for direct and earnest moral inculcation, for boldness in exposing popular fallacies, and assailing vices threatening disaster to the commonwealth through the corruption of individuals, for occasional touches of tenderness and pathos, all conveyed in language chaste and elegant, as it is forcible and expressive, these orations compare well with the best that the great occasions in question elicited. The oration on Hamilton has some peculiar features of interest. The circumstances of Hamilton's death, and the intimate personal relations that had subsisted between him and Dr. Mason, imparted to the utterance of the latter a tone of unwonted solemnity and pensiveness, and the oration must have fallen upon the hearer like a sob breaking from a stricken heart. Its closing appeals in relation to duelling have long been made familiar to all the land by books of "select speeches" and school-boy declamations, as passages and perorations of Webster's great speeches are familiar. It has exerted a positive and widespread influence against duelling, helping to point and intensify popular abhorrence of the barbarous and

bloody code, and to bury it among those fantastic follies whose loss is the gain and rejoicing of society.

There is one element of strength in the sermons and preaching of Dr. Mason, which, though some are prone to underrate its importance, we regard as being, in skilful hands, a highly efficient factor in reaching the best results. It is the constant and happy use he makes of Scripture quotation, inweaving it in all his sermons, which thus are made to breathe and glow with the vitality of the sacred page. The two great sermons specially noticed are fairly saturated with the Bible phraseology; not loosely thrown together, but selected with such judgment and pointed with such precision, as to give the utmost aptitude and effect to his expression. He had the faculty of blending his own language with that of the inspired book, adding thereby to his speech picturesqueness as well as strength. Like another Apollos he was "mighty in the Scriptures," having from his youth up loved them and made them his study. Their authority with him was the highest of all, and an appeal "to the law and to the testimony" he considered a final resort. He was wont to devote his Sunday morning service, after the manner of the Scotch Church clergy, to exposition and commentary on Scripture passages—a practice grown largely obsolete in churches of the present day, but one, where fittingly conducted, that is capable of yielding as much interest as instruction to an audience. His gifts as an expounder accorded with his thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, and made this description of service greatly attractive to all classes of his hearers. Some of his most impressive and striking homilies were simple expositions, of a Psalm or a passage from the Gospels or Acts, the whole of a book being at times gone through with in series on successive Sundays—this practice contrasting with the now prevalent fashion of constructing a sermon around a single brief text, which is often used as a motto, or as a vague index to something treated of in the discourse. His convictions of the importance, the necessity of giving this prominence to the inspired words spoken by holy men of old, in order that pulpit teaching might have its fullest and happiest effects, years of experience served only to confirm. His principle and practice differed widely in this from those of certain preachers of the present day, who would seem to regard scriptural language as a defect if not disfiguration to a polished discourse, or as too antiquated or inelegant for ears polite. They banish this homely, energetic phraseology from their dainty prelections, or introduce it now and then grudgingly, or as it might seem apologetically, for yielding it room among their more finely turned periods. They will talk about the seemliness of virtue, the

incentives to cultivate manhood, the possibilities of development, the laws of moral and material progress, the instincts and claims of humanity, and other topics of like sort, while man's needs as a sinner, and the old story of the "Cross," of which the great apostle was not "ashamed," are ruled out, so far as the direct Scripture testimony is concerned, as not quite suited to the spirit or tastes of this fastidious age. It is no extravagance to say that the preacher who pursues Dr. Mason's method, preferring it to some arbitrary or capricious one deriving its sanction from man's wit or wisdom, will not be making a weak or unwise choice. A sermon that is full of Scripture, fittingly inwoven, can hardly prove a barren one; and the wondrous tinker, John Bunyan, a man of one book, and that the Bible, has shown—nor is he alone in giving this proof—what popular attention can be aroused and lasting effects produced by him who knows this book well and how to wield its marvellous forces.

In the controversies of his day Dr. Mason felt impelled to take a prominent part, and performed the service which he undertook, with the earnestness and in the thorough manner that marked all his public action. To be a Christian minister *militant* is sometimes an equivocal title to honor. Ministers possessing pluck and a pugnacious spirit have been no uncommon spectacle in the Church, wise and loyal leaders of the host having at times been enrolled in the number. The Church, from the nature of things, has had to fight her way in every age, and where the weapons of her champions have been pointed against the enemies of her King and of the Christian faith, their ardor in the contest can hardly be censured nor the vigor of their blows be pronounced superfluous. But it has happened at times that persons battling under the banner of a common Captain, and professing a faith substantially one, have turned their swords against each other, showing an energy and zeal in carrying minor positions that should only be expended against the citadel of the arch enemy itself. The history of religious controversy has many saddening chapters running through the ages. One hardly wonders at the fierce epithets which the heroic Luther hurls against the Pope. We remember the man, his age, the life and death struggle in which he was engaged, the necessity his position laid upon him to strike hard and strike home, and we bid him God-speed in his great conflict with principalities and powers. We are inclined, for similar reasons, to excuse, what Samuel Johnson could not, the terrible invectives launched at the heads of his antagonists by Milton, who, though a lay combatant, reflects the controversial tone of his age; while at the same time we feel something of wonder that the pen from which flowed the seraphic utterances of "Paradise Regained," could write the

sentences steeped in gall, which abound in his "Answer to Salmasius." We wonder more at the harsh personalities bandied between the sage and devoted John Wesley and the gentle, saint-like Toplady, the point in dispute being the Arminian and Calvinistic creeds. Such controversial bitterness about unessentials at least, is of the past. The present age has outgrown or is fast outgrowing it. This is the day of Evangelical Alliances, the day of pouring oil upon the troubled waters of sectarian strifes, the day of a more kindly and liberal construction of diverse views honestly held, and of the softening sway of the charity that speaketh no evil. It would be hard in this day to arouse a controversy on the apostolical succession, on the mode of baptism, on the Calvinistic system, on the Unitarian postulates, or on the fantastic claims of the Romish Church. The public has no relish for such combats, and they who might contend do not like to enter the arena with nobody on the benches to encourage and applaud.

A playful remark made by Henry Ward Beecher, at the expense of his sometime combative father, at the late centennial gathering in Brooklyn, in honor of Dr. Channing, and composed of representatives of various Christian bodies, is worthy of repeating for its significance: "Even so sympathetic a man as my father never saw an Arminian come into his church in that early day, that he did not feel bound to give him such a dose of Calvinism as would physic him for a year." It points to the wide difference between that period and this, as well in the sentiments of the various sects in their intercourse with each other, as in the harmony of their reciprocal relations.

The spirit of the age, three-quarters of a centuary ago, was combative, and Dr. Mason living in it shared this spirit. He did not love battle for its own sake, smelling it afar off, and rejoicing to rush in at the trumpet's blast; he only entered on it bravely when, as he felt, duty and conscience constrained him. As to his controversy with the Episcopalians, he says, in a letter to a friend: "It was impossible to avoid it. The press teemed, the pulpit resounded with excommunications of all non-Episcopal churches, declaring them to be without a ministry, without sacraments, without ordinances, and their members to have no other hope of salvation than what they founded upon the 'uncovenanted mercies of God.'"

It was such a provocation, as he deemed it, that led him to enter the lists almost single-handed against several antagonists, at the head of whom was the Rev. John Henry Hobart, of revered memory, then assistant minister of Trinity church in the city, and afterward bishop of New York. The *Christian's Magazine* was established under the direction of Dr. Mason, and became the medium of a series of papers by him on the Episcopacy, which for scholarly research; for keen analysis and

logical power; for fair statement of an adversary's positions and manly argument in overthrowing them; for clearness, vivacity, and vigor of expression, with humorous and witty flashes constantly lighting up and giving point to his argument, which is conducted with good temper and taste throughout—have no parallel in the religious controversial writings of this country. It would be easy to illustrate this description by some quotations from these papers. But the whole series should be read, as it may be in Dr. Mason's printed works, or in a separate volume issued by Robert Carter in 1844, and will be found racy reading, even now, especially if collated with Hobart's "Apology," a scarcer book. Much of the interest that attended the first publication of these papers has, of course, departed; but the merits of the question remain. And if any person in our dissenting communions chance to have some lingering doubt in regard to the full scriptural warrant for ministerial parity, and would have this doubt vanish before argument, we would commend him to the thoughtful reading of this book, quite content to let the result speak for itself. The effect the essays produced when first published was marked and memorable. They settled the question for thirty or forty years, when a faint revival of it occurred in New York in the Wainwright-Potts controversy, which soon died out from the lack of public interest to sustain it. Dr. Mason sought to show, and has shown, the validity of Presbyterial ordination, and has greatly contributed to bring to pass the season of more cordial, fraternal relations between the Christian sects, which we witness to-day—the season when swords promise to be beaten into plowshares, and the energies of the Christian armies, instead of being wasted in enervating contests with each other, find fitter and more profiting employment in being directed against pronounced enemies of the common faith.

No principle had a firmer hold on the heart of Dr. Mason than the love of Christian liberty. It produced hatred of ecclesiastical tyranny in all its forms. It made him impatient of arbitrary rules which men, without precise Scripture warrant, impose on the conscience, fettering its freedom and weighing it down under a heavy burden. He loved to put forth his strength to break such bonds asunder, and help those who were sighing for release, and who in weariness had long submitted to restraints because without power to free themselves. In his zeal to bring aid and comfort, to expose error and wrong wherever entrenched, he did not scruple to assail a part of the discipline of his own branch of the Church. His "Plea for Sacramental Communion on Catholic Principles" is an incisive and powerful argument against the Scotch Church rule, then widely enforced, of excluding from the communion table Christian people in member-

ship with other churches, and because of such connection. The position he took in this matter has never been successfully assailed, and he had the satisfaction of seeing his sentiments find a hearty and widening approval. The reports of this good service for liberty spread beyond the Atlantic. Robert Hall—a man of kindred largeness of soul and intellectual sympathies—was conducting a similar argument with the close-communion Baptists of England, the work of each being carried on without previous communication with the other, as appears from this passage in the preface of Mr. Hall's reply to Joseph Kinghorn:

"It is remarkable, that without any previous knowledge or concert a discussion on the subject of communion, commenced nearly at the same time on both sides of the Atlantic; and the celebrated Dr. Mason, of New York, justly regarded as one of the brightest ornaments of the western hemisphere, was exerting the energies of his most powerful mind in establishing the fundamental position of the treatise 'On Terms of Communion' (the title of Mr. Hall's work), almost at the very moment that treatise appeared. A coincidence so rare, a movement so simultaneous, yet so unpremeditated, we cannot but look upon as a token for good, as an indication of the approach of that period so ardently desired by every enlightened Christian, when genuine believers will again be of 'one heart and one mind.'"

Each of these eminent men performed his work in such a thorough way, as to leave the argument against restricted communion complete and overwhelming. The service rendered to the cause of Christian liberty has been an important one, and not confined in its benign effects to one community or one period. The argument itself marks a spirit in advance of the age that called it forth, the truth of it becoming clearer and its value more assured in the light of passing years.

As a pioneer and efficient promoter of the system of theological education in this country, Dr. Mason's name deserves a high place among the far-seeing and progressive men of his times, and his work none the less as a teacher in theology. His deep interest in this cause was coeval with his entering on pastoral service. He never lost sight of the importance of furnishing proper facilities at home for training young men for the preacher's office. He regarded such provision as a necessity to the progress and growth, if not very existence, of the American Church. His mission to Scotland in 1801 had this object mainly in view. The interest he awakened abroad as well as at home, with the material aid he raised among foreign churches, made the Seminary project a success. The Institution was fairly started in 1805, up to which time there was no Theological Seminary, fitly so called, in the United States. The Andover Seminary followed not long after in the footsteps of this, its establishment being largely due to the contagion imparted by Dr. Mason's enthusiasm and success. Other Seminaries in due time arose and overspread the land,

until the result is what we see it to-day—too many Seminaries for a thorough theological training and, perhaps, for the real demands of the Church. But the aggregate work done by them has been a grand one; and the highest honor is due to him whose liberal spirit and steadfast purpose laid the first stones of the foundation on which the comely superstructure has arisen.

It was altogether befitting that he whose labors availed so much to build the house, should be the first to occupy it; that he who framed the system of study and rules for the government of the Seminary, should be the one to administer it. And this he was called to do, and did manfully, and as the sole instructor for several years. He had all the qualifications needed for the chair of the Christian Professor—learning, eloquence, piety, experience, enthusiasm, knowledge of men, aptness to teach, personal magnetism, the confidence of the churches, and a high reputation abroad as well as at home. Students came eagerly to sit at the feet of this Gamaliel. Among them were young men honored afterward in churches of different name though of kindred faith, adorning the pulpit there, and wise to win men to an earnest Christian life. All counted it a privilege to have been among Dr. Mason's pupils, and loved to extol the teacher and his methods. The many minds thus trained and exerting their educated activities in various ecclesiastical connections, have done good to society, positive and widely diffused, that cannot be computed; and this influence, potential still, is running on in other quiet channels, adding to the sum of benefits conferred.

As a closing word it may, we think, be safely said, that if Dr. Mason's life-work had been mainly restricted to the establishing of a Theological Seminary, from which numbers of well-furnished Christian teachers should go forth to guide, elevate, and bless society—a task of signal difficulty in his day, but of as signal promise when achieved—he would have performed a work and left a name worthy to rank him with the benefactors of his kind whose memory is always fragrant. But if to this be added all that his many-sided labors accomplished in the pulpit, on the platform, through the press, in the cause of evangelical truth and Christian liberty—if we take into one view the direct, benign influence of such a life upon his own community and age, and the projection of this wholesome influence into coming times—we shall be enabled to see, in the magnitude of the service that one great and good man may render to his kind, the supreme value of such a gift to the world, and understand the significance of comparing, as the sacred writer does, the path of such a man to the shining light that shines ever brighter and brighter.

C. Van Santvoord.

IV.

THE MAJESTY OF GOD AS REVEALED BY MODERN STELLAR ASTRONOMY.

THEOLOGY is the grandest of all the sciences, for it is the science of God, the infinite, eternal, incomprehensible Jehovah. But in the study of theology there is sometimes a tendency to dwarf our conception of God. By limiting our thoughts to His government of this world and His dealings with the human race, it is apt to narrow our ideas and veil our eyes to very much of His glory and grandeur and majesty.

It is not indeed to be forgotten that this earth has been made the theatre for such a display of divine compassion, and such a revelation of the glories of divine love as all the realms of heaven have never witnessed. The scheme of redemption has lifted this earth-speck out of its obscurity, and fastened upon it the gaze of an admiring universe. Bethlehem's manger was a shrine at which angels delighted to pay their adoration: the cross was a spectacle at which creation wept.

But, while it is true that theology has no need to leave this little globe, or travel outside the bounds of human history to comprehend the glories of God's grace and love; yet we must guard against too greatly magnifying the importance of our race and place in the economy of creation, and thus limiting our ideas of God to the narrow range of human affairs. And there is no surer way to enlarge our views and increase our apprehension of the might and majesty of God, than to drop out of sight, for a time, this tiny world which occupies so large a share of our attention, and rove in thought and fancy through some of the outlying provinces of His kingdom, that kingdom which in extent as in duration has no end.

In glancing down the page of history, we notice that the greatness of a nation or the glory of a reign has been largely measured by the sweep of territory or extent of conquest. The armies of Alexander the Great reached the borders of the known, and even invaded previously unknown realms. Rome boasted that from her seven hills she ruled the world. Nations of to-day have possessions which lie in every clime and every zone. But what shall we say of the empire

of Jehovah? Who shall survey His realms or point out the bounds of His habitation? Even the wings of light would droop and fail before the immensities which stretch away on every hand. It is one of the glories of modern astronomy, that it has given to us some slight conception of the boundlessness of God's universe.

Before the time of Copernicus, the earth was supposed to be the fixed centre around which all the starry worlds performed their revolutions. Copernicus not only accounted for the daily motions of the heavenly bodies by the rotation of the earth upon its axis, but transferred the centre of the system to the sun. The earth was thus deprived of her stability in space, and launched upon that yearly journey among the stars, which before had been attributed to the sun himself. Since, therefore, we are some ninety-two millions of miles distant from the sun, we now occupy a position in space not less than one hundred and eighty millions of miles from the spot where we were six months ago. A moment's thought will suffice to show that the stars should not appear in the same direction from both extremities of this tremendous base-line, unless, indeed, they be at an almost infinite distance from us. This change of direction as seen from different points is called parallax. Now the instruments of Copernicus' time could not measure parallactic angles of less than three or four minutes of arc. No such variation of course was detected among the stars; and so powerfully did this objection weigh in the mind of Tycho Brahe, that he was led to reject the central position of the sun, and to maintain that the earth was fixed. Had the instruments of Tycho been equal to those of the present time, so that he could with certainty have declared "that there was no parallax among the stars amounting to a second of arc, and therefore that if the Copernican system was true, the stars must be at least two hundred thousand times the distance of the earth from the sun, we may well believe that the whole astronomical world would have stood aghast at the idea, and concluded that after all Ptolemy must be right and Copernicus wrong." But our thoughts have been so expanded and enlarged that we acknowledge, though we do not comprehend, this absolute infinity of distance.

Up to about forty years ago, the abyss which separates our solar system from the fixed stars had not been fathomed. All we knew was that nearer than twenty millions of millions of miles they could not be; but how much farther who should tell us? In the year 1835 the great astronomer, Bessel, armed with a heliometer of the utmost accuracy attainable, began a series of observations on the pair of stars called Sixty-one Cygni. These were selected because from their

large proper motion they were supposed to be comparatively near us. His first attempts were futile; but in the observations of 1837–8 he detected a minute parallactic variation. So exceedingly small was the angle that Bessel doubted its reality until the observations of succeeding years confirmed the result; and in 1840 he announced to the world that the parallax of Sixty-one Cygni had been measured and was found to be about one-third of a second of arc. The awful gulf of space had been bridged: the tremendous magnificence of the scale on which the universe is built was revealed! The measurement of the parallax of this star was soon followed by that of others, until at present the parallax of some fifteen or twenty stars is known with more or less of accuracy. In all probability the nearest fixed star is Alpha Centauri, in the southern hemisphere. Its parallax is about one second, and no other star is known to be within nearly double the distance.

To obtain if possible some slight conception of these gigantic spaces, let one inch represent the distance of the earth from the sun: the distance of Neptune will then be thirty inches, and the diameter of the solar system five feet; but Alpha Centauri will be over three and one-half miles away. Light travels somewhat faster than eleven millions of miles a minute. It takes only eight and a quarter minutes to come from the sun; in four hours it flashes to the outermost bounds of the solar system; but to reach Alpha Centauri it must fly onward for three years and a half. The light which comes to us from Sixty-one Cygni is nearly seven years old, that from Sirius fifteen, from the pole star nearly forty. But these are only the very nearest of that countless host which throng the azure vault, and lie scattered far and wide throughout the mysterious depths of illimitable space.

With regard to the great mass of the stars it is utterly impossible even to conjecture their distance, for they have absolutely no measurable parallax. As with their omnipotent Creator, so with them, "there is neither variableness (in the Greek, *παραλλαγή*, parallax) neither parallax nor shadow of turning." We can only reason from the knowledge we have of the enormous chasm which divides our system from the rest of the physical universe, that the interstellar spaces must also be vast, and the confines of the empyrean visible even to the ordinary gazer must lie far, far away. But when we summon the telescope to our aid, and with vision increased a thousandfold find still no outer darkness, but only with each increase of power ever increasing millions of blazing suns, the boundary of God's kingdom recedes and widens on every hand, until despairing in our search we are ready to exclaim, "End there is none!"

The idea of the earlier astronomers that the distance of a star may be estimated from its comparative brightness, is indeed no longer tenable. The little Sixty-one Cygni, for instance, we find to be much nearer to us than Sirius, which is one hundred times as bright. It is, moreover, extremely probable that the stars are in some places much more densely grouped than in others. Such clusters as the Pleiades and Coma Berenices are far more likely associated groups, than merely separate distant suns which happen to lie in nearly the same line of sight. These two considerations, namely, the probability of real variation in the magnitude of the stars, and their actual association in clusters, will cause us to modify somewhat the conclusions which have been drawn from those wonderful star-gauges of Sir William Herschel. In the prosecution of his grand idea of measuring the actual extent of the stellar system, this great astronomer used the method which he called star-gauging. This consisted simply in counting the number of stars in the field of his telescope when pointed to different portions of the heavens, and from the number and relative brightness of these stars estimating the distance in space to which he had penetrated. The time required for light to come from the utmost limit which Herschel believed his twenty-foot reflector had reached, is about fourteen thousand years. Since, therefore, our sun occupies a position near the centre of this great stellar cluster, light would be some twenty-eight thousand years in sweeping across from circumference to circumference. For the reasons mentioned, these results must be received with caution. Herschel's estimates may be far too great owing to the false assumptions on which they are based. Nevertheless, "we can say with confidence that the time required for light to reach us from the most distant visible stars is measured by thousands of years."

All this reveals to us but partially the greatness of the universe of God. Words labor in vain to describe it; thought and imagination utterly fail to comprehend it vastness. But God himself, the Creator, "the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain Him!" These immeasurable realms all own His sway and acknowledge His control. "The Lord hath prepared His throne in the heavens, and His kingdom ruleth over all."

We now turn our attention from the idea of mere extent to the motions of these far-off orbs of night. We are accustomed to speak of them as the fixed stars. While the planets move rapidly in the celestial sphere so that in a few months or years they sweep completely round, the stars remain ever to appearance absolutely at rest in reference to each other, presenting always the same configurations

and holding the same relative positions on the sphere. Were Job to return to earth and gaze once more upon the star-lit firmament, he would behold the same constellations, and Orion and the Pleiades with Arcturus and his suns would look down unchanged by the rolling centuries. But the refined measurements of modern astronomy have revealed the startling fact that this apparent stability is not real. Our last remaining type of fixedness and rest is swept away, and all is motion. This rate of change among the stars is so slow that it would not ordinarily be detected by the eye in thousands of years, while probably a hundred thousand years would not suffice to alter very materially the aspect of the constellations. The greatest motion yet discovered is only seven seconds a year, and the great majority of the stars move but a few seconds per century.

Since our sun belongs to the stellar system we should naturally expect to find it affected by any motion which affects the other bodies; and such is the case. As to a person riding rapidly along in a railway car the landscape on either hand appears to be gliding away backward, so the stars beside their own proper motion are found to be slowly drifting past our system away from the constellation Hercules toward the opposite point of the celestial sphere. This "star-drift" can only be explained on the supposition that our sun is approaching that part of the heavens from which the stars appear to move. This supposition has recently been confirmed in another way. The only motion among the stars which can be perceived with the telescope is that which manifests itself in a change of direction. If a body is moving directly toward us or away from us it is impossible to see any motion at all; and it would seem as if the only way of judging whether it is approaching or receding must be by a change of brilliancy, and this of course might not be perceptible for ages. Science, however, has conquered even this obstacle. By means of the little instrument called the spectroscope it is possible to decide not only whether a star be approaching or receding, but even to measure its rate of motion.

This wonderful discovery is worthy a moment's explanation. According to the received theory light is caused by the undulations of an ether pervading all space. These undulations are imparted to the ether by corresponding vibrations in the molecules of the heated body. Let us suppose that a luminous body at rest produces light-waves of a certain length; if now that body be set in motion through the ether, the waves which it throws behind it will be longer and those in front will be shorter than when at rest. In the same way if our earth be approaching a luminous body the light-waves will meet

us in quicker succession, and therefore appear shorter than were we at rest or receding from the source of light. A simple illustration will make this plain: If a swimmer attempts to swim against the waves, he will meet with a greater number in a given time, and they will appear to him shorter than when he turns around and swims with the waves. Transfer the waves from the water to the ether, and let the swimmer be the earth, and we have the theory upon which is based this method of measuring the motions of the stars. It has not yet been brought to any great degree of accuracy, but the general results confirm the belief that our sun is moving through space. The stars in the neighborhood of Hercules are mostly found to be approaching the earth, while those which lie in the opposite direction are receding from it.

Here, then, is another of those mighty triumphs of the human mind. Starting with the belief to which all the senses seem to testify, that this solid dwelling of ours is fixed and firm, and that all the starry worlds set in their crystal spheres as obedient satellites perform their daily round, and rise and culminate and set for earth and man alone; Copernicus first breaks this spell of immobility and sends this terrestrial ball spinning with its sister worlds about the great central sun; then Herschel, with his giant telescopes, unlooses the bands which bind together the glittering constellations, and starts on their grand courses through the heavens those far-off suns so fondly thought unchangeable; and last of all our own bright orb of day joins these flying hosts—sun, planets and satellites all hurrying onward into the vast unknown of space. A universe in motion! what a grand and awful thought! What arm upholds these ponderous globes? What wisdom guides them as they plunge so wildly forward? Is there here no display of the power and majesty of God?

The forces of nature are so silent in their action that it is difficult to realize how sublime these forces really are. We experience a sense of power as the locomotive with its heavy train rushes past us speeding across the country a mile a minute. We admire the majestic strength of the mighty steamship that plows the deep, "braving the wind-god's fury and leaping the crested barriers of the trident-king." But what mere atoms these compared with the solid earth, which whirls through space at the amazing velocity of sixty-eight thousand miles an hour, yet so smoothly and silently that we are not conscious of the motion! Were it possible to poise ourselves in space near the track of the flying earth as it sweeps around in its yearly orbit, and behold it approaching with its mountains and valleys, its forests and oceans, its smiling fields and populous cities; see it swiftly turning,

swiftly flying, swelling into huge proportions as it nears us, flashing past and hurrying on into the dim distance; then might we begin to realize the vast display of power in launching and sustaining this one tiny world. And yet the mighty sun himself, exceeding by three hundred and fifty thousand times the mass of the earth, together with all his train of attendant worlds, is careering on through space at a speed which baffles thought.

The actual velocities with which the stars are moving are largely matter of conjecture, for it is first necessary to know their distances, and these, as we have seen, have been ascertained in the case of a few only. One example will suffice to show how utterly beyond all human comprehension these velocities must be. The star which is called Groombridge, No. 1830 (that is number 1830 in the catalogue of Groombridge), has an annual proper motion of more than seven seconds. Its distance is so great that the parallax cannot be over about one-tenth of a second. Therefore it is moving every year through space more than seventy times the distance of the earth from the sun. And this is the smallest calculation possible, for if the motion were oblique to the line of sight, the distance would be increased. A simple computation then shows that the star must be moving more than two hundred miles a second, or with some six hundred times the speed of a cannon-ball. It can easily be demonstrated that this velocity is many times greater than would be imparted to the star by the attraction of the whole visible universe. Hence we have, as Prof. Newcomb presents it in his "Popular Astronomy," the following dilemma: "Either the bodies which compose our universe are vastly more massive and numerous than telescopic examination seems to indicate, or 1830 Groombridge is a runaway star flying on a boundless course through infinite space with such momentum that the attraction of all the bodies in the universe can never stop it." Either alternative presents a sublime picture of the grandeur of the scale on which the sidereal heavens are built.

These facts, revealing the magnificent distances, the enormous velocities and the sublime forces which reign in the celestial vault, naturally lead the mind to inquire as to the mutual relations of these bodies, whether like the solar system they are bound together into a common brotherhood of suns, whither these tremendous motions are hurling them, in what gigantic orbits they may be wheeling, what ageless eternities shall suffice to accomplish the mighty cycles, and what the final consummation—to sink one by one into a common mass, or to fly farther and farther apart, each one to wander alone through the blackness of darkness forever. But here we enter the

border-land of mystery. The sublime conception of Kant, that the whole universe is formed of associated systems rising rank above rank, beginning with the satellites revolving about their planets, and ending only with galaxy wheeling in eternal orbit about galaxy, has not been able to stand the test of modern research. The attempt of Maedler likewise to prove from the proper motions of the stars that they are all revolving about Alcyone in the Pleiades, must be regarded as a baseless speculation. "So far as the motions of the stars have yet been observed, or indeed can be observed for centuries to come, they take place in perfectly straight lines"; and if the human mind ever rises to a complete solution of the structure of the universe, it can only be after ages of patient observation.

But leaving to the future all questions of the ultimate structure of the stellar heavens, surely science has already revealed to us enough to excite our admiration and our awe. As we gaze into the roomy depths of space we know that to our finite conceptions at least it is absolutely boundless, and far as telescopic ray has pierced, the great deep of immensity still lies beyond. As the nightly constellations look down upon us unchanged from year to year, we know that notwithstanding this apparent fixity, there are motions in that vast vault startling in their swiftness, and by the side of which all motion which we can conceive is rest. And the cycles of these majestic orbs, when centuries of earth-time but little more than reveal that they are swinging, may well be called the pendulums of the universe beating the seconds of eternity.

Thus do these grand conceptions come sweeping over us like the notes of a celestial choral; and as we listen to the bewildering strains, we hear another choral sublimer still, because divine: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handywork: day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge: there is no speech nor language, their voice is not heard; yet their line is gone out through all the earth and their words to the end of the world." "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of Thy hands: they shall perish, but Thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt Thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail."

There are two tendencies in our day, each of which is foreign to the spirit of the Bible and of the largest, truest Christianity. The one is that cold, dead philosophy which sees in nature nothing but matter and force; the other is the equally narrow piety which at-

tempts to serve God while despising His works. If we need more religion in our science, so also do we need more love and study of nature in our Theology. Either is incomplete without the other. It is certainly a fact for which we ought to blush, that many of our theologians and interpreters of the Scripture fall far behind the ancient Hebrew writers in their acquaintance with natural phenomena, and have therefore failed entirely to comprehend "the surpassing majesty of the Bible views of nature." As Dr. James Hamilton truly says, "If men of piety were also men of science, and if men of science were to read the Scriptures, there would be more faith on the earth and also more philosophy."

Next to the Bible, there is no volume where we can learn more of God and come into closer communion with Him, than in the book of nature; and certainly no page of nature's record shines brighter with God's glory than the starry firmament. A study of nature for itself alone is barren and unprofitable. It is only as we look through nature up to nature's God that the true significance of all the vastness and grandeur about us is seen and felt. It is not alone the mighty worlds, the majestic orbits, the giant forces which awake our awe and admiration; it is the power behind and above, ruling, controlling, guiding all. They speak to us of God; they tell us of His kingdom without end, His boundless power, His infinite wisdom.

Who can gaze into the star-lit evening sky, and not be lifted nearer to the omnipotent Creator, the King eternal, immortal, invisible? Who can sweep outward on the wings of telescopic vision through the clustering systems and universes which rise on every hand and stretch away in illimitable perspective, without exclaiming in accents of reverence and awe, "If these Thy works, Thyself how wondrous then!"

V.

IS TOTAL ABSTINENCE TRUE TEMPERANCE?

IN THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW for July, 1881, Dr. Hodge says:

"As for the rest, if this question of *Bible wines* were once settled we ought to be all one. Every Christian must be a sincere temperance man, and in this age the great mass of us are ready in all social relations to advocate the practice of total abstinence on the ground of Christian expediency, which of course carries with it the obligation of Christian duty."

Among the deliverances of our General Assembly on this subject, as collected and published in the autumn of 1881, by the Assembly's Committee on Temperance, are the following:

"1818. It was earnestly recommended that officers and members abstain from 'even the common use' of ardent spirits."

"1835. An almost unanimous position of public opinion is quoted, to the effect that the use of ardent spirits as a common drink, and the traffic in it, are immoralities not to be countenanced by the Church of Christ. Here it is suggested we should take our stand and purge the Church from this deadly infection. Total abstinence from inebriating drinks should be the principle followed by all the followers of Jesus."

"1871. The manufacture, sale, and use of alcoholic stimulants as a beverage, in the belief of the General Assembly, is contrary to the spirit of God's Word, and wholly inconsistent with the claims of Christian duty. Those who knowingly rent their premises for the traffic, or endorse licenses which legalize it, are reprehensible as accomplices in the guilt of the same.

"This action was the response of the General Assembly, to overtures asking for a clear and unmistakable expression in regard to the manufacture, sale, and use as a beverage of intoxicating liquors."

"1877. The existing phase of the temperance reform in which the religious sentiment was appealed to, and the pledge was taken in reliance upon Divine strength, was recognized as destroying the divorce between the Church and temperance. The Sessions of the churches are called upon to guard carefully the purity of the Church by refusing to admit to membership or to retain those within her pale, who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, or who derive their livelihood from this sinful traffic. Every member of Christ's Church should feel constrained neither to touch, taste, nor handle the intoxicating cup, which has evil and only evil in it, as seen in its influence upon politics, society, homes, hearts, and lives of men."

There can be no dispute that these extracts indicate the historical position of the Presbyterian Church in the matter of temperance and temperance reform. We are now confronted with the question whether

this position is tenable. Shall we continue to advocate the historical doctrine of total abstinence, or must we abandon it as inconsistent with scholarship, practical wisdom, and the Scriptures? This question has recently been raised by men whose opinions command respect, and who deny that total abstinence is either Scriptural or right. And apart from the position taken by such, many recent articles on the word wine, its Biblical use, the proper beverage for the Lord's Supper, the grounds on which, if at all, we should abstain from intoxicating drinks, and other like topics in reviews, encyclopædias, and newspapers, show that earnest men differ widely, not only in regard to matters of detail, but even in their apprehension of the scope of the historical doctrine of total abstinence itself. It seems to the present writer, therefore, that he will best approach certain questions now before the public, by first defining some of the distinctive points in this doctrine, as he has been instructed in it.

I. The abstinence contemplated in the historical doctrine of total abstinence is *abstinence from intoxicating drinks.*

It follows that the temperance which is spoken of as identical with abstinence is understood to be temperance in the matter of using intoxicating drinks. It seems rather ridiculous to those of us who were brought up as teetotalers, that there should be any need of stating this. From our childhood we have been accustomed to hear, in the total abstinence instruction to which we listened, that temperance is self-mastery in all things, and that the self-mastery which consists in letting intoxicating drinks alone is only a specific part of a wider self-mastery for which we ought to strive. We are amused when we see our old friend *Egkrateia* brought to the front, as if she were some newly-found Goliath who had enlisted against us, and before whom it behoved us to flee in terror. Indeed, when our assailants become unusually sublime in their contempt for our ignorance and pretentiousness, we sometimes wish that they, as well as ourselves, were practically as familiar with *Egkrateia* as we have always been theoretically.

The abstinence in question is not from alcoholic liquids as such, but from intoxicating drinks. By advocating total abstinence one is not debarred from making any distinction between the two which he finds it reasonable to make. On the one hand, it is commonly supposed that a very large proportion of our intoxicating wines and liquors owe their strength less to the alcohol than to the various drugs and poisons which they contain. And on the other hand, it is certain that a solid or liquid food is not necessarily rendered intoxicating by the presence in it of some small proportion of alcohol. It is said, for example, that the processes of alcoholic fermentation be-

gin in the juice of an apple, the moment the skin is broken; but no teetotaler ever therefore regarded himself as pledged to abstain from eating sliced apple. It is doubtless true that total abstainers have sometimes been beguiled into wasting their zeal over frivolous questions concerning the ethics of sweet cider, and other kindred trivialities. So, in cases precisely analogous, the advocates of a sound theology or of Scriptural church government have not seldom wasted their strength on unimportant technicalities, at the cost of neglecting essential truths. In the case neither of temperance reform, of theology, or of church polity, can the follies of a few be taken as proving either that their cause is wrong, or that the great body of those who espouse it are silly, or that their opponents are in the right.

Of course alcohol is the great intoxicant. This being the case, it is entirely legitimate to use the phrase "alcoholic stimulants," as a sufficiently definite description of intoxicating drinks. It is so used, in one instance, in the citations made at the head of this article. But it is not surprising if men have sometimes been misled by this use of language. We love an appearance of scientific precision in our statements. Alcohol is something which can be physically measured. Inebriation is not. We study inebriation by investigating alcohol, just as we study mental operations by investigating the phosphates of the brain. In both cases the study is fruitful, but in both the human experience is a different thing from its physical basis. The thought which we are conscious of thinking is not phosphorus, and inebriation is not alcohol. In both cases the experience, and not the physical basis of it, is the thing of chief importance. In the temperance question it is the intoxicating character of a beverage with which we have to deal, and not primarily its alcoholic character. If alcohol did not intoxicate, the temperance reformer would have no more occasion to denounce it than to denounce salt. And the question whether a liquor is intoxicating depends less upon chemical analysis than upon ordinary observation. A beverage is intoxicating for any person, if he can, without especial difficulty, imbibe enough of it to make him drunk. In general, a beverage is intoxicating if ordinary stomachs will hold enough of it to make ordinary persons drunk. A person is drunk when he is so exhilarated by liquor as to make self-control difficult. Under these definitions, tea and coffee, however stimulating or exhilarating they may be, are evidently not intoxicating, while the distilled liquors and the stronger fermented and malt liquors evidently are so. How is it with the lighter beverages of this last class?

It is not true that the advocates of total abstinence have generally refused to recognize any distinction between alcoholic liquids of dif-

ferent grades, though some of them may have done this. Still less is it true that the refusal to recognize a distinction here is essential to their position as total abstinence men. Suppose it to be true of cider, up to a certain stage of fermentation, and of the lighter grades of ale and beer, and of the lighter wines made from the grape and other fruits, that they contain alcohol in sufficient quantity to give them flavor and a certain tonic and exhilarating quality, but not to render them properly intoxicating. This would certainly place the question of using them on a different basis from that of the use of drinks that are properly intoxicating. One might conceivably hold to the duty of total abstinence from intoxicating beverages, and yet regard it as safe and proper to use the non-intoxicating alcoholic beverages. The great mass of the advocates of total abstinence, however, have neither made this distinction between the two classes of drinks, nor made the blunder of refusing to distinguish between them. They have made the distinction by advocating abstinence from the stronger intoxicants on the ground that these directly minister to drunkenness; and from the milder alcoholic drinks, on the ground that these tend to foster an uncontrollable appetite for the stronger, that our using them operates as a temptation to others, serves to range us on the side of those who are opposed to temperance, and is likely to become a means of wasting time and money, and of forming evil habits. At all events, total abstinence men have no interest in ignoring this distinction, as they are sometimes charged with doing. Indeed, they have a strong interest in maintaining it. In their hands, as we shall see, it becomes a powerful weapon.

II. The abstinence contemplated in the historical doctrine of total abstinence, is from intoxicating liquors *as a beverage, or "common drink."*

In the current travesties of the theological doctrine of total depravity, we are represented as holding that every man is lacking in every virtue, and guilty of every vice. A vast amount of the controversy concerning this doctrine has been fought over this burlesque view of it, to the neglect of its central and vital meaning. A similar perversion has attended the adjective "total" in the term "total abstinence." Many seem to have the impression that its especial force is to condemn the use of alcohol as a medicine, or to forbid the drinking of cider a day old, lest, perchance, it may contain an infinitesimal percentage of alcohol. To one whose views of the term have been formed through such perversions of it, the term itself must be suggestive of fanaticism and foolishness. Nevertheless, its historical meaning is perfectly distinct, and is such as to afford no excuse for

these perversions. The total abstinence of the great temperance reform is total abstinence from intoxicating beverages as beverages. It is total as opposed to the partial abstinence, first, of those who undertake to abstain from excess, while they indulge in so-called moderate drinking; and secondly, of those who undertake to abstain from certain kinds of intoxicants, distilled liquors, for example, while they continue the use of other kinds. As opposed to half-way measures of this sort, it expresses the idea of thorough and radical reform. It says to the tempter, "Get thee behind me," instead of saying, "Get thee a little to one side."

But this abstinence, thorough, radical, total, as it is, is from inebriating drinks as a beverage, or to use the older and better phrase, as a common drink. It has nothing directly to do with any other use of them. It is not the refusal to employ them as medicines, or for mechanical purposes, or for purposes of study and investigation, or at the communion table, or for any other use, legitimate or illegitimate, excepting as beverages. It is entirely consistent with this that the great body of total abstinence men regard the medicinal use of alcohol as attended with dangers of the same kind with those which attend the drinking of the mild alcoholic beverages; and therefore hold that medicines of this sort should be administered only with extreme caution.

Of course, our opponents join with the extremists among our friends in ridiculing this distinction. And, certainly, we have to admit that very often some alleged legitimate use of alcohol is made a pretext for what amounts to mere tippling or guzzling. We may also admit that it is not easy to make a mechanically exact definition of the term "beverage" or "common drink." But the same is true of most of the terms used in social science. The distinction is one which presents no difficulty at all to one who honestly wishes to understand and apply it. One uses intoxicating drinks as a beverage if he takes them habitually, in considerable quantities; or if he takes them habitually in any quantity, except for a well-defined medical purpose; or if he takes them, whether habitually or not, and in whatever quantities, merely or chiefly to gratify appetite. Other tests might be stated. But there is no need of stating any tests. Every person who swallows an alcoholic stimulant knows whether he takes it as a beverage, or for some different well-defined purpose.

The distinction is an important one. Through its having been allowed to fall somewhat into the background of late years, the temperance cause has suffered greatly. It has lately been proposed to substitute some other term, "practical abstinence," for example, for

the term total abstinence, as the rallying cry of temperance people. To the writer of this article it seems that there would be vast disadvantage in thus using a new and vague term instead of a perfectly definite one which has become historic. Probably no good could be accomplished by a change which would not be better accomplished by emphasizing before the public the true meaning of the old term.

III. According to the historical doctrine, this total abstinence from intoxicating beverages, as beverages, *is a matter of duty, and not merely of a morally indifferent expediency.*

The citation from Dr. Hodge, at the opening of this article, presents, as the ground of the practice of total abstinence, "Christian expediency, which of course carries with it the obligation of Christian duty." Those from the deliverances of the General Assembly condemn the manufacture, sale, and use of ardent spirits, for purposes of drink, as "immoralities," as "wholly inconsistent with the claims of Christian duty," and as "sinful," without saying whether the obligation thus violated is based on Christian expediency, or upon some other foundation. There is room for speculative controversy here; but such controversy need not trouble those who agree that somehow the "obligation of Christian duty" is present in the matter. Since it is present, it matters the less by what road it came.

Whether the obligation to total abstinence is of a character to be binding universally, and in every age, is a question which has received less attention than it deserves at the hands of the advocates of total abstinence. From the beginning, the present movement has been intensely practical. Its direct aim has been to save the people of the present century. It has not greatly concerned itself as to whether the duty of total abstinence was equally pressing in all the past ages, or whether it will be so in all the coming ages, or whether there are any persons of the present age, even, upon whom it is not binding. The temperance reformers have seen clearly the needs of the great masses of mankind, of the generations now passing, and have chiefly occupied themselves with these. They have given more or less attention to these other problems. They have doubtless made many hasty assumptions in regard to them. But they cannot be said to have reached settled conclusions upon them, as they have upon the central practical duty of total abstinence as binding upon the human beings of the present century.

Many doubtless regard it as a makeshift to say that this duty may not have been generally binding in the time of Jesus, for example, and yet may be so upon us now living. Yet no one will deny that the moral relations in which certain practices stand may change from

age to age. If a duty is clearly binding upon me now, it is none the less so for its not having been binding a year or a generation ago. If it were proved that total abstinence was not a duty at the opening of the Christian era, or two thousand years before or after the opening of that era, it would still be competent to offer proof that it was a duty, generally binding, at some intermediate point between those dates, say the year 1900 of that era. It is conceivable that sufficient evidence might be adduced to prove a practice to be obligatory at one period of history, though it was not so at another, even if we were unable to account for the difference.

Now the advocates of this mode of temperance reform claim that the practice of total abstinence is obligatory upon the generations now passing. The proofs of this, they affirm, are not merely sufficient, but overwhelming. These proofs would not be in the least invalidated if some one could also prove that no such obligation existed at certain specified periods of ancient history. The obligation to destroy the brazen serpent, in the time of Hezekiah, was none the less real for its being an obligation that had not previously existed. The obligation to resist recognized church authority, in the sixteenth century, was not changed by the fact that church authority is ordinarily to be respected. Our obligation to utilize steam transportation in the service of Christ is not neutralized by the absence of any such obligation in the times of our ancestors. If a practice is shown to be now obligatory, then it is now obligatory. To prove that it was not formerly so may show a difference in the times, instead of disproving the present obligation of the practice.

Further, if there be a difference of obligation between our times and those of Christ, for example, in the matter of abstinence from intoxicating drinks, it is easily accounted for. We are not obliged to confine ourselves to proving that the difference exists. We are familiar with differences of circumstances which will account for the difference of obligation, if there is any. And whether there is or is not any difference of obligation, these differences of circumstance are still facts. We are not driven to resort to hypotheses or conjectures, in order to make out our case.

The use of intoxicating drinks, the perverted appetite of men for them, and many of the evils resulting from them, are facts as old as human history. So far, we are on the same footing with the ancients. But in other respects, the art of distilling, which has come into common use within the past few centuries, has materially changed our condition in respect to intoxicating beverages. This change has been all the more marked in that it has been contemporaneous with the in-

troduction to common use of such drugs as tobacco and opium; with our vastly increased modern facilities for transportation and exchange; and with all the marvellous activity and excitement of our present civilization. This article cannot undertake to discuss in detail the bearings of these facts on the temperance problems of the present. And there is the less necessity of doing so, since the most important of these bearings have recently been presented to the American public. In particular, they are discussed in the able article of the late Professor Mears, in the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW for July, 1881. It is sufficient to say here that the bearings in question are of two sorts. The facilities for making and distributing alcoholic stimulants have so increased that the requisites for becoming a drunkard are now substantially within the reach of every person. In ancient times only the wealthy few had the facilities for steadily practicing the vice of drunkenness. The great mass of people, even if they improved every opportunity they had for getting drunk, were yet debarred from frequent drunkenness by the relative scarcity and costliness of the means for this indulgence. Now that this sort of restraint is removed, there is all the more need that a voluntary self-control should be substituted in its place. This is one bearing of the facts just mentioned. The other bearing of them has reference to the change in the alcohol appetite itself which has apparently resulted, during the past few generations, from the enormously excessive use of intoxicants of every description, and particularly in the form of burning distilled liquors. Perhaps the liking for intoxicating drinks, or even the disposition to get drunk, is no stronger and no more universal now than formerly; but there is a certain form of abnormal alcoholic appetite apparently as incontrollable as a disease, or as an insane impulse, which is now, as we have some reason for holding, much more prevalent and more fatal than in ancient times. It follows from this, as well as from the greater facilities for obtaining inebriating drinks, that the dangers attending their use have enormously increased in these modern days. And if this were the whole case, it would yet be sufficient to prove that we are now under obligations to self-restraint which did not formerly exist.

But this is not the whole of the case. It is not only true that there are exceedingly strong reasons for the practice of total abstinence which have come into existence only in these later centuries; but is also true that alcoholic drinks, if they ever were needed by mankind, have, at least, been rendered entirely needless, through the changes which have taken place during these centuries. It is not the exhilarating qualities of these drinks, but their alleged tonic and stimulating quali-

ties, which are supposed to render them of value as beverages. But the past few centuries have witnessed the introduction into general use of such beverages as tea, coffee, chocolate, etc., to such an extent that inebriating drinks are no longer needed for this purpose. Indeed, as table drinks, to accompany the deglutition and assimilation of food, these other beverages have substantially superseded alcoholic liquors, even among people who continue to use the latter. However important may have been the needs of the human system which were supplied by wine and beer when these were the only tonic drinks in use, we have no such need of them now. This is conclusively proved by the high standard of health among tens of millions of total abstainers, the world over.

Let us once more remind ourselves that these statements are statements of fact which are valid in their own right, independently of any theory which any one may hold on the subject of temperance. The need of drinking inebriating beverages now is vastly less than it was a few centuries ago, and the danger in drinking them is vastly greater. It follows by irresistible inference, that if total abstinence was then the true practice, it is far more cogently so now; and that it is very likely to have become so now, even if it was not so then. That it is now the true practice, other considerations abundantly prove.

The advocates of this view, therefore, hold the practice of total abstinence to be a duty generally binding on the present generation, however it may have been with the generations of a few centuries ago, or of a few centuries to come. It does not follow, however, that they claim, or need claim, the right harshly to judge those who differ with them in opinion and practice. It must be acknowledged that temperance men have often erred in this respect, and need to repent, and to be more temperate in the future. It will not justify us if our adversaries have been more vituperative than we. If we have been half as bad as they, we have abundant reason for repentance. There are men who hold to the propriety of moderate drinking, who have done glorious service, as temperance men, against disorder and drunkenness, and the social drinking usages which lead to drunkenness. Such men have some right to complain of the treatment they have received from certain advocates of total abstinence. In particular, they have reason to complain of the parading of alleged instances in which their influence is cited by some low-sunken drunkard, as accounting for his own downfall. In most cases of this kind, the pretext is a mere sham. The drunkard has not been greatly influenced by the example he cites. The very fact of his citing it shows that he knew all along that his own course was dangerous and wrong, and

that he did the wrong deliberately. He now fancies that it will give him a sort of respectability to rub off some of his own mud upon some respectable person; and he knows, unfortunately, that a scandal-loving public will enjoy the sensation made by his attempt to do so. We are not now asking what effect these alleged instances, some few of which are probably genuine, should have on the consciences of the men who advocate moderate drinking. We are asking what course total abstinence reformers should pursue in regard to them. True reformers cannot afford to sanction attempts to drag down respectability to the level of its opposite. Still less can they afford to abet wrong-doers in shirking their responsibility by referring their own misdeeds to the mistakes of other people.

It would not invalidate the rule of total abstinence if we should admit even that some persons now living may be exceptions to the rule. And whether we put it in this way or in some other, all total abstainers regard the practice as a means rather than as an end. The end is the clearing away of the evils of drunkenness. Were this end once accomplished, we should, after that, care very little about the total abstaining. And when we find men earnestly seeking the same end with us, even by methods which we are compelled to oppose as mistaken, we should recognize the men as allies, instead of stigmatizing them as in league with the common foe. We may be conscious that if we were their judges, we should be compelled to disapprove their practices; but we are not their judges. The age has not much use for that class of temperance men who do very little temperance work, but take it out in railing at their fellow-laborers who happen to differ with them in opinion. In our efforts for reform we need to practice total abstinence from all that is unwise or uncharitable, as well as from intoxicating beverages.

According to the statements cited at the beginning of this article, our duty in the matter of total abstinence does not cease with our being correct in our own habits. It includes the avoidance of all abetting or encouraging of bad habits on the part of others. It requires us to be known as those who have taken a stand in this matter, that our influence therein may be felt. It demands active co-operation in temperance measures. This phase of duty is made especially prominent in the deliverances of the Presbyterian Church, all the way down from 1812, when ministers were "urged to preach pointedly, and solemnly warning all, especially members of their churches, not only against actual intemperance, but against all those habits and indulgences which may have a tendency to produce it."

Among the appliances used in total abstinence work, the pledge

has been quite prominent, and even, to a certain extent, distinctive. But evidently, there is no necessary connection between it and the total abstinence idea. The advocates of moderate drinking might adopt a pledge if they chose. Total abstainers might get along without it if they preferred. It is a little inconsistent, therefore, when objections against the pledge are savagely urged as if they were objections against the practice of total abstinence. It is doubly strange when objections of this sort are urged as being of fatal force, by a minister of the Gospel who, in his youth, solemnly and publicly pledged himself to be a faithful member of the Church of Christ, who took a public pledge when he was matriculated in the seminary, another when he was licensed to preach, another when he was ordained, another at each subsequent installation, and who constantly administers baptism as the sign and seal of "our engagement to be the Lord's," and the Lord's Supper as being the renewal of "our engagement to God."

IV. The advocates of the historical doctrine of total abstinence, like other temperance men, hold that *the laws of both Church and State should be framed and executed in the interest of temperance.*

If intemperance and the abetting of intemperance are sins, then when these sins assume certain overt forms and proportions they become crimes. It is the duty of legislation, so far as is feasible, to repress and punish crimes. If intemperance is not sinful, and cannot become criminal, it may yet be the duty of legislation to protect the public against certain special dangers involved in it. In either case, it is obligatory upon good citizens to secure and carry out proper legislation in the premises.

But there is no point in which the total abstinence position is more continually or more harmfully misapprehended, than in just this. It is constantly assumed that the position of a total abstainer and that of an advocate of prohibitory legislation are identical. But evidently, as a matter of theory, the idea of total abstinence is by no means the same with that of prohibitory legislation. And as a matter of fact, it would be difficult to tell, at present, how large a proportion of the advocates of the one of these measures are also advocates of the other. In the United States a very large number of total abstainers steadily vote the ticket of a party in whose platform prohibitory legislation is specifically condemned, under the guise of a condemnation of "sumptuary laws." Doubtless many of them do this thoughtlessly, but it must also be that many of them deliberately hold the opinion adopted by their party. The number of total abstainers who vote thus must be immensely larger than the number of those who

vote distinctively for prohibition, while a still larger number steadily vote with a party whose platform neither favors nor opposes the prohibitory idea.

It would not be fair, however, to infer from this state of things that only a few total abstinence men believe in prohibitory legislation. It is certain that multitudes believe in it, whose votes are at present controlled by other considerations. Beyond a doubt, the great majority of total abstainers emphatically repudiate the notion that a prohibitory law is of the nature of sumptuary laws, and is therefore to be condemned. They hold that it is no infringement of a citizen's rights to prohibit his damaging the community by keeping a dram-shop. Many hold this, who suppose that they have learned from experience that "no license" means free liquor, that prohibitory legislation is so peculiarly infeasible that it can be executed only in a community where it is not needed. The point in hand is that the platforms of total abstinence and of prohibition, however closely related they may be, are not to be confounded. Many have held to prohibition, who neither advocated nor practiced total abstinence. And one may earnestly and consistently advocate the latter, whether he regards prohibitory legislation as both consistent with equal rights and feasible, or as infeasible though consistent with equal rights, or as both inconsistent with these and infeasible.

Similar reasoning would, of course, show that the doctrine of total abstinence is no more bound to license laws, or special tax laws, or laws for civil damages, or legislation of any other particular stripe, than to that just mentioned; although one could hardly have traversed the reasons which make total abstinence seem important, without seeing that, in addition to all possible moral suasion in these matters, some form of so-called legal suasion is also desirable.

These distinctions are practical. Through not heeding them, temperance men of all stripes have made themselves foolish, and have played into the hands of their opponents. Instead of exalting the creed and the purposes which, as temperance men, we hold in common, we have pushed to the front our differences as to the mode in which legislation should deal with intemperance. We have weakened ourselves by attacking one another more zealously than we attacked the common enemy. Sections of temperance men have formed combinations with corrupt political elements against their own natural allies. Temperance principles have thus been discredited before the public by being made the tools of designing politicians. A striking comment on this is the fact that the temperance political element which twenty-five years ago swept the States, and did what it would with

the popular elections, is now, in most localities, adequate to the task of an annual political protest, only because its voting adherents are so much more respectable than they are numerous.

But we have made yet worse mistakes here, and these have resulted in yet worse consequences. When temperance men allow themselves to fancy that the only hope for their cause lies in the obtaining of some sort of legislation different from that now current, they often allow this notion to interfere with the prosecution of other parts of their work, which are really of much greater importance. The duty of exerting all possible influence in favor of the practice of personal abstinence is none the less pressing when we cannot have such legislation as we desire. It is folly to get discouraged in this because the laws seem to us unsatisfactory. We should rather, on this account, prosecute our moral work the more vigorously. It is folly to intermit our moral work while we are engaged in efforts to secure legislation that we like better. Just then is when the moral work needs to be most earnestly pushed. It is especial folly for us to allow our conviction of the badness of existing laws to lead us to interfere with every temperance effort which does not specifically aim at the change of those laws. A vast amount of this kind of folly is practiced. Many an attempt to organize for the suppression of existing disorders, or for the cultivating of temperance sentiment, or for persuading men to be temperate, has been ruined by men who would insist on burying the purpose in hand under their tirades against existing laws and against all who would not follow their lead in political action for a change of laws.

This sort of folly becomes simply monstrous when it leads us to talk as if the present bad condition of the laws were an excuse for the forming of intemperate habits, and for persisting in them. What right has a temperance man to say, "I have no heart to warn a youth against evil, or to ask a man to reform, because the temptations are so thick around them"? It is just because the temptations are so thick that they all the more need help and warning. The worst thing you can do for an erring man is to persuade him that the laws are somehow responsible for his error. Teach him to say, "I would do better if the community did not surround me with enticements to evil," and you have taught him to put his own conscience to sleep, and sink down easily into ruin. It is the essential condition of saving any person that he shall be made to feel that:

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

No freedom from external temptation can render this unnecessary, and no abundance of external temptation can render it impossible, in the

case of one who, with Divine help, makes the attempt. The temptations offered by the dram-shops themselves are no more ruinous to the tempted man than those forced upon him, with endless reiteration, by the reformers who insist that, as the laws are, he cannot help himself. The best law cannot help any one, except as he acts for himself. And even the worst law compels no one to drink, or to treat another, or to skulk, concealing his temperance views, and neglecting to make his influence felt on the right side.

A particular form of this current folly of temperance men, by which they greatly help the cause to which they are opposed, is their frequent repetition of the assertion that license laws or special tax laws sanction the retail traffic in inebriating drinks. This assertion is, of course, untrue. It has been so much the fashion to make it, that multitudes of people have all their lives been in the habit of making it without ever noticing that it was a mere figure of speech. A license may indeed contain a verbal authorization, just as a mortgage in the State of New York is verbally a deed; but the license is no more intended or understood to convey an actual approval, than the mortgage to be an actual transfer of the property mortgaged. The merely verbal sanction of a license law is certainly objectionable, like all other circuitous and indirect language in legal matters or elsewhere; but it is not at all of the nature of a testimonial in favor of the business licensed. A simple license is merely an arrangement for a special tax, commonly accompanied by restrictions, and had better be called by that name, and put in that form; and it cannot change a reputable business into a disreputable one, or the contrary. A hack-driver is respectably occupied, not because he is licensed, but because hacks are a convenience to the community. The occupation is just as respectable in some country town where no license is required, as in a city. If he violate the law which requires him to be licensed, he becomes disreputable; but it is his law-breaking that renders him so, and not his hack-driving. So it is with the retailing of ardent spirits for drink. If it would be a mean business without special tax laws, then it is a mean business with them. On this supposition, the only difference made by the law is that it makes it possible for the retailer to add the disreputability of a law-breaker to the disreputability of a panderer to men's evil appetites.

The persistent assertion of the contrary of all this, on the part of temperance men, has had the effect of clothing the traffic with a factitious respectability. Men who honestly comply with the restrictions imposed upon them by the law, can very plausibly say: "You temperance people agree with us in declaring that it is respectable for us

to furnish people with drinks; that the law makes it respectable." Some of them, doubtless, actually quiet their consciences with this sort of reasoning. Their patrons come to fancy that their own tippling comes in for a share of this respectability conferred by law. Temperance men need strenuously to assert the truth that there is no such thing as respectability conferred by law. If the laws make it possible for one man dishonestly to get possession of another man's property, the dishonesty is just as disreputable as if the laws were different. We cannot afford thus to interpose Law to shield men from their own consciences and from public opinion, even for the sake of urging the downfall of alleged bad laws.

Our folly sometimes takes the form of apathy in regard to the enforcement of existing temperance laws. There are always many who are saying: "The present laws are defective; they are not what they should be; let them alone; if we had better machinery, it might be worth while, but now it is not." A large class in the community, accustomed to regard the law as conferring respectability on the liquor traffic, clearly see that the execution of the restrictive parts of the law would be somewhat insulting to that supposed respectability. Through these and other causes it comes about that most of our temperance legislation of every stripe is a dead letter. We are in a state of utter lawlessness in regard to these matters. And to make the state of things as bad as possible, there are many who, finding no other outlet for their temperance zeal, take it out in railing at the laws. The effect of all this in discrediting law, in spreading disloyalty through the community, is most disastrous, not only to the temperance cause, but to all good citizenship, and all reverence for law.

In this matter it will be well for us if we learn a lesson from the history of the anti-slavery reform. The same fallacious assumption which we have been considering, namely, that legal restriction is legal sanction, had a prominent place in that history. A large and influential body of the opponents of slavery practically aided those who defended that system, by proclaiming that the national Constitution, since it contained certain restrictive clauses, therefore sanctioned slave-holding; and that the Old and New Testaments, since they recognize the existence of certain duties as between master and slave, therefore recognize the rightfulness of the relation itself. In the interests of freedom, therefore, they attacked the national Constitution, and defied civil and ecclesiastical law. They advocated local legislation contravening the laws of the United States, and open resistance to those laws. They denounced the Constitution as a covenant with death and a league with hell, and affirmed that the triumph of liberty

must be over the ashes of the American Union and of the American Church. Now, most of these men are commonly credited with having rendered valiant and effective service; but whatever real service they rendered must have been through other means than their defiance of law. We can now easily see that if they had been considerably more successful in this line of influence, the result would have been, apparently, a divided nation, and the riveting of the chains of the slave for generations. And as it is, no one can tell how much their disregard for law had to do with provoking and fostering that other disregard for law which actually rose in arms against the Government, or in otherwise complicating and intensifying the horrors in the midst of which slavery disappeared. As here, so in the temperance reform and elsewhere. True reformers can always afford to be loyal to law. They cannot afford, by their heedlessness in regard to law, to arm their assailants with weapons taken from their own arsenals.

So far as ecclesiastical law is concerned, the deliverances of the Presbyterian Church in this matter are but partially represented in the extracts at the beginning of this article. There is another class of utterances, which many are in the habit of regarding as in direct contradiction to those heretofore mentioned. For instance, in the Philadelphia Assembly of 1842, according to the Report of the Assembly's Permanent Committee on Temperance, "the question whether the manufacturer and vender of intoxicating drinks should be continued in the full communion of the church, was answered by refusing to sanction any new term of communion." This language might possibly be understood as contradicting that above cited, which distinctly affirms that the making, vending, and using of intoxicants as a beverage are offences, to be dealt with by discipline. Our General Assembly, however, holds that the two are not contradictory. The offence in question exists, and is an offence; but it is to be dealt with according to the judgment and discretion of the living men who compose the Church courts, under the laws now existing, and not by the placing of fresh statutes upon the books of the Church courts. In this respect, the Presbyterian Church deals with intemperance as with other offences. In respect of all discipline, its policy is to refuse to be incumbered by specifications of details; but rather to refer the men who sit in its courts directly to the Word of God, and the general principles laid down in the Standards. So far as offences in the matter of ardent spirits are concerned, both parts of this position are discriminatingly laid down in the deliverance of the Pittsburgh Assembly of 1865, as given in the Report already frequently cited.

"The manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage is an offence in the sense of the Book of Discipline, inasmuch as it comes under the definition of an offence, Chap. I., Sec. 3: 'Anything in the principles or practice of a church member which is contrary to the Word of God, or which, if it be not in its own nature sinful, may tempt others to sin, or mar their spiritual edification.' To persevere in such manufacture and sale, especially retail sale, is so palpable a violation of the law of Christian charity to the weak, that it is a sufficient ground of refusal and exclusion *against* those already in the communion of the Church.

"This, the deliverance proceeds to say (Digest, p. 489), is not establishing a new term of communion not before known in the Church. If the practice of the Church has been to any extent favorable to the admission or continuance of such persons in her communion, it only proves that the Church in these cases has overlooked or neglected to enforce the true principles of her Standards. We conclude, therefore, that it is not adopting a new term of communion to exclude persons from sealing ordinances, on the ground of their manufacturing and vending intoxicating drinks as a beverage. On the contrary, it is only falling back upon the teachings of the Bible and the Constitution of the Church, which require visible Christianity in a credible form of those who would partake of the ordinances, and refuse such privilege to those who by overt acts of offence fail to present such evidence.

"This action in full was referred to the Board of Publication to be printed as a tract."

V. The historical doctrine of total abstinence claims *to be based upon Scripture and upon moral philosophy, as well as upon the good judgment of men and upon social and physical science.*

To present in full the grounds of the doctrine is, of course, no part of the purpose of the present article. It confines itself to noticing a few points in regard to the present state of the argument.

The question is not at all whether the advocates of total abstinence have always been logically infallible in their reasonings. The great truths which have revolutionized society have commonly had, among their early advocates, men who held visionary theories, and made rash assertions and mistaken inferences. It would be a miracle if the truths of the total abstinence reform had escaped this fate. As a matter of fact, they have not escaped. All along the line, the correct reasoner is more incumbered by the rubbish which the friends of this reform have accumulated than by the artillery with which its enemies attack it. But the presence of rubbish does not prove the absence of genuine value. With all the weak argument thrown away, there may still remain enough strong argument to render the position impregnable. If the friends of total abstinence have not always reasoned well, they may yet have reasoned better than its assailants. The question is not how much good or bad attack or defence there has been, but how the evidence stands, in regard to the matter in dispute. One need not indorse all that his friends have said in order to maintain that their view is the true view, and that the positions they have taken, have at least been better taken than those of their opponents.

For example, against the assertion that alcohol is a good creature of God, and should be thankfully used, it has sometimes been argued

that alcohol is not a good creature of God because it is a so-called artificial product, and not a natural product. Immense amounts of breath have been spent on the two sides of this distinction. Doubtless it is an empty distinction. Alcohol in wines and ciders is a domestic product, like bread or like cooked meats, such as men might naturally discover, without any recondite process of invention. In distilled and malt liquors it is a chemical invention, like chloroform or like laughing-gas. But nothing follows in either case as to the propriety of daily taking it into the stomach as an article of food. As a domestic product it may be analogous either to bread, or to arsenic, or to tainted meat and rotten vegetables. As a chemical product, it may be either good or bad, according to what is done with it. In either case, no one objects to its use, but to its wrong use. In the camphor and liniment bottles, in the lamp under the coffee-urn, in a thousand other places, this good creature has its uses. The only question at issue is whether the imbibing of it as a common drink is one of these uses, or is an abuse of it. The man who argues that it is of no use at all is mistaken; but he may be very much less so than his opponent who argues that it is of use as a common drink.

Many temperance advocates assume that alcoholic drinks are properly poisons. Suppose the assumption to be mistaken. It does not follow that the total abstinence position is mistaken. And it does not follow that those who count ardent spirits as poisonous are as seriously mistaken as their opponents who count ardent spirits as desirable articles of daily food. This question of the use of the word poison is a mere question of definition. Whether we call ardent spirits poisonous or not, our objection to them is, not that they are poisons, but that they are intoxicating. Suppose you prove them poisonous, that does not increase the obligation to abstain; suppose you prove the contrary, that does not diminish it. These drinks might conceivably be the more dangerous for not being poisons. In the case of recognized poisons, at least, you can trust to our instinctive aversion to suicide as a restraint upon men. If it were granted that the treatment of this evil is to be different from that required in the case of poisons, that a vender of ardent spirits is in no sense a seller of poisons, there would yet remain every essential feature of the evil itself, and every reason for dealing earnestly with it.

Many advocates of total abstinence have laid great stress on the allegation that alcoholic drinks are not food. That the latest investigations of physical science show them to have been mistaken in this, is now triumphantly claimed by their opponents. But if they are mistaken on this point, the main argument is not thereby affected. If it

be admitted that a human stomach can assimilate alcohol, it does not follow that the stomach needs alcohol, or will be the better for the use of it as a common drink, or that the dangers of this use of it are any the less. If the verdict of physical science were simply that the advocates of total abstinence are mistaken in this matter, and the advocates of moderate drinking correct, the point is not so vital as to affect the relative position of the parties. But the testimony of recent investigation is not thus simply in favor of the position of the moderate drinkers. This testimony is not, without limitation, that alcohol is assimilated; but that alcohol is assimilated *in very small quantities*. If an advocate of moderate drinking has been accustomed to aver that five ounces of ardent spirits per day is food, and his teetotal opponent has been accustomed to aver that the five ounces per day is not food, and physical science definitively declares that a small amount of it, say one-fourth of an ounce, is food; then the teetotaler may be pardoned if he claims that he was within a quarter of an ounce of the truth, and that his opponent was nineteen times as far from the truth as he.

These instances are representative. In the social, ethical, and Biblical fields of evidence, as well as in the fields of common observation and of physical science, it may safely be affirmed that when the total abstinence men have taken an untenable position, it has been in some point not really essential to their main purpose; and quite commonly, their position, even in such instances, has been nearer the truth than that of the men who opposed them. In other words, even their blunders are the blunders of a succession of men who are under the power of a great leading truth; as were the Protestant reformers, or the English Puritans, or the men who secured American independence, or other similar groups of men.

The statements just made apply mainly to particular positions taken by particular sections of the advocates of total abstinence. The great leading arguments, in which they have all agreed, have been impregnable from the beginning. A very distinctive characteristic of these arguments appears in the Assembly's deliverance of 1871, cited above, in which the practices reprehended are said to be "contrary to *the spirit of* God's Word." In the Bible and out of it, our main appeal has always been to the whole spirit of all the evidence, rather than to disconnected items. For example, the Scriptures, moral, social, and physical science, and common-sense alike commend the virtue of moderation, and condemn the vice of excess; they alike commend the virtue of prudence, and condemn the vice of recklessness; they alike commend the virtue of magnanimity, and condemn the vice of

narrow selfishness. Now, for most of the men and women of the flesh-eating, tea-and-coffee-drinking generations now passing, any use of intoxicants as a beverage is an excess. A wide induction of facts shows it to be not only needless, but positively harmful. At the best, it is the putting of the human system under influences by the like of which it is already too much affected. Again, for most persons now living, the beginning of the use of intoxicants as a beverage is an imprudence so gross as to be criminal in its nature. A man may believe himself to have a constitution that is proof against typhoid diseases; but that will not justify him in tampering with the sewerage of his house, and otherwise deliberately surrounding himself with conditions favorable to the production of typhoid disease. The person who, by entering upon the habit of moderate drinking, gratuitously puts himself in the way of having awakened within him that abnormal appetite sometimes known as the alcohol disease, is guilty of a similar wicked recklessness. It is true that he may prove to be so constituted that his appetite for intoxicants will never assume this morbid form, just as the other may be so constituted that it is impossible for him to have typhoid fever; but neither of them has the right, except for some sufficient and worthy purpose, thus to expose himself to needless and terrible danger. And even if one could prove himself exempt from the operation of these laws, how can he escape the grasp of the law of Christian magnanimity—the law which requires one to deny himself, in matters not morally binding, rather than be even the unintentional cause of injury to others? As one observes the evils caused by "the intoxicating cup," "in its influence upon politics, society, homes, hearts, and lives of men," it is not strange if he is led, for the sake of others, to practice and advocate total abstinence, even if he supposes that moderate drinking is safe and good for himself.

Even so uncompromising an opponent as Charles Dickens holds that total abstinence is the only true course for one who has the alcohol disease, and is conscious of inability to control himself if he begins to drink at any time. Total abstainers have not sufficiently noticed that the true ground for them to take is that such an one is under special obligations. So far as he is concerned, he has no right to excuse himself for drinking by the example of others who can control themselves. His case is different from theirs, and he knows that it is different. He is responsible for his own conduct, not for theirs. And the case of one who knows that he is thus affected by alcohol is not so very different from that of one who has not yet learned by experiment, for the latter at least knows that there is danger.

In the discussions of temperance subjects, our obligation to deny

ourselves in order to avoid tempting the weak has doubtless sometimes been greatly overstated. The duty of sometimes waiving our rights for the sake of others, is no more imperative than that of sometimes asserting our rights. But since Cain asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" the existence of this obligation to yield our rights, to some extent, for the sake of helping the weak, has hardly been questioned except by some of the opponents of total abstinence in the temperance reform; and they are certainly mistaken in questioning it. It may be different, in some respects, from some other obligations. If magnanimity be a duty, it is not, on that account, any the less magnanimity. And on the other hand, Christian magnanimity is not to be regarded as a work of supererogation—a virtue which one is at liberty to omit practicing if he pleases, and for which, if he practices it, he deserves especial credit.

The following admirable statement of the law of Christian magnanimity is extracted from a discourse of Dr. Dunlop Moore, published in 1876. "Why do I then, holding, as I do, pure wine to be a noble, precious gift of God, abstain from using it? Just because the habit of the people of America, among whom I now dwell, as the habit of the people of England, is not to be satisfied with the moderate exhilaration which a pure natural wine affords. There are, I know, many men in the community around me, who if they use stimulants at all, will indulge excessively in ardent spirits. It seems to me that by denying myself what, in other circumstances, would be a legitimate gratification, I may be able to preserve some of my weak brethren from destruction. And I feel myself called on to exemplify in this case the great principle laid down by the apostle, 'It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.' . . . . In regard to the application of this principle of expediency and charity, in determining when, and where, and from what things in themselves innocent, we should abstain, every man must act on his own responsibility." "But remember, voluntary self-sacrifice is a fundamental law of Christ's kingdom. To deny ourselves the use of what is lawful, without any sufficient motive, would be foolishness. To deny ourselves when we believe that we can thereby benefit others is Christ-like—is a line of conduct which all His followers should pursue."

Now since the doctrine of total abstinence, for the people of the present generations, in being thus based upon the Christian virtues of moderation, prudence, and magnanimity, is based upon the Holy Scriptures as well as upon unassailable truth outside the Scriptures, the Scriptural proof of this doctrine will not be greatly affected by the

settlement of the various exegetical questions which have arisen. If the Scriptures, by direct precept or by inevitable inference, required the men of the present generations to drink intoxicating liquors as a beverage, that would indeed be conflicting evidence. But no one claims that there is any precept in the Bible requiring the general drinking of intoxicating beverages. No one even claims that there is any approval of this practice that is couched in anything like the form of a general, sweeping proposition. There is, therefore, no conflict of evidence. As might have been expected, the Scriptures do not contradict themselves. If we should surrender the whole exegetical argument to our opponents, they could logically make it prove nothing more than that certain practices now disapproved by the Word of God were formerly, in different circumstances, counted justifiable.

But the advocates of total abstinence, in spite of the blunders which some of them have made, have no reason for counting themselves beaten even in the field of exegesis. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that a good deal of false interpretation has been used in defending this doctrine by the Scriptures. Certain of its defenders seem to have had so low an appreciation of its solid strength, so faint a confidence in its adequacy, on its own merits, to resist all attacks, that they have felt under a pressure of conscience to bring it factitious aid, to warp Scripture texts, for example, in order to force them to support it, or to count the Scriptures as somehow, in these matters, superseded by something else. There are even temperance men who profess great zeal, and take it out in insisting on the wickedness of all who fail to put a certain very queer interpretation on certain Bible texts. This sort of procedure hinders the progress of the total abstinence cause. The most plausible arguments now used against this cause, like those now used against the received doctrine of future punishment, are those which consist in the refutation of the mistaken reasons from the Scriptures, alleged by its defenders.

The advocates of total abstinence ought heartily to welcome such contributions to the literature of temperance as the careful and valuable articles of Dr. Dunlop Moore, published in the January Numbers of the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW in 1881 and 1882. The exegesis represented in the passages which he cites from such authors as Samson and Lees, evidently mistaken as it is, has been somewhat widely accepted, for the sake of the conclusions to which it leads. But these conclusions are too precious to be ventured upon any such rotten foundations. Multitudes are discriminating enough to detect false arguments, who are yet not discriminating enough to see that the conclusion based on the false argument may nevertheless be true.

The mistaken arguments in favor of total abstinence have doubtless led many to the hasty inference that total abstinence is itself a sham. They have also had a paralyzing influence on men who believe in total abstinence, and who are prepared to defend it by arguments which will stand the test of criticism, but whose voice is lost in the louder voice of their illogical associates. When a man takes the pains that Dr. Moore has taken, collecting evidence from every quarter to prove a mistaken argument to be mistaken, he deserves not merely the thanks of lovers of truth in general, but the especial thanks of the lovers of the special truth which was endangered by being based upon the mistaken argument. It seems the more desirable, at this point, to make this acknowledgment of the peculiar value and excellence of these articles, as we shall presently have occasion to differ decidedly with them in certain views therein expressed.

For absurdity of exegesis, it may be that the total abstinence men, proficient as some of them are, do not bear away the palm from their opponents. One might safely undertake to match every rash Biblical statement made by the teetotalers, by one made on the other side that is at least equally absurd, offensive, and pretentious.

But we have better ground to build upon than any such comparison of our infirmities with the infirmities of those who differ with us. In the short article of Dr. Hodge, already cited, he speaks of "the fact that the traditions of the fathers, the consensus of the churches, the history of the past, the scholarship of the present, the testimony of travellers and missionaries, stand as one unbroken wall in testimony to the fact that to become *wine* it is necessary that the juice of the grape should be fermented. This is so true that any real or apparent testimony to the contrary is received only as a puzzle of eccentricity, or of accident." No one who knows Dr. Hodge would accuse him of superciliousness for using these words, "a puzzle of eccentricity, or of accident," in the connection in which they here stand. But in the present state of the temperance controversy, precisely the same language, if it had been uttered by some other man, and in a different context, might easily be understood to be extremely supercilious.

The present writer certainly does not deny that this word, whether you spell it *wine*, or *yayin*, or *oinos*, or *vinum*, properly denotes fermented grape-juice; or that in its ordinary variant meanings it denotes liquors which resemble grape-juice in the point of being alcoholic. But this is the extent of the fact which is defended by the "unbroken wall" of evidence. Whether the current meaning of the word is its primary meaning is another question. And it is still a

different question, whether this current meaning, be it primary or otherwise, excludes the applying of the word, in some variant meaning, to something which resembles fermented grape-juice in some other point than in being alcoholic. The English word *vine*, signifying the plant from which the fermented grape-juice is derived, is but the word *wine* differently spelled. The same phenomenon, or nearly the same, appears in many other languages. To say that the word wine cannot fairly be used to denote an unalcoholic substance is, on the face of it, precisely as absurd as to say that the word vine cannot fairly be used to denote the plants which produce squashes or strawberries or hops. One who attempts to prove such a use may be unsuccessful; but there is nothing particularly eccentric or accidental in his making the attempt. It is certain that wine, in the Scriptures, is mentioned both with approval and with disapproval. That which is approved certainly differs in some respects from that which is disapproved. The opponents of total abstinence generally admit that the word wine, when coupled, in the New Testament, with certain other words, or when used, in the Old Testament, in descriptions of the treading of grapes, and in perhaps other connections, may be applied, anticipatively at least, to unfermented grape-juice. In Dr. Moore's article of January, 1881, he mentions more than one instance in which *oinos* is so employed. The very passage which he cites from Aristotle to prove that this usage is not strictly proper (p. 106), proves, nevertheless, that the usage actually existed. And on page 91 of the REVIEW for January, 1882, one witness says in regard to the raisin wine sometimes used by the Jews at the Passover: "they are perfectly indifferent about fermentation"; while another witness says of the Passover wine, that fermented wine is the rule, but in certain circumstances, unfermented may be used. Now, if several instances of this sort can be found in fifty pages of literature, written expressly to prove that grape-juice is not properly wine until it is fermented, probably a good many more instances can be found in the rest of the literature of the world. With facts like these as a starting-point, men of excellent scholarship have brought forward a good deal of evidence in support of the opinion that the Biblical approval or disapproval of wines depends on the question whether they are alcoholic. The present writer regards their opinion as entirely mistaken. But is there any sufficient reason for accusing them of having perpetrated anything so horrible as a "puzzle of eccentricity or of accident"?

The theory now fashionable seems to be that the Bible, at least for the times then current, approves the moderate use of intoxicating

drinks, but disapproves excess. This is accepted by many—presumably by the large majority—of the advocates of total abstinence, as well as by others. But if it were not for the danger of being guilty of "a puzzle of eccentricity, or of accident," one might venture the assertion that this view, stated in this loose, general way, is not much more tenable than the theory of a harmless wine.

In very many passages, of many different types, the Bible rebukes excess in drinking, rebukes convivial drinking, and rebukes, in general, the drinking of intoxicants. The passages which specifically condemn excess are very prominently cited by the advocates of moderate drinking; but are far more numerous and pointed than even their citations would lead one to suppose. Not merely the passages which forbid church officers to be given to much wine, but those which directly or indirectly mention drunkenness, those which mention the epithet "wine-bibber" as applied to our Saviour, the stories of Noah, Lot, Hannah, Nabal, David and Uriah, and all similar stories, and such texts as Isaiah v. 11, 22, and xxviii. 1, 7, are all to the point. Many scores of times, probably, the Bible specifically condemns excess in drink. It is alleged that this condemnation of excess is an implied recognition of the propriety of moderate use. But this is evidently not a necessary inference; for the total abstinence men of the present age, and of all ages, are in the habit of condemning both the excess and the moderate use. It is logically possible, therefore, that the Scriptural condemnation of excess may come from a source which would also condemn many or all forms of so-called moderate use.

A good instance of the kind of language men use when they wish to couple approval of the use of wine with disapproval of excess, is that currently cited from Ecclus. xxxi. 25–31:

> "Show not valiantness in wine,
> For wine hath destroyed many.
> The furnace proveth the edge by dipping,
> So doth wine hearts, by the strife of the proud.
> Wine is as life to men, if it be drunk in its measure;
> What kind of a life is that which is without wine?
> And it was made to make men glad.
> Wine drunk measurably and in season is gladness of heart, and joy of soul;
> Wine drunken to excess is bitterness of soul,
> With excitement and quarrelsomeness."

Whatever the reason may be, men who wish to approve the moderate use of wine, while they condemn excess, are accustomed to express their approval, as in this case. The Greek translators of Proverbs felt the necessity of this so strongly that they seem to have felt constrained to paraphrase the passages concerning wine, in order to

bring into them this expressed approval of moderate and sensible drinking. Instead of following their text and writing, "It is not for kings to drink wine," they wrote, "With counsel do all things, with counsel drink wine." Instead of, "Look not upon the wine," they wrote, "Be not drunk with wine, but converse with just men, and converse walking about," etc. In contrast with all this are the condemnations of excess in both the Testaments. It will hardly be alleged that they ever, in a single instance, couple their disapproval of excess with an expressed approval of moderate use. If they mentioned the matter but two or three times, this silence might not be of much account. But the instances are so numerous, and the contrast with the prevalent usage in other literatures so distinct, as to make this a very marked point in what the Bible teaches concerning the use of wine. The Bible does not, like the advocates of moderate drinking, set off this as the proper opposite to excess, but here maintains a silence which must be counted as significant.

The convivial use of wine is mentioned in a very large number of Scriptural passages. In the book of Esther, representing largely the state of things at the luxurious Persian court, a banquet is a *drinking*, and wine suppers are quite characteristic of the times. But no one, probably, would claim that there is any sanction of convivial drinking in the book of Esther. Even those who believe in drinking wine would hardly justify even Esther's use of the wine banquet as a means of influence, excepting by the plea of a strong necessity. What is true of the instances in Esther is true of a considerable number of other passages in which convivial wine-drinking is mentioned. And on the other hand, precisely this use of wine is frequently and pointedly condemned. Examples may be found in Isa. v. 12, 22, and xxiv. 9, 11, and lvi. 12. The men whose ambition is to be known as connoisseurs in drinking matters, those who pride themselves on their skill in concocting drinks, are lashed with unmerciful sarcasm, and condemned with unsparing indignation. A very long list might be made of the passages of this sort. And these passages, like those of the class just mentioned, are unaccompanied by limiting expressions to the effect that there is some appropriate drinking of wine, either social or solitary, in distinction from the use which is condemned.

One might dispute this if he should assume that such terms as the English word "merry," when used in the Scriptures, indicate a slight and pleasant degree of alcoholic exhilaration. But this is probably never the case. Terms of this sort represent a considerable variety of expressions in the original languages, and it is impossible here to

enter into details. But these terms are customarily connected with eating as well as with drinking, and even with eating where there is no mention of drinking. The father of the prodigal son, for example, says: "Let us eat and be merry." Where merriment is mentioned in the Bible in connection with eating and drinking, the reference is prevailingly rather to the being in a comfortable and festive condition of mind and body than to alcoholic exhilaration. When the merriment spoken of is distinctly said to be that of vinous exhilaration, as in the case of Nabal or Ahasuerus, or Joseph's brethren, it is evidently a pitiful and disgraceful merriment. It would be difficult to show that a condition of moderate alcoholic exhilaration is ever mentioned in the Bible with anything like approval. In this the Bible stands out as a marked body of literature, among the sacred and profane literatures of the ages. What it says about being merry is so far from constituting an approval of some sort of convivial drinking, that it becomes by itself a fresh instance of the peculiar way in which the Bible, verbally at least, avoids paying that homage to vinous excitement which is paid in the other literatures of the world.

That in the Bible which comes nearest to a sanction of some form of convivial drinking is the example of Jesus at the wedding of Cana, and at the institution of the Lord's Supper. Perhaps one ought to approach this point with fear and trembling. The men whose views Dr. Moore attacks are quite in the habit of using the form of *reductio ad absurdum* in which one says: "If your position be true, it makes Jesus to have been a sot, or a tempter of others, as the case may be; and therefore your position is not true." In their use of this argument, perhaps they have not been careful enough to prevent their language having an irreverent sound. At all events, Dr. Moore and others stigmatize their argument, in the words in which they express it, as "scandalous" and "blasphemous." Now the present writer certainly does not intend to blaspheme or to give occasion of scandal, when he affirms that it seems to him inconsistent, both with the character of Jesus and of the two occasions just mentioned, to suppose that they were marked by any such alcoholic exhilaration as belongs to even the soberer sort of convivial drinking.

Passages in the Bible show an æsthetic appreciation of the beauties of the vintage and of wine itself, such as has never been surpassed in the drinking songs of the world. Yet it never couples its recognition of these beauties with any words of praise of the drinking habit itself, as is so uniformly done in other writings. What could be finer, for instance, than the vintage picture, Gen. xlix. 11?

"Fastening his young ass to the vine,
Even his ass-colt to the choice vine,
He washes in the wine his clothing,
And in blood of grapes his attire,
Eyes more flashing than wine,
And teeth whiter than milk."

The patristic writers may have been wrong in their Messianic application of this passage and of the passage in Is. lxiii. 1–3. But they were certainly right in regarding the passages as parallel in their imagery. They here saw Judah personified as a princely young man, of exuberant vitality, royally mounted, using, with kingly recklessness, a choice vine for a hitching-post, and springing at once, without caring to change his attire, to the treading of the grapes.

Or is there anything of its kind in literature equal to the often-quoted words in Prov. xxiii. 31?

"Look not at wine because it reddens,
Because it gives in the cup its eye,
Moves itself rightly."

Where an English toper sometimes notices the *bead* of his liquor, the beauty-loving drinker of the Proverbs looked down into the reddening face of the wine, and saw it gazing back at him from its jolly little eye, while it quivered tremulously in expectation of the instant when it should meet his lips. Can it be without design, in the case of these charming pictures, that when it comes to drinking the wine, or being pleasantly exhilarated by it, the Bible refuses to utter a word of approval, but speaks only for warning?

In the case of Timothy, and in such passages as Prov. xxxi. 6, and 2 Sam. xvi. 2, the medicinal uses of alcohol are pretty distinctly recognized; but beyond this, the alleged approval of wine and strong drink, though contained in a multitude of passages, is merely general. When the Bible rebukes the use of the drink which at last "biteth like a serpent and stingeth like a viper," its remedy is not the avoidance of excess, but is described in the words: "Look not on the wine when it reddens"; while, on the other hand, no one claims any direct statement to the effect that it is appropriate to use wine and strong drink in moderation, as beverages. The sanction claimed for this is but an inference from their being mentioned as having some appropriate use.

Vague as the sanction is in both cases, that which is alleged for strong drink is quite different from that which is alleged for wine. The *shekar* of the Old Testament cannot separate itself from the disreputable company of its brothers of the same root, whose English names are *drunken*, *drunk*, *drunkard*, *drunkenness*. In Ex. xliii. 34,

we only need give the correct translation: "And they got drunk with him," to show that Joseph's brethren, and perhaps Joseph himself, here failed to set a good example. In Hag. i. 6, if we translate, with our English Bibles, "Ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink; ye clothe you, but there is none warm; etc.," one might perhaps say that here is a list of calamities, and that the inability to become exhilarated with drink is here mentioned as a calamity, like the lack of the other comforts of life. But give the strictly proper translation, "Ye drink, but do not become drunk," and you transform the whole verse from a list of calamities into a list of disappointments. Being "full" is here no more approved by being associated with being satisfied with food, than fornication is, in the precisely parallel passage in Hos. iv. 10. Beyond these passages, the whole extent of the sanction claimed for strong drink is that it might be used medicinally, Prov. xxxi. 6; that the Israelites did not drink it in the wilderness, Deut. xxix. 6; that it might be offered in sacrificing, Num. xxviii. 7; and that it might be purchased with other stores, when one went up to the great feast, Deut. xiv. 26. The second of these instances is a mere statement of fact; while the first and third mention specific uses for strong drink, which go far to explain the permission given in the remaining instance. Upon this showing, will any one venture to affirm that the Bible ever sanctions the use of *shekar*, as distinguished from wine, as a common drink?

In all the cases in which *shekar* is mentioned with approval, it may very probably be intoxicating wine itself; since *shekar* is supposed to be, not a name for some other drink different from wine, but a name for any intoxicant, whether it be wine or some other liquor. Some wine, apparently, was counted as *shekar;* while other wine was evidently not counted as *shekar*. The Old Testament is perfectly familiar, not indeed with the exploded distinction between a fermented and an unfermented wine, but with that between a wine that is strong drink, and one that is not. In this distinction, *shekar* must be either violently intoxicating wine, or perhaps all wine that is strong enough to be properly intoxicating. From this follows the important consequence, that if we distinguish between intoxicating drinks and wines that are too light to be intoxicating, it is by no means certain that the Bible ever sanctions, even for those times, the use of the former as a beverage.

It is a decided incompleteness in such arguments as those of Dr. Moore, that he persists in using the terms alcoholic, intoxicating, inebriating, as if they were convertible. Yet in the article published in

1881, he seems to accept as true Dr. Duff's testimony to the existence of a wine which is "utterly incapable of intoxicating a child" (p. 99). And in the later article he expresses no doubt as to the correctness of the testimony of Dr. Jacobus as to the existence of a particularly choice Syrian wine, one of the peculiar excellencies of which was that it would not intoxicate. There seems to be good reason for holding that the beverage which Jesus made at Cana was a very finely flavored alcoholic wine; but there is no more reason for holding that it was inebriating than there is for maintaining that common salt is corrosive sublimate. Combinations containing alcohol differ in their character according to the ingredients, and the proportions in which they are present, as really as combinations containing chlorine. And if it were not for the danger of being understood to say something scandalous or blasphemous, one might venture the affirmation that the known character of Jesus is a sufficient guarantee that he did not furnish a promiscuous gathering of men and women at Cana, with an unlimited quantity of a liquid on which such of them as were disposed could get drunk.

As with this passage, so generally. The interpretation which proves the drinking of a properly inebriating beverage, as a beverage, to be sanctioned by the Word of God, would go far to prove that inebriation itself is sanctioned, and is therefore mistaken interpretation. And finally, the Biblical approval of wine, uncertain as it is, so constantly couples wine with food, as to have little force except in cases where wine is used with food. In short, the few people who use very light fermented beverages as a table drink, along with their food, are the only ones whose habits of moderate drinking can find even the semblance of a sanction in the Word of God. These are the only moderate drinkers in dealing with whom we need to fall back upon the general teachings of the Scriptures, as applied to the changed conditions of our times. All other forms of moderate drinking abide under the shadow of the sweeping specific disapprovals recorded in the inspired pages. In other words, the only uses of alcohol as a beverage which escape the specific condemnations of the Bible are precisely those which the changed conditions of modern life have, as we have seen, rendered superfluous.

These conclusions, or conclusions substantially like them, a thorough exegetical induction would establish. And considerations like this transform the exegetical argument into a very different thing from the cloak for tippling which many imagine it to be. It needs but a glance to show how much nearer the Biblical position is to that of even the mistaken temperance exegesis of the present day, than to

that of those who advocate unrestricted moderate drinking. Exegetical scholars should never count their labors complete when they have merely overthrown error. They should pursue their investigations until they have constructed the true interpretation.

Those parts of the Bible which specifically mention wine and strong drink agree with the Biblical teachings in regard to moderation, prudence, and Christian magnanimity, in furnishing a broad and safe basis for everything which is essential in the doctrine and practice of total abstinence.

VI. Finally, the historical doctrine of total abstinence is but indirectly connected with the questions that have arisen concerning *communion wines.*

The taking of a sip of fermented wine, five or six times a year, in the celebration of a religious ordinance, is not a drinking of intoxicating liquor as a beverage or common drink. This is no violation of the total abstinence pledge, nor of any part of the principle of total abstinence.

Nor does any great weight seem properly to attach to the argument most commonly cited against the use of fermented wines at the Lord's table, namely, that the dormant appetites of inebriates are thereby reawakened, so that many are led to relapse into drunken habits. One should not be accused of unreasonable incredulity, if he is pretty sceptical in regard to alleged instances of this sort. A person at the communion table is so situated that he cannot immediately indulge the reawakened appetite, even if appetite should be reawakened. He is restrained from yielding to the temptation thus presented until he has first had time for reflection. He is surrounded by especially strong influences to help him to conquer temptation. It would be easy to watch for a little while any who were known to be in peculiar danger; and, at the worst, such might escape temptation by allowing the cup to pass. If there were any very strong proofs that we ought to use fermented wine at the Lord's table, there is no sufficient reason why the advocates of total abstinence should be scandalized at its use there.

If, however, the New Testament leaves this matter open to choice there are reasons for confining ourselves to the use of the unfermented juice of the grape, much stronger than the one just alluded to. There are millions of people, particularly of the classes which the churches are now finding it very difficult to reach, who have convinced themselves that the churches, in using fermented wine at the communion, are deliberately placing temptation before the weak, and refusing to adopt the principle of abstinence. Many of them choose to regard the Church as thus indorsing the use of alcohol, and therefore their

own drinking habits. In this way, the Church is discredited, in the minds of one class, who believe that she fails properly to testify against vice; and is actually counted by another class as sanctioning their habits of vice. Both classes are of course wilfully and blamably mistaken. They have no right to draw any such inferences from the premises. But is not the using of unfermented grape-juice at the table a more practical way of meeting these difficulties, than the pouring of elaborate arguments into deaf ears to prove that we have a right to use fermented substances?

One might plausibly reply to this that it is better here to insist upon our liberty of using fermented wine, and thus compel men to make distinctions, and learn the truth. This reply is not entirely satisfactory, even at this stage of the argument; and there is a further consideration which it entirely fails to meet. When a local church or a whole denomination intelligently adopts the use of unfermented fruit of the vine, this becomes a distinct object lesson, not merely in the matter of temperance, but in the grand virtues of moderation, prudence, and magnanimity, on which the Biblical doctrine of total abstinence is founded. To many of us it seems that nothing less than a distinct Scripture precept can justify the churches, if they fail to use such an opportunity of testifying to the truths of the Gospel.

But in order that this testimony may be most effective, it must be that of men who are convinced in their own minds and consciences. Those who hold precisely this view would deprecate the advocacy of it by any other means than the convincing of their brethren that this is "a more excellent way." They would deny that the churches are blameworthy for using fermented wines at the communion, in any sense in which any one, in the world or in the church, has a right to impute blame. They would defend their brethren, if they saw them attacked for this practice. At the same time, they are convinced, and expect, sooner or later, to convince all their brethren, that it is better to use the unfermented fruit of the vine. They would object to any attempt to enforce this by injunctions of the higher church courts, or by any kind of ostracism of those who differ with them. But it seems to them that as fast as the churches adopt this practice, their testimony becomes purer and more Christlike.

No census has been taken to determine the number of those who hold this view, as compared with the numbers who hold different views, in either direction. But we suppose ourselves to be quite respectably numerous in the evangelical churches. And we beg leave distinctly to resent some portions of the following language, used by our beloved brother Hodge, in the article already quoted above:

"The great danger lies in the practical matter of the use of real wine (*i.e.*, fermented juice of the grape) at the Lord's Supper. This Assembly decided that its predecessors 'had always recognized the right of each church Session to decide what is bread and what is wine.' This appears to be an extreme concession." "Yet there need be no danger until the use of unfermented fruit-juice is erected into a *moral* principle. If a man who knows that Christ used the fermented juice of the grape in the institution of the Last Supper, to symbolize His atoning blood, yet declares that it is immoral for us to do so, he is evidently guilty of an unsurpassed blasphemy. But the great mass of competent scholars know that Christ did so. Those brethren, therefore, who press this question as a *moral* one, threaten not only to oppress the consciences of their brethren, but to introduce an occasion of schism far deeper and broader than any mere difference of doctrine or church government, or of sacramental mode or virtue."

As a whole, the view taken in these extracts is not so materially different from that stated above as to call for serious objection. But the case is different with the separate parts of it. Assuming that Dr. Hodge refers to what the General Assembly meant, and not to any mere infelicities of language, we object to having our immemorial rights in the matter described as "an extreme concession" of a recent Assembly. If any of us, having in mind, for the moment, that highest conception of morality which makes it co-extensive with love to God and man, should happen to call an obligation moral, we object to having our language interpreted and made offensive, by the aid of an implied narrower definition of the term "moral." Recognizing, with Dr. Hodge, the dangers that may attend the unwise pressing of extreme views, and like him repudiating those views, we yet object to the implication that those who prefer unfermented grape-juice are more disposed than others "to oppress the consciences of their brethren," or "to introduce an occasion of schism." We object to the menace suggested, perhaps unintentionally, by this language. And we utterly object to the logic of the "unsurpassed blasphemy" clause.

In his note on page 96 of the REVIEW for January, 1881, Dr. Moore presents the same objectionable argument. He says:

"A large number of temperance reformers will be satisfied with nothing less than the distinct acknowledgment that, if our Saviour made or used fermented wine, His character would be thereby compromised, and His religion proved to be false. They construe, too, the intentional substitution of unfermented grape-juice for wine in the communion as an admission that Christ's character must be judged imperfect if it could be believed that He used fermented 'wine' in instituting the ordinance of the Supper. They who know that Christ used the fermented juice of the grape in that sacrament should beware of sanctioning an innovation that may be justly said to reflect on the conduct of the Lord that bought us, besides being a violation of His solemn command (1 Cor. xi. 25)."

The reasoning in both these passages is based on the assumption that if Jesus used wine at the communion, we act in conformity with His example by ourselves using wine at the communion. Yet both of these brethren suppose themselves to know that Jesus drank and furnished wine at social gatherings, and both of them have publicly

committed themselves as holding the conviction that they ought to follow the example of Jesus by *not* drinking wine socially. If the substitution of grape syrup for wine at the communion table "may be justly said to reflect on the conduct of the Lord that bought us," how can one who substitutes coffee for wine at table, refusing wine there, though Jesus drank it, be innocent of casting the same reflection?

If there were a "solemn command" in the matter, that would of course settle it. But Dr. Moore explicitly makes that a separate part of his argument. He introduces it with a "besides." His charge of reflecting upon Christ's character, like the unsurpassed blasphemy charge of Dr. Hodge, seems to be based solely on the comparison between Christ's conduct at the Lord's Supper and our conduct there. But, certainly, no one understands better than do these distinguished brethren, that the following of the example of Jesus is not always the reproducing of the particular acts of Jesus. On the same evidence on which they suppose themselves to know that Jesus used fermented wine at the Last Supper, they also suppose themselves to know, doubtless, that Jesus reclined on His left elbow, dressed in flowing robes, with His bare feet extended behind Him. If some fellow-worshipper of either of them should insist on reproducing these particulars at the Lord's table, denying the right of any one to do otherwise, except as an "extreme concession," they would probably regard his conduct as foolish. If he persisted in it, to the annoyance and temptation and injury of the brethren and others; and if, in view of the evident harm he was doing, they should at length come to regard his course as immoral, it would hardly be just to accuse them of "unsurpassed blasphemy," or of reflecting on the Saviour, for taking this view. If Dr. Hodge or Dr. Moore were invited to administer the communion for some congregation, and if it were publicly announced that the wine about to be used had been stolen for that purpose, either of them would probably hesitate before he consented to become a receiver of stolen goods. He would not be guilty of unsurpassed blasphemy even if he should declare that it would be immoral for him to administer the cup, as long as things remained in that position; although he would thus place himself in the attitude of a man "who knows that Christ used the fermented juice of the grape in the institution of the Last Supper, to symbolize His atoning blood," and "yet declares that it is immoral for us to do so."

Now, if there are men who hold the opinion that Jesus used fermented wine at the Last Supper, and who yet suppose that if, in the changed conditions of modern society, we use the same, we thereby cause annoyance and offence and injury to the Church and to the

world; and that the Church, if she offers fermented wine at the Lord's table, thereby becomes, not indeed a receiver of stolen goods, but a panderer to the worst and most fatal vices: these men may be mistaken. The present writer supposes that they are mistaken. But there is no more reason for charging them with unsurpassed blasphemy, or with casting reflections on the Saviour, than there is for charging them and others, who press the matter of the use of unfermented grape-juice, with being schismatics and oppressors of men's consciences.

When we come to analyze them, the reasons why we should use fermented wine are not very strong. In conversations on the subject, one of the arguments most commonly offered, is that the unfermented preparations of grape-juice are "nasty stuff." But if the men who suppose they know that Jesus used fermented wine, instead of providing for the Lord's table what they are accustomed to consider as good, generous, red, "real wine," say genuine imported port, which has not been tampered with since the Spanish vine-grower added to it spirits enough to bring its alcoholic proof up to that demanded in modern commerce, should provide just such wine as they suppose that Jesus most probably used, diluting it precisely as they have reason to think it was diluted for Him, would the beverage thus provided be any more palatable, to our modern taste, than the despised grape syrups?

Dr. Moore repeats this argument, apparently, using Latin terms instead of Saxon, on page 107 of the REVIEW for 1882. He rather heroically exclaims: "We can never consent to an impeachment of the morality of the New Testament, or to a disfiguration or mutilation of the blessed sacrament of the Supper in the supposed interest of temperance." Dr. Moore is right in this. We ought all to be ready to follow so valiant a leader in defending the morality of the New Testament, and resisting every attempt to mutilate its sacraments. The Gospels inform us that Jesus used fruit of the vine at the Supper. If we use grape-juice, we are sure that we use fruit of the vine, and so far, at least, follow His leading. It is currently supposed that we are by no means sure of using fruit of the vine, if we use the ordinary wines of commerce. A combination of cider, whisky, drugs, and water is not fruit of the vine. Many of us, who are not experts in such matters, wish to avoid the risk of mutilating our Saviour's ordinance, by avoiding that of substituting such a beverage for the one with which He instituted the Supper. And on the other hand, how can it be mutilation to use fruit of the vine instead of alcoholic wine, when the Scriptures nowhere command that wine be used at the Supper; nowhere mention it in connection with

the Supper; nowhere afford an atom of evidence as to whether it was originally used at the Supper or not? Indeed, considering how often the New Testament writers mention the Supper, their entire avoidance of all the current names for wine, in that connection, affords some reason for holding that they designed to avoid them. It is not an unnatural suggestion that they may have designated what was in "the cup" as "the fruit of the vine," expressly to distinguish it from that fermented preparation of grape-juice commonly known as wine. If we take the evidence of the Bible, separate from Jewish and patristic tradition, this certainly seems to be the one salient point in the case.

This is not badly illustrated by the eagerness with which those who insist that alcohol is essential in celebrating the Lord's Supper seize upon Paul's language in 1 Cor. xi. 20–21. It is the comfort of their hearts. They return to it again and again, like a child to its mother's lap. When they once get it distinctly into their minds that nowhere else in all the Bible is there a sign of a recognition of the presence of alcohol in the eucharist, they flee to this text as a strong refuge. Dr. Moore cites it half a dozen times in his two articles. In its strength, as we have seen, he accuses those who omit the alcohol at the Supper of "a violation of His solemn command." Paul rebuked the Corinthians for getting drunk when they did *not* eat the Lord's Supper. Does it not follow, by irresistible inference, that when they *did* eat it, they used a wine capable of making them drunk? Who, then, in all the ages, shall dare be so wicked as to use, at the Lord's table, a beverage incapable of making him drunk?

This is not a caricature of the argument from this passage. It is the argument itself, and the whole of it. The question here is not whether, as a matter of fact, the Corinthians used wine, but whether this passage testifies that they used it. To one who comes to the passage holding the opinion that they celebrated the Supper with an intoxicating wine, the passage is likely enough to suggest a reference to that fact; but it is merely suggestion, and not direct statement nor even inference. It may be true that in these assemblies in which Paul testifies that there was no eating the Lord's Supper, they yet pretended to eat it. It may be true that they became drunk on a beverage which had been provided for eucharistic purposes. But the point is that the passage does not affirm either of these things, either directly or by inference. Paul's argument fits the supposition that they are true; but it equally well fits the supposition that either or both of them are not true. The mere conclusion, then, that they provided intoxicating wine is, at the utmost, only suggested by the passage: it is not a logical inference from it. And were this con-

clusion accepted, it would not follow that, while they were incorrect in every other particular, they were correct in the one matter of selecting a beverage. Paul's train of thought would be entirely consistent, if we should understand that one of the things for which he rebuked them was the selection of a beverage on which it was possible to get drunk.

Further Scriptural evidence seems to be lacking. The Biblical accounts of the Passover are silent as to the use of wine there. This is evidently a matter which the Bible leaves undecided. And the argument might very properly stop here, especially for Presbyterians. According to our standards, if there is any sufficient reason binding us to the use of alcoholic wine, as a matter of religious duty, it "is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture." Even in the matter of the example of the Saviour, the Scriptures contain what the Holy Ghost has thought proper to set down as essential for us to be guided by. In the matter of the fruit of the vine, as in other matters, the example of Jesus as presented in the New Testament is one thing; and that example as guessed at from the patristic usages, and from what the Jewish traditions say concerning the Passover, is quite another thing. We cannot at all recognize the latter as any part of our rule of duty in the matter, but we may look for a moment to see whether they throw any light upon the questions of fact which are left undecided in the New Testament.

The patristic testimonies cited by Dr. Moore, the earliest of which is dated several generations later than the time of Christ, are violently controversial. So far as they bear upon the point of sacramental use, they are entirely based upon the New Testament, and therefore entirely of the nature of secondary evidence. They present no facts, and there is no reason why we should prefer their interpretation of Scripture to our own. We are led to wonder whether their opponents, who disbelieved in the use of alcohol at the Supper, would have any additional facts to tell us, if their works had been handed down. As the matter stands, the patristic testimony has precisely the same sort of weight with the testimony of Dr. Hodge and Dr. Moore; or, rather, it would have the same, if Clement and Tertullian had been as competent as our two scholarly contemporaries.

It is, perhaps, true that the Israelitish traditions throw some light upon the question of fact, as to the contents of the "cup" of the Lord's Supper. They describe, with great minuteness of detail, the services of the Paschal Supper. In the liturgy of that occasion occurs the term, "fruit of the vine," and it is there applied to wine. The drinking, with prescribed ceremonies, of at least four cups of wine,

containing at least an Italian quart, is enjoined upon every person. Women and children were to drink, as well as men. Now, it is impossible to tell to what extent these usages were in existence in the time of Jesus. Again, it is impossible to tell how far Jesus, who often rebuked the scribes for their additions to the law of Moses, may have subjected Himself to these non-Biblical precepts of the scribes, in the matter of eating the Passover. If we limit this evidence by these considerations, and then combine it with the evidence given in the New Testament, and add the testimony of the patristic writers, we find that the whole body of the evidence is far from being very decisive, but yet that it points to a certain conclusion as being, on the whole, more likely than any other. As a matter of fact, Christ's "fruit of the vine" was probably a light fermented wine, considerably diluted. This is probably the case. Men are by no means certain in regard to it. But in the absence of any better sustained view, this has been very generally accepted by scholars. Simply to this, when we look closely at the facts, dwindles the assertion that "the great mass of competent scholars know that Christ" "used the fermented juice of the grape in the institution of the Last Supper."

The matter resolves itself into this. The Scriptures, so far as specific precepts are concerned, leave the matter open. On the one hand, the traditions of the Church favor the use of fermented wine. On the other hand, certain important considerations connected with the influence of the Church plead for a general change of custom. Which shall prevail?

Why should the Church of Christ be debarred from being as magnanimous, for the benefit of those for whom Christ died, as her excellent servant, Dr. Dunlop Moore? Her reputation is as good as his. If men malignantly misrepresent her conduct and her motives, she can endure it as well as he. If she should sanction the principle of total abstinence, by an object-lesson connected with the celebration of her most solemn rites, she would thereby bear, on a wider scale, the same sort of testimony which he bears, by his habit of abstaining. We think we have a right to ask her to adopt, in the matter of the eucharist, substantially the language in which he vindicates his own conduct as an abstainer:

"There are, I know, many men in the community around me, who if they use stimulants at all, will indulge excessively in ardent spirits. It seems to me that by denying myself what, in other circumstances, would be a legitimate gratification,"—namely, the clinging to a tradition which the centuries have made venerable,—"I may be able to preserve some of the weak from destruction. And I feel called upon to exemplify in this case the great principle laid down by the apostle."

WILLIS J. BEECHER.

VI.

THE GREEK TESTAMENT OF WESTCOTT AND HORT.*

AFTER twenty-eight years of preparation, the text of Drs. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament was at length given to the world in May last, followed in September by an Introduction discussing the principles of text criticism, and an Appendix comprising, among other important matter, a much needed series of notes on select readings. Long expected as it was, the reception which the published work has met with has been unprecedented among books of its class. It has not merely been greeted by critical journals, but it has been extravagantly lauded and extravagantly condemned by publications of purely popular character. So that, thus, a work which ordinarily would have passed silently to the shelves of specialists, has sprung suddenly into the notice of the general reader, and has, in this new sphere, made parties and raised wordy strife on subjects hitherto alien to its whole thought. This remarkable reception is due partly, doubtless, to the accident of the time of its appearance—the Text, just when men were looking eagerly for the publication of the Revised English New Testament,† and their minds were full of the textual problems necessarily brought before them in connection with that work, and the Introduction, just when the disputes concerning those problems and the proper methods of solving them were at white heat. It is due also partly, doubtless, to the excellent advertising which, prior to the publication, was given to the forthcoming work. Nearly every English writer on the subject has,

* The New Testament in the Original Greek, the text revised by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., and Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. [Vol. I.] Text, [Vol. II.] Introduction, Appendix. Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co., 1881. In the American edition (New York: Harper & Bros., 1881 and 1882) an "Introduction to the American edition, by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D." (pp. v.—lxxxvii.), is prefixed to the first volume.

† It was published five days before the Revision.

for a term of years, pointed to its coming as a boon in store for us; so that men's minds have been on a stretch with expectations which they were eager to see fulfilled. It is undeniable, however, that it is also due partly to the character of the text which has been found on publication to be contained in and defended by the new volumes. Naturally enough it has been looked upon as a gage thrown down in defence of the main principles adopted by the Revision Committee; and, naturally enough, it has, therefore, only poured oil on the already blazing controversy, and has called forth praise or condemnation according as it fell in with previously held principles or rubbed already abraded sores of prejudice. Thus, for instance, on the one hand, the *Quarterly Review*,* "with regret records its conviction that these accomplished scholars have succeeded in producing a text vastly more remote from the inspired autographs of the Evangelists than any which has appeared since the invention of printing"; while, on the other, the *Church Quarterly Review* thinks that "all students of the New Testament must hail with delight the appearance" of a text which, having been framed "with a splendid patience, which is at once an example and an encouragement to younger scholars," presents "the New Testament in the form most approaching the original autographs which is accessible."† Other journals range themselves on one or the other of these sides with more or less enthusiasm.

It is, therefore, clearly worth our while to turn aside for an hour from more attractive subjects to ask after the truth here, and seek to know just what the principles expressed by Dr. Hort‡ are, and just what kind of text has been formed from them. It may affect the expectations with which we enter on this inquiry to know that, among previous inquirers, the opinions of those of critical judgment are pretty much all one way;§ but this cannot exonerate us from

---

* October, 1881, p. 391 (supposed to be by Dean Burgon).

† July, 1881, pp. 514 and 519.

‡ The Introduction, though expressing the common views and conclusions of the editors, is yet from the pen of Dr. Hort.

§ Dr. Schaff (Introduction to American edition, p. viii.) thinks that this work presents a more ancient and purer text than any other edition. Dr. Ezra Abbot believes (*Sunday School Times*, Nov. 5, 1881) that it will mark an epoch in the history of New Testament criticism. Dr. William Sanday (*The Expositor*, October, November, December, 1881, and *Contemporary Review*, December, 1881) enthusiastically advocates it. Dr. William Milligan (*Catholic Presbyterian*, September, 1881) plainly likes it. From Germany we have seen but two brief statements: one from Hilgenfeld, who merely mentions it as a "noteworthy edition" (*Zeitsch. für Wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 25, II., p. 212), and the other from Dr. Von Gebhardt (*Novum Test. Græce*, etc., Tauchnitz, 1881, pp. vi. and vii.) who believes that the new edition "novum certo et inexspectatum his studiis emolumentum afferet," and "omnibus quotquot adhuc publicatæ sunt editionibus eo praestat quod ad testimonia in diversas quasi classes discribenda et

the task, but rather renders it the more incumbent that the investigation shall be careful and the exposition clear.

THE HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

Before, however, we enter upon this our proper task, it will be well to take a general review of the history of the printed text of the New Testament in order that we may see clearly just where the new editors take up the task,—with what basis of established fact behind them and with what unsettled problems before them. The printed text of any work which has been previously propagated for a considerable period in manuscript usually passes through three stages: an *editio princeps* is published,—then, some one edition acquires a circulation and acceptance which gives it the position and authority of a "*received text*,"—and then, critical editions are framed and published in the effort to amend the received text into nearer conformity with the autographs. This is the legitimate course of history. For, the first edition is naturally printed from whatever MSS. lie nearest at hand; and a text becomes the received text usually not from any peculiar purity that belongs to it, but from some commending external quality,—such as the beauty of its presswork or the convenience of its form,—which wins it popular favor. In a much-read work, this stage is, naturally, reached early in its printed history, before any important critical amendment has been undergone. Hence, as knowledge is acquired of older and better MSS. than those which accidentally fell into the way of the editor of the first edition, it becomes necessary to prepare critical editions. There must, therefore, result a striking peculiarity of procedure in the preparation of a pure edition of such a text, as distinguished from that of a work which was first published in a printed form: in the latter case the first edition is commonly the standard to which all others (*reprints*, therefore,) should conform,—in the other, as the representative, ordinarily of the latest and therefore presumptively the most corrupt MSS., it is the standard of that from which subsequent editions should diverge. This is peculiarly true of a work which has been very popular during a long period of existence in MS. and has lost none of its popularity by being put through the press. The one circumstance secures the rapid multiplication of MSS. and consequently rapidly growing corruption; the other, the early formation of favorite passing into received texts, fixing the early corruption.

---

acute dijudicanda certa cum ratione et tanta prolixitate quanta antehac a nemine, ibi adhibita est textus historia." Journals for 1882 were received too late for mention here.

It is not strange, therefore, that just such a history has been wrought out by the text of the New Testament. Its *editio princeps* (Erasmus, 1516), hurried through the press at break-neck speed in the effort to forestall a rival edition (the "Complutensian Polyglot") known to be already printed and ready for distribution, was simply a printer's speculation and was taken from almost contemporary and utterly unsatisfactory MSS. without attempt at critical revision. It was doubtless only a printer's device that it bore on its fore-front, its boastful title-page; its editor was certainly free to confess in private that it was "precipitatum verius quam editum." Yet it was this text that was, without important alteration, gradually hardened into the Received Text, through the magnificence of Stephens' "*Editio Regia*" (1550) and the convenience of the small Elzevirs (1624–33). Though it reigned, therefore, as by prescriptive right for centuries, it is clear that the circumstances of its formation can lend it no authority; and even were we to frame, as our final text, one practically the same, it would necessarily be "non propter Receptum sed cum Recepto." After it had been once established, however, as the Received Text, men were a long time in learning this. Although preparations for critical editions began as early as 1657 (Walton's Polyglot), yet the bondage of the Recepta was not completely shaken off until the appearance of Lachmann's New Testament in 1831. The history from 1657, therefore, falls naturally into two periods: that of bondage to and that of emancipation from the Recepta, divided at 1831. Lachmann thus marks an epoch, and criticism owes him a debt which can be scarcely estimated, as the bold spirit who at last actually made the step so long prepared, of shaking off the shackles which so clogged it as to render a really critical edition impossible. The result of this step was to introduce the age of editions founded no longer on traditionary but rather on critical principles, so that, varying the phraseology, we may say that 1831 separates the periods of preparation for, and of publication of, critical editions. The text which Lachmann actually published, however, was unsatisfactory: it was intended by him as preliminary to further criticism, and the material for framing a satisfactory text was not yet in the hands of scholars. So then we may say with equal truth that the preparation for criticism really continued until the days of Tischendorf and Tregelles. And there is obvious propriety as well as convenience in considering the later editions of Tischendorf and the one great edition of Tregelles as marking the first issue of really critical editions,—and even in remembering that these (as combining with the text much valuable new

matter in prolegomena and digests) were preparations for future criticism as truly as critical editions themselves.

In this long-continued preparation was included the pressing of three separate lines of labor, issuing in: 1. The collection of documentary evidence for the text; 2. The classification of this increasing material; and 3. The formation of critical rules for the application of the evidence in the final reconstruction of the text. It is clear that no text at all worthy of the name of critical could be formed until the mass of evidence was collected; and just as clear that the value of the text actually framed would depend on the soundness of the work done in the other lines.

1. The work of collecting the material, heralded by Stephens and Beza, began in earnest with Walton's Polyglot (1657). The great names in this work are such as Archbishop Usher, John Fell, John Mill, in whose hands the collected various readings already amounted to 30,000, Bentley and his employés, Wetstein who made nearly as great an advance on Mill as he had done on his predecessors, especially in the matter of detailed accuracy and completeness, Matthaei, Alter, Birch and his compeers, Griesbach, Scholz, Tischendorf whose editions of MSS. "exceeded in number all that had been put forth before him," Tregelles and Scrivener. Until Tischendorf's labors were undertaken, from insufficient knowledge of material alone satisfactory editions of the Greek Testament were impossible. Now, however, we have, accessible to all, accurate editions or collations of a great number of documents, including all of great age that are known, and a sufficient number of all ages to furnish material for blocking out with accuracy the history of the text. The exceeding modernness of our accurate knowledge of the contents of even the most essential documents seems to be hardly realized by scholars at large; it is made plain to the eye by a table given at the end of § 18 of Dr. Hort's Introduction. Let us only remember that ℵ was not published until 1862, and B not adequately until 1868, while the present satisfactory editions of C. Q. D. D_2. N. P. R. Z. L. Ξ. E_2. P_2. have all been issued since 1843. One sixth century MS. of Matthew and Mark—Σ—was only discovered in 1879*; and thirty-four leaves (palimpsest) of an eighth or ninth century MS. of the Gospel were brought to light in 1881.† So that we do not even yet know all that may be in hiding for us. But we have at least reached this position: now, for the first time, we can feel sure that we have a sufficient body of evidence of all

* In Southern Italy, by Harnack and Von Gebhardt.

† In Great Britain, by Profs. Mahaffy and Abbott.

kinds before us to render possible the sketching of the history of the written text in a somewhat close and accurate manner, and to certify us that new discoveries can but enlighten dark places and not over turn the whole fabric.

2. It was inevitable in the first and earliest stage of the science, that all documents containing evidence for the text should be treated as of practically equal value. We can hardly blame Erasmus, that he set aside the readings of the only good MS. he possessed, because it differed from the rest. Nor is it difficult to understand why Stephens' collations rather ornamented his margin than emended his text; nor why the earlier editors printed the usual text unchanged, and relegated their MS. readings and their infirm conclusions from them alike to the Appendix or Prolegomena. By Mill's time, however, the mass of material was already too great to be manageable when treated in separate units, like a pile of sand; and his study of it was too intense and his mental vision too acute for him to fail to see signs of agglutination in the particles. Bentley seized these hints, and drawing a broad line between the old and the recent copies, proposed to set forth an edition framed out of the agreement between the ancient MSS. of the Greek original and those of the Latin Vulgate. The really telling work in this department was not, however, to be done on English soil. John Albert Bengel was the first who, with zeal and earnestness, set himself to the classification of documents according to their text-affinities. He saw clearly that if they could be arranged in affiliated classes, the science of textual criticism would be greatly simplified: the individual variations of document from document within the bounds of the same class would be convicted of an origin later than that of the class itself, and the class variations of family from family would alone deserve consideration. Thus a large number of variations would be eliminated at the outset, and the determination of the text be made comparatively easy. With no less of acumen than of patience, Bengel attacked his task. Collecting all the various readings of each document, he compared each of these lists with all the others, and thus sought to discover its relations, and so laboriously to construct his families. The result was to follow Bentley in drawing a broad line of demarcation between the ancient and the more modern copies under the names of the African and the Asiatic families, and to make the new step of dividing, in a more shadowy manner, the African family itself into two, represented respectively by A (which was practically the only purely Greek uncial at that time known) and the Old Latin version. In his opinion

also, as in Bentley's, the African class was of supreme value; and it was a critical rule with him that no Asiatic reading was likely to be genuine unless supported by some African document. Semler followed Bengel, and handed down his classification to Griesbach, who tested and modified it into harmony with the advancing knowledge of documents, and handed it on, commended anew by his genius and scholarship. According to their text Griesbach found the documents of the Gospels to fall into three classes, the first two of which, no matter when the documents themselves were written, presented a text which was at least as old as the third century, but the third of which contained a text not older than the fourth or fifth. He called these classes: 1. The Alexandrian, represented by B * C L, 1,33,69, Memphitic, etc. 2. The Western, represented by the Græco-Latin codices, the old Latin, etc.; and 3. The Constantinopolitan, represented by A E F G H S, cursives, etc. A somewhat different distribution of documents was necessary for the other portions of the New Testament; thus A rose to the more ancient classes after the Gospels. And a long list of intermediate texts was given; it was held, indeed, that no document preserved any one text uninjured. A misunderstanding —shared in part by Griesbach himself—of the bearing of these two facts (which simply proved that the typical texts had suffered severe admixtures with one another in framing our existing documents), went far in throwing doubt on the details of Griesbach's distribution, and thus in preventing an universal acceptance of it, although it could not hide its true character from the best scholars of the day, many of whom enthusiastically adopted it. Hug's vagaries, who sought to prove historically that three texts represented respectively by the groups B C L, E R cursives, and A K M were alike set recensions of a corrupt text (represented by D and the old Latin) universally current in the second century, still farther blinded men to the reality of the divergence, considered simply as a text phenomenon, between the three classes recognized by Griesbach and Hug alike, as well as to the truth of the important new fact brought out by Hug, viz: the early broad extension and popularity of Griesbach's Western text. Hug's publication had, however, the good effect of bringing Griesbach once more before the public on the subject (1811), to call attention to Hug's testimony to the correctness of the lines which he had drawn between his classes, prove the impossibility of raising Hug's fourth class (which he himself admitted was untraceable outside the Gospels) to the dignity of a co-ordinate division, and reiterate his mature con-

* Except in Matt., where he (wrongly) deemed it Western.

viction that the study of "recensions" was the hinge upon which all criticism of the text must turn. The follies of such writers as Dr. Nolan and the peculiarities of Scholz succeeded, however, not unnaturally, in throwing discredit on all recension theories, until they have fallen under something like a ban, and the prevalent idea seems to be that no classes can be distinguished of such sort as to be, at present at least, practically valuable in text reconstruction except the two broad ones—now universally recognized—of ancient and modern. At the same time it is generally practically acknowledged that the further facts of type-character as brought out by Griesbach, although not available in text-criticism, yet rest, in the main, on a basis of truth. Even Dr. Tregelles* would admit a genealogical descent, which he moreover practically acted upon in framing his text, which divides the MSS. into three classes corresponding with those of Griesbach. And, at the other extreme, Dr. Scrivener specifically allows a like trichotomy of documents capable of bearing like names.† It is furthermore admitted on all sides that the oldest documents are included in the first two classes; and, as a result of the process of comparative criticism introduced by Tregelles, that these documents are not only the oldest, but also the best, so that whenever they are fairly unanimous they must carry our suffrages with them. It is hardly less generally agreed that within the ancient division those documents which class with B—which itself is the best single MS.—are of greatly higher value than those which class with D. These conclusions—although not undisputed by some individuals—are accepted by the best writers of all schools, and may, therefore, be looked upon as well-proved and already settled facts.

3. Meanwhile, also, the continued efforts of many scholars toward forming a text out of the existing material were issuing in critical rules for applying the evidence to the text. We can pause only to point out the leaders in the work. Bentley first laid down the great principle that the whole text is to be formed apart from the influence of any edition, on evidence,—a principle which, obvious as it is, first succeeded in conquering its way to practical and universal adoption through the weight of Lachmann's example. It was due to Bengel that the value of transcriptional probability received early recognition through the rule: 'Proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua,' which undoubtedly he meant in this sense; after him it has been more fully defined

* "Horne's Introduction." Ed. 13, Vol. IV., p. 106.

† "Plain Introduction," etc. Ed. 2, p. 481 (Egyptian, Western, and Syro-Constantinopolitan classes). Yet compare p. 415.

and defended by many critics, especially by Griesbach, by Tischendorf (in the broad statement that the reading is to be preferred from which the origin of all the others can be explained), and by Ellicott (under the name of Paradiplomatic evidence). Internal evidence proper also,—the asking which reading it is most probable that the author would have written—has not lacked its full recognition, and has been pushed by some to the verge of subjecting the whole text to the personal idiosyncrasies of the editor. Since Tregelles the suffrages of students have been given to the doctrine that documentary evidence is decisive, if at all capable of sure interpretation,—so only the reading commended by it does not make nonsense. But the claims of paradiplomatic and internal evidence have never lacked defenders of excellent scholarship, and it cannot be said that any universally recognized rule has yet been formulated to guide in cases where documentary and internal considerations seem in conflict. While also the tendency has been more and more to rely on the *ancient* documentary evidence and its decisive authority where at all unanimous, is now universally (save by an erratic individual here and there) allowed, yet in those passages where this evidence is apparently somewhat divided the way has been open to a great variety of methods of procedure issuing sometimes in diametrically opposite conclusions even in readings of some interest.

A backward glance like this over the work that has been done, leaves standing clearly out in our consciousness the problems as yet unsettled. It was clearly not necessary for the new editors to seek to add to the mass of evidence before them; the day has now come when the true estimation of that evidence is the duty laid on the shoulders of scholars. Two great tasks lay before them: the investigation of the true extent and meaning of the affiliations of MSS., and the pointing out of the true method of applying the evidence when marshalled to the framing of the text. It was not enough to classify the MSS.; the true relations of the classes to one another needed study, and the true value of the evidence of each class. Therefore, here, not only was it necessary to re-examine the whole distribution of the MSS. into classes, but also the relations of the classes to one another had to be investigated with a view to accounting satisfactorily for the intermediate types on the one hand and to assigning its own value as evidence to each class and each combination of classes on the other. It was not enough to simply marshal the evidence—it was necessary to discover how to apply it when marshalled; with how much regard to each variety of evidence, documentary, paradiplomatic, and internal. With great sagacity,

Drs. Westcott and Hort recognized from the very first the true nature of their task, and devoted themselves to fulfil it. Our examination of their methods need take account, therefore, only of the results which they have reached in these two departments of labor.

THE GENEALOGIES OF DOCUMENTS.

We turn next, therefore, to an exposition of Dr. Hort's investigations in the great sphere of MS. classification. The obvious and universally accepted two-fold division of documents as to their text, represented by the ancient MSS. and the cursives respectively, is of course recognized by him at the outset. The important unsettled question of the relation of these two texts to one another is, therefore, faced immediately. It is first proved, from the citations of the fourth century fathers, that the cursive type of text existed fully formed in that century, *i. e.*, in MSS. contemporary with B and ℵ. Thus, the mere fact that our only extant fourth century MSS. represent the opposite forms of text is not at all conclusive as to the greater age of those forms. We can reconstruct from the cursives MSS. which beyond doubt existed, representing their type, in the fourth century; and the preservation of early documents representing the one class and not of those representing the other, is a pure accident. Thus far, therefore, nothing is determined concerning the comparative age or value of the two forms of text.* Going back beyond the fourth century, however, no

---

* It is worth our while at the outset of this discussion to guard against misconceptions as to the meaning of the phraseology used. We speak of different types of text, and the words have meaning in them. It is very important, however, that the reader should not exaggerate that meaning. The total difference is very small. What is very large when viewed from the point of view of the textual critic, is pitiably and meaninglessly small when viewed from the point of view of the dogmatic theologian or the general reader. The textual critic does not exaggerate the difference; but every letter omitted, every word misspelled, every synonym substituted is a difference to him, although the vast majority of them cause no change of sense in the passage by their presence or absence. They are nevertheless—though only *textual* phenomena—yet textual *phenomena*. And on their basis types and wellm-arked types of text may be recognized and described. To juggle with this, however, as the *Quarterly Reviewer* has done (p. 314), trying to shift it into another sphere and pouring into the terms totally alien concepts, is beneath the dignity of the scholarship which he undoubtedly possesses. Dr. Hort (§ 2) is careful to show how small a part of the N. T. is affected by various readings of any likelihood. And the statement of Bentley, as true now as in his day, is worth keeping constantly in mind: "The real text of the sacred writers . . . . is competently exact in the worst MS. now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them; choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings." "But even put [the various readings] into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same." Our whole discussion concerns—not *sense-ual*—but *textual* variations, and MSS. cannot be distributed into doctrinal or even sense-ual types, but only

trace of the cursive peculiarities can be found in the citations of the Ante-Nicene fathers; while on the other hand their citations, when critically obtained, all range with the opposite classes, and especially with that form of them which has been named the Western, and which was certainly the most broadly current text from the early part of the second century until the fourth. We have, therefore, to face this phenomenon: universal and, so far as evidence goes, sole currency of the ancient types of text, which Dr. Hort therefore calls the pre-Syrian, until the fourth century, with the sudden presence of the other, which Dr. Hort from the predominance of Syrian influences at this period calls the Syrian, in its full-formed state from the fourth century onward. Negative evidence cannot be demonstrative: but the presumption hence arises that the pre-Syrian texts are the oldest, and this in turn throws a presumption against the purity of the Syrian.

The next step is to compare the Syrian and pre-Syrian texts in their internal characteristics with a view to determining their relative values. If we collect two lists—one of all the readings which the Syrian text as a class offers in opposition to the pre-Syrian as a class, and the other of all the pre-Syrian readings where, as a class, they differ from the Syrian as a class, the two together thus forming the two sides of the same collection of various readings between the two classes—and then test the two lists separately by paradiplomatic and internal evidence, we shall reach this result: the pre-Syrian readings usually commend themselves as genuine; the Syrian readings usually present the appearance of corruptions. Hence, it doubly follows that the pre-Syrian text is certainly the better of the two; since it approves itself as such wherever it can be tested, the inference is strong that it is such also where the test cannot be applied. Thus we reach the same conclusion (and by largely the same methods) that Tregelles obtained by the application of what he happily called comparative criticism, but what Dr. Hort would call a combination of historical evidence and the internal evidence of documents. The result is sure, and the process by which it is obtained, in either case, trustworthy. But Dr. Hort's method has the advantage of being the more precise and methodical.

Although the Syrian text is thus presumptively the later, and certainly the less valuable, our problem is not yet solved, and cannot be until we answer the query: Whence came this Syrian text? It is still conceivable that it may preserve in itself an independent line of

into *text* types. So far as general sense is concerned, the New Testament is the same in all MSS.; and the dogmatic theologian or preacher of righteousness does not need to consider the variations save in determining *which* texts to use as proof-texts.

evidence, which ran underground during the early centuries and first came to light in the fourth, and which, though not so valuable as the pre-Syrian, cannot be safely neglected. The question so constantly put: "What right have we to pass over the testimony of this class as if it were *impossible* for it to contain independent evidence?" can never be answered without a very careful search into the origin of the class. Undertaking this work, Dr. Hort has instituted a very careful comparison between the Syrian and pre-Syrian texts, with this conclusion: the Syrian preserves nothing from antiquity not in the pre-Syrian—it was, in fact, bodily made out of the pre-Syrian forms. The proof of this is manifold and convincing. We need not stop here, however, to do more than point out one element of it—that derived from *conflate readings*. These arise from cases of ternary variation where the third reading is a combination of the other two. Now the Syrian text abounds in conflate readings, made by a more or less skilful combination of two pre-Syrian forms. One such reading might be accounted for as an accident, but the mass of them prove conclusively that the Syrian text in all these passages was derived from a combination of these earlier types. It becomes immediately (when the other phenomena are also taken into account) morally certain that other readings in the Syrian text, exactly the same as readings found in a pre-Syrian type, thus proved to have been used in its making, also came from this previous text. The inference cannot fail to extend further to those Syrian readings which, while not the same as those found in pre-Syrian texts, are yet declared by para-diplomatic evidence to be derived from them. The result, after careful investigation, is, that the Syrian text preserves nothing not in the pre-Syrian forms, out of which it was made; and, further, that it was made, not by accidental and slow growth, but intentionally, and by a set effort to frame a full, smooth, flowing, easy text out of the already existing abounding variations. It is, therefore, not only presumptively later than the pre-Syrian, but certainly; not only of less value as evidence, but of no value at all, where we have the pre-Syrian, out of which it was made. Its testimony is not to the original, but to the pre-Syrian texts, and it could be of value, in their presence, only if we could believe that it had been framed on critical principles, and so could guide us to a proper choice among pre-Syrian readings. But, to say nothing of what is otherwise known of the critical processes of the time, the internal evidence is decisive that the principles which guided its formation did not rise above the effort to obtain easy smoothness.* The presence of Syrian documents, therefore,

* We trust that we can count on the assent of the *Quarterly Reviewer* here, so soon

in attesting groups is simply confusing—multiplying variations or lending fictitious weight among early variations to this or that one which happened to find its way into it.

Two important rules of critical procedure may now be formulated: 1. All distinctively Syrian readings must be rejected, and: 2. All purely Syrian support to earlier readings must be neglected. Here, for the first time, is the practice of Tregelles in neglecting all late testimony fully vindicated. It is neglected, not because the evidence of this class is too small to be appreciably felt, but because it is not independent evidence but a mere repetition of that already in hand. All the evidence is certainly to be taken into account until the history of the text is recovered and the mutual relations of the witnesses determined. Then all purely derived evidence is to be sifted out. Here, too, a full answer emerges to the scoff, that, from the mass of the cursives, those which happen to agree with the old MSS. are arbitrarily selected, while the rest are as arbitrarily rejected. Of course, all those which prove to transmit the independent lines of evidence are justly selected, while, in like manner, those that betray themselves to be mere repeaters of the testimony already heard are as justly rejected. This is simply to protect the ballot-box; and it is certainly a great gain to criticism to be thus fully justified in setting aside the clamors of the mob and giving its attention to the trusty few alone.

Thrown back on pre-Syrian witness the difficult question is broached: How proceed when this witness is divided? Dr. Hort answers again, primarily by seeking the genealogical affiliations of the documents. The clear distinction between the groups headed by B and D respectively, is, of course, recognized and abundantly re-proved, and evidence is found of the existence of a third less strongly marked type, differing from the B group only by the presence of certain careful (grammatical, etc.) corrections. The three classes are called, respectively, Neutral, Western, and Alexandrian. So far was clear sailing. The difficulty arises when the relations of these groups to one another are considered—relations complicated most tryingly by the existence of intermediate types of almost every possible variety. Here the second great unsettled

as he examines the evidence adduced by Dr. Hort. Certainly he can have no *à priori* objection to the conclusion, since he writes (p. 321): "We know that Origen in Palestine, Lucian at Antioch, Hesychius in Egypt 'revised' the text of the New Testament. Unfortunately, they did their work in an age when such fatal misapprehension prevailed on the subject that each, in turn, will have inevitably imported a fresh assortment of *monstra* into the Sacred Writings." Just so. We call upon him to recognize just such a text as he describes in the class (Syrian) to which he has hitherto accorded mistaken suffrage, and to hold with Dr. Hort that it possibly represents the Lucianic revision.

problem appeared, which, however, like the first, seems to have been successfully solved. It is remarkable, indeed, that these intermediate texts should have so long disturbed scholars. Clearly their presence does not in any way lessen the actual divergence between, say B and the Old Latin version. The only problem is their origin. Explanations might be sought by considering them representatives of the links in the gradual chain of corruption from a type, say like B, to one like the Old Latin—or, in both directions, from a type intermediate between the two—or of mixture of the two diverging texts already formed. Undoubtedly all these causes may, and ought to, be called in to account for the phenomena. Corruption was clearly progressive — the result of a gradual growth—and the marks of the growth are preserved in the extant documents. But Dr. Hort has shown that much the largest portion of intermediate phenomena is due to *mixture* between two or more already existent types. There is no difficulty in accounting for mixture: it could arise in a variety of ways—sometimes from the scribe actually using two originals in making his copy; sometimes from the tricks of a memory full of the details of a different exemplar than that now before the eye; sometimes from the use, as exemplar, of a MS. which had been corrected in part, or throughout, from another of a different class. But, however produced, the existence of mixed texts can by no means throw doubt on the original diversity of the parts out of which they were made. They may, and sometimes do, render difficult or impossible the assignment of a simple genealogy to a given document, or, in cases where unmixed evidence is lacking, the definite assignment of given variations to their own proper classes; and thus, in some passages, they may render the application of genealogical evidence to the elucidation of the textual history and the formation of the text impracticable. But they most certainly do not affect either the reality of the groups or the surety with which we may assign the variations, for whose affinities there does not exist safe evidence, to their own proper classes. In a word, they do not affect the value of genealogical evidence wherever it can be applied.

Having thus determined the existence of three pre-Syrian groups, and assigned to each group its own proper contingent of the readings, the next step is to test the relative values of the pre-Syrian groups. The process by which this is done is altogether similar to that by which the pre-Syrian readings, as a class, were proved superior to the Syrian. Having made lists of the readings of each group, so far as mixture allows of their assignment, paradiplo-

matic and internal evidence is appealed to to decide as to the value of each. They proclaim the Neutral readings generally right, and the Western and Alexandrian generally corruptions. Hence follow, as critical rules of ordinary validity: 1. The reading supported by the Neutral and Alexandrian groups against the Western is probably genuine; 2. That supported by the Neutral and the Western against the Alexandrian is probably genuine; 3. Where the pre-Syrian variation is ternary the Neutral is probably genuine, and is usually supported as such by paradiplomatic and internal evidence; 4. The reading supported by the union of the Western and Alexandrian groups should be preferred to the Neutral reading; but, as all existing Alexandrian documents contain Western corruptions, such apparent union is suspicious, and paradiplomatic and internal evidence generally decides here also in favor of the Neutral.

It is plain that we have here an exceedingly clear and trustworthy scheme, and it only remains for us to note the observed group-character of our best documents to enable us to apply the rules to a large number of readings. Examination shows that only five of our MSS. are purely pre-Syrian, viz: B, ℵ, D, D_2, G_3, although a considerable number of others, such as C, L, P, Q, R, T, Z, Δ (in Mark), Ξ, E_2, and some cursives, contain a pre-Syrian element of greater or less extent. D, D_2, and G_3 may be taken as representative Western documents, and seem to present that text unmixed, but in different stages of development. C and L, though with much mixture, possess the largest Alexandrian element. B is purely Neutral almost throughout (*i. e.*, except in Paul, where a limited Western element is found). ℵ is largely Neutral, but in admixture with a considerable Western and Alexandrian element. After ℵ, and with about as great an interval between them and it as between it and B, the largest Neutral element is found in Γ of Luke and John, Ξ of Luke, L, 33, Δ of Mark, C, Z in Matt., R in Luke, Q and P among MSS. of the Gospels. In Acts A, 13 and 61 come forward, and in Paul, A, P_2, 17 and 67**. Among the versions the Old Latin (not the Itala) is found to be purely, and the Curetonian Syriac probably predominatingly Western; the Memphitic was probably originally wholly pre-Syrian and predominatingly non-Western, but in its printed form it has a slight Syrian element also. The Thebaic is similar, except that its Western element is larger. The others present mixed texts with larger or smaller Syrian elements. Thus, it appears that the old verdict of scholars is confirmed, and the Memphitic is proved the best, followed next by the Thebaic, of all versions in

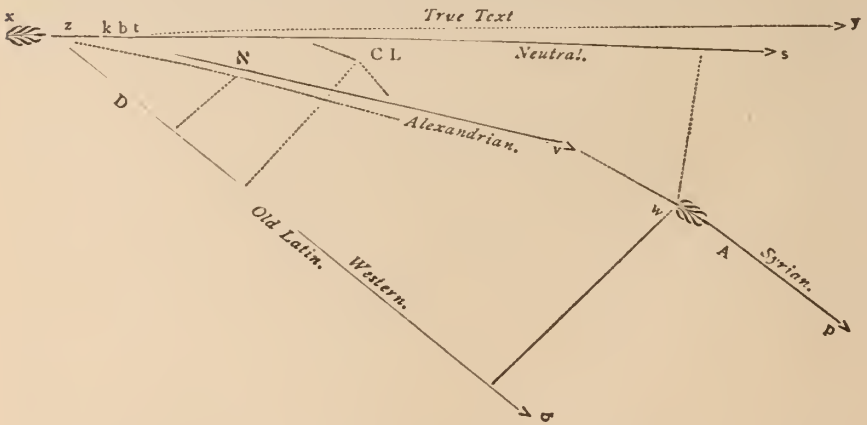
text-criticism. Among the Fathers the non-Western, pre-Syrian element is largest in Origen, Didymus, and Cyril Alexandrinus.

Of course, genealogical evidence will not settle everything; but by its systematization very much has been gained. The early history of the text has been recovered; a vast number of readings have been winnowed away with the Syrian text as not worthy of consideration; a large number have been rendered very improbable by their definite assignment to aberrant texts like the Western and Alexandrian; a large number—rivals of these—have been, therefore, shown to be probably parts of the original text; and thus a goodly portion of the text has been securely reconstructed, and the choice confined in a numerous class of other passages to narrow limits. A comparatively very small portion of the text is thus left in uncertainty.*

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF GROUPS.

In order to determine the true reading in those cases where from whatever cause genealogical evidence is inapplicable or fails to be decisive, as well as to test the results obtained by that form of evidence, Dr. Hort calls in next another process which he appropriately names Internal Evidence of Groups. Internal evidence of readings

* Perhaps the genealogy of the text and the results which flow from its determination may be rendered easily comprehensible through a rough diagram, thus:



If x y represents the line of absolutely true descent, z q, along the course of which the various Western documents may be ranged in growing corruption, will roughly represent the Western divergence—k s the Neutral and t v the Alexandrian; w p represents the Syrian. Now it is evident that B, placed at a point between k and t, is the nearest to the originals of any MS. B ℵ will carry us back to a point on k s, or to a point between z k or (when ℵ is Western) to z, B D takes us to z. ℵ D, on the one hand, *may* be equal to B D, and, on the other, may be equal to D alone, *i. e.*, may take us to z or else somewhere amid the abounding corruption of z q, and so on.

is the evidence for itself yielded by each reading's own probability when tested by the combined use of paradiplomatic and internal evidence proper. Internal evidence of documents is the evidence which each document yields to its own value; and is elicited by noting what proportion of its readings approve themselves as probably genuine when tested by the combined use of paradiplomatic and internal evidence proper. If we take a list of all variations between two documents, and finding them to be eleven hundred in all, then discover that in a thousand of them all the probability is in favor of the correctness of one of the MSS., and only in a hundred of the other, we have thereby determined the probable comparative values of the MSS. The result is essentially altered neither where the contestants are one hundred instead of two, nor where the evidence applied is decisive in only a portion of the passages compared. Now we may carry this process one step higher until it becomes internal evidence of groups. If two MSS. agree in a reading, this is evidence, barring accidents, of community of origin in that reading. If they agree thus in a number of readings, accidents are barred, and their common origin in these portions—immediate or remote—is proved. It is immediately evident that by noting the readings in which two MSS. agree we are really constructing a list of readings from an older MS., the common parent of both in these portions. Nor does it introduce any new factor if we make the two MSS. a dozen or a hundred. And nothing prevents our testing through this list the comparative value of this lost MS. thus reconstructed, in relation to others reclaimed in like manner, just as if they were all extant and in our very hands. The compound of symbols (B ℵ, or ℵ D, or B C ℵ, etc.), the largest proportionate number of readings attested by which are approved by combined paradiplomatic and internal evidence, represents the best lost original, and should command our suffrages. This method enables us to deal with groups as units, and greatly simplifies the labor of criticism as well as adds, by freeing us from the old arithmetical balance of individuals and enabling us to assign a constant value to any given group, untold surety to its conclusions. It seems, on the face of it, to be impossible to doubt the legitimacy of the process or the surety of its results. But were doubt to arise, it should certainly be set aside on noting how fully these results confirm those reached by genealogical evidence, and are in turn confirmed by them. This is a veritable case of undesigned coincidence, and is entitled to all the force of that argument.

Tested after this fashion, the compound B ℵ is found to approve itself almost uniformly as genuine, and next to it B plus some other

primary uncial; while on the other hand compounds of ℵ and an uncial other than B generally fail to make good their claim. The only frequent exception to this law consists of compounds of B and a Western document *in the Pauline epistles*, which are usually discredited. We cannot resist the temptation to turn aside here long enough to call attention to the striking accordance of these results with the facts reached by the entirely different process of genealogical evidence. If B is the only document which (except in Paul) has no other than a Neutral element, its compounds will naturally (usually) present a combination of two independent groups; while all other documents (including ℵ) when conjoined, are apt to be so, only because they partake of common Western, Alexandrian, or Syrian corruption. The high comparative value assigned to compounds of B by the method being now considered, is thus just what should be expected. B plus only one or more secondary MSS., or B plus versions alone, or B plus fathers alone, commonly approves itself by the same test; whereas ℵ plus only such support (and much more any other uncial than ℵ) is almost uniformly condemned. Even individualisms of B when they cannot be ascribed to clerical errors of its scribe, quite frequently, and especially in ternary variations approve themselves; while individualisms of other MSS. are almost always condemned. After the Gospels, A rises to the value of a primary uncial, and in Paul no MS. is without some Western element. Consequently we are not surprised to find that such groups as "B D_2 G_3, ℵ D_2 G_3, A D_2 G_3, C D_2 G_3, and even A C D_2 G_3, and occasionally ℵ A C D_2 G_3" are condemned by internal evidence of groups. On the other hand the same test is usually favorable to the apparently non-western groups; and even, with rare exceptions, to ℵ B D_2 G_3, thus vindicating even here the combination B ℵ.* In the apocalypse ℵ falls to a perceptibly lower level than elsewhere, and the strongest combination is A C; and even A alone stands the test excellently.

The most striking results reached by this investigation are the high authority given to B and to the combination B ℵ. Dr. Hort proves the immediate independence of these MSS.,† and thus shows that the

* This simply amounts to an indication that ℵ and B gain their Western corruptions independently of one another (and forms another mark of the independence of the two MSS), and hence do not usually partake of the *same* Western corruptions; and hence when combined B and ℵ agree even with typical Western documents, we are not to look on the Western line of corruption for the original parent of the groups, but on the original line of descent, that is, at z on the diagram. And this means, doubtless, in the first century.

† We content ourselves with this simple statement here, referring for proof to Dr. Hort's Introduction, §§ 287–304. The rash repetition by the *Quarterly Reviewer* of the old and worn-out charge: "Between B and ℵ there subsists an amount of sinister

combination represents a document of the early second century—if not a generation earlier; which itself represents seemingly the pure stock from which all others in existence appear to have diverged.* This high estimation of these documents has been even made the pretext of attack upon the system of criticism adopted by the whole school to which Dr. Hort belongs, and that although it is universally admitted that B is the best single MS. in existence.† The answer is

---

resemblance which proves that they must have been both derived at no very remote period from the same corrupt original" (p. 312), is there fully set aside, if indeed the Reviewer has not himself succeeded in destroying its meaning by his subsequent words: "It is *easier to find two consecutive verses in which the two MSS. differ the one from the other, than two consecutive verses in which they entirely agree.*" (The italics are his). The fact that a small portion of ℵ is from the same hand that wrote B as much proves a community of text as the fact that Dr. Scrivener's Greek Testament and Wescott and Hort's came from the same press, proves that they present the same text.

* *Represents*, not *is* that pure stock. Such passages as Matt. xxvii. 49 (compare Dr. Hort, § 240), prove that B and ℵ possess exceedingly rarely a common corruption not shared by Western documents, so that B ℵ D represents the same stock at an *earlier* point. Thus B D or non-Western ℵ connected with D may differ in value from B ℵ, not in giving a less ancient or less pure reading, but only as giving so many *fewer* readings. B D when it does exist may be (save in Paul) equally as good as, or better than B ℵ.

† Of course it is not meant that no individual has ever disputed the supreme excellence of B; but only that all recognized authorities of whatever school are united at present on this point. The *Quarterly Reviewer* does not shrink from ranging himself against the consensus of critical opinion. With him B is not only a MS. of "bad character," and one that "exhibits a fabricated text" (p. 312), but one of the depraved trio (DℵB), which he can "venture to assure" his readers "are *three of the most corrupt copies extant*," and "have become by whatever process the depositories of the largest amount of fabricated readings which are anywhere to be met with" (p. 315). It is pleasant to learn that B is, however, even in the eyes of this critic, on the whole the least terrible of this terrible trio. The answer to all this is found in the statements of the text, supported as they are by all writers of repute on the subject. What confidence can be put in the Reviewer's broad statements on the subject may be not unjustly estimated by the aid of two circumstances: 1. He refers for detailed information on such points to Dr. Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," etc., as (and we take great pleasure in expressing our assent to the words) the work of a "judicious, impartial, and thoroughly competent guide" (p. 311)—of one even (he tells us) "vastly Tischendorf's superior in learning, accuracy, and judgment" (p. 318). And yet Dr. S. is explicit in his statement (p. 471) that B is "the most weighty single authority that we possess." 2. He allows himself (p. 321) in his zeal against B to quote Dr. Scrivener's description of the corrupt Western text (pp. 452–3), and apply it to B as one "of *the class thus characterized* by Dr. Scrivener"; and that although Dr. S. had carefully distinguished it from the class described (p. 452). It is true the Reviewer guards his statement somewhat by saying ℵ B C D are "*specimens—in vastly different degrees—of the class thus characterized*," but this will not exonerate him from having printed a very misleading statement. For that the very small Western element in the Pauline portion of B will not be sufficient to justify the words used is apparent; and becomes still more so on remembering that the object of the passage is to exhibit the untrustworthiness of these MSS. *because* they class with D, whereas all the documents which the writer himself follows have a larger Western element than B.

The details which are given (as *e.g.*, p. 312) of the divergence of each of the great MSS. from a given standard are very interesting, but, as the Reviewer puts them, misleading in the extreme. When we read that "in the Gospels alone, B is found to omit at least

ready and complete; only such authority is yielded to B ℵ or to B alone as that group or that MS. when tested by paradiplomatic and internal evidence vindicates for itself. The further scoff so often ventured, that the discovery of a fourth century MS. of Syrian type would revolutionize criticism and utterly change the balance of evidence, of course is equally meaningless. Such a discovery would have absolutely no effect on either. MSS. are to be valued, not counted; and the age of the document is presumptive of value of text only prior to examination. Even though the Syrian text should be traced further back than now seems possible, nothing can alter the two facts: that it is inherently—paradiplomatic and internal evidence being judges—the inferior text, and that it was made out of the pre-Syrian. Nor will it do to raise objection to the reconstruction of lost MSS. from group—attestation as a chimera of the imagination furnishing only shadowy basis for farther inferences. If this be so, then any reconstruction of the New Testament text is *à fortiori* a dream. For internal evidence of groups only undertakes to do repeatedly and on a small scale what its opponents would attempt to do once for all on a large scale. The recovery of each lost MS. is only on narrower ground, and with more manageable and surer evidence, performing the task that all attempt in seeking the autographic text from documentary attestation. The only difference between the two methods is that one

---

2,877 words; to add 536; to substitute 935; to transpose 2,098; to modify 1,132 (in all, 7,578)"—the thing looks alarming, and we feel a flesh-creeping all over. But when we revive sufficiently to ask: Omits from what? adds to what? etc., we discover, from a subsequent part of the article, that the *ordinarily printed text is meant*, and breathe freely again to know that this is but a list of divergences between B and the corrupt *Textus Receptus*, and therefore, roughly marks the corruption of that edition, not of B. It may be safely left to the public to decide on the fairness of quietly assuming that, in spite of the history of its formation, the Textus Receptus is all but perfect, and then before a popular audience quietly condemning the old MSS. for not agreeing with it, without a word of warning as to the exact nature of the question-begging which will alone give the words any sense or meaning. This quiet begging of the question—this quiet assuming the truth of a disproved fancy—is what gives at once the appearance of strength to the *Quarterly's* article and the reality of almost laughable weakness.

As to critical rules the Reviewer seems to have but two: 1. Witnesses must be counted, not weighed; and 2. Internal probability consists in the pleasingness of a reading to us—with all our long use of a particular text and natural and ingrained love for its every detail. Perhaps we may be allowed to borrow a phrase which is most strangely strewed up and down the Reviewer's pages, and "venture to assure him" that the day is past when men can be allowed to mistake their personal preference for internal probability on the one hand, or on the other to give the inheritance of the lawful heir or two to the twenty children of the illegitimate son, just because they are more. And what is counting MSS. instead of weighing them but this? Communism,—the theory that each individual, merely by right of his existence, can demand an equal share in all the rightful possessions of his neighbors,—seems to us inherently unlovely, whether among MSS. or men. Before we yield credit, let us by all means examine titles.

would wish to proceed slowly and surely—step by step—working its way from one fact to another by a strictly inductive method; and the other to jump at once crudely to its last conclusion. The difference, in a word, is the same as that between Bunsen's and Mackenzie's theories of Geysers—between the Baconian and the so-called Aristotelian methods of thought—between science and guessing.

THE APPLICATION OF THE EVIDENCE.

With the documentary evidence thus in hand, and thus estimated, how is it to be applied in reconstructing the text? From what has already been said, it goes without saying that the new editors do not apply it mechanically; and, on a moment's consideration, it must be seen that such a method of application would not be practicable. Clearly, even the purest line of transmission (say the Neutral) *may* contain errors introduced into that line subsequent to the divergence from it of a very corrupt line (say the Western), in which alone the true reading may thus be preserved, and the exceedingly early origin of Western divergence leaves it not *à priori* impossible that this may in certain instances be the case. In such instances the true reading would lie outside of the evidence usually considered conclusive in the formation of the text. The fact that such cases do occur, and the proof that any given asserted instance falls under this class, can only be sought through paradiplomatic and internal evidence. Other considerations of a somewhat like nature lead to the same conclusion. Hence, as the original, and not the best authenticated transmitted text is sought, it follows that the evidence cannot be applied mechanically. If, therefore, Dr. Hort's first great critical rule is: *Knowledge of documents must precede judgment on readings;* and his second: *Knowledge of genealogies must precede judgment on evidence;* his third, co-ordinate with these, even if not so formally stated, is: *No reading is to be finally accepted unless commended by internal evidence as well as documentary*—in internal evidence including both paradiplomatic and internal proper, under the names of *transcriptional* and *intrinsic* probabilities. Thus, to internal evidence is allowed a veto power, and its function is to a large degree analogous to the veto power the President of the United States has allowed him over bills of Congress. Recognizing the uncertainties and dangers that attend appeal to internal considerations, every attempt is made to guard against them. It is not in either sort to be primarily invoked; it has a right to be heard, indeed, but it must keep silence until the testimony of the documents has been sifted and thoroughly understood. Then, when

offered, it must be unanimous; both kinds must point in the same direction. Care must be taken that we try the readings intrinsically, not by our own notion of what should be read, but by an anxious attempt to reproduce the writer's own thought. Equal care must be taken that we judge the transcriptional probability by the actual mental tendencies of the scribes, and not by our own which may be opposite. And, still further, internal evidence must be allowed to override documentary probabilities only when, after repeated, and still again repeated testing, it persists in ranging its combined testimony in opposition. Often what is originally judged intrinsically probable is afterward seen to be untenable, and the reading at first imagined intrinsically improbable is seen, on repeated study, to be intrinsically certain. Often what is originally judged transcriptionally improbable is, on further study, seen to be transcriptionally certain. When, however, after this repeated testing and re-testing, the verdict is clear, that one reading is intrinsically best while apparently troublesome, while all others combine latent inferiority with open plausibility, then this combined testimony can never be safely disregarded, and, practically, is judged supreme. Thus, the clear united testimony of transcriptional and intrinsic evidence, though it is only secondary evidence in the sense that it must not be considered until the last word from the documents is in, is yet, in Dr. Hort's scheme, primary evidence, in that it is supreme and may override any and all documentary evidence.

No doubt it is easy to say that thus very great authority is assigned to a class of evidence which is peculiarly liable to mistake, and to be especially swayed by subjective feeling. True, we may answer, but how can we do otherwise? It may be admitted that it is easier to gather the external evidence, determine its meaning, and then apply it mechanically to the text. But will the result be truer? Royal roads to truth are not usually judged highly estimable, and the difficulty of a task is hardly sufficient reason for declining to undertake it altogether. It is undoubtedly difficult to abstract personal likes and dislikes, educational prejudices, the prescription of use and wont from our judgment of the bearing of internal probabilities; but these difficulties must be faced and laid, or, in ruling one half of the evidence out of court, we rule all hope of a perfect text out with it. At every step of a valid critical procedure we are forced to call in internal evidence to decide for us the relative value of rival documents or classes of documents: how can we refuse it, then, a final voice in deciding between rival readings? It may be open to question whether Drs. Westcott and Hort have not allowed it in

certain particular passages too much weight; or *vice versa* in certain passages, too little weight; but there can hardly be continued question but that the principle is correct, that no reading can be held to be absolutely certain unless it can be shown to be commended alike by documentary and both sorts of internal evidence. And the great merit of the scheme of criticism which Dr. Hort offers is just this: that it takes full account of every variety of testimony, and will not allow that its work is done until it has heard the united voice of the three great forms in which evidence reaches us. Certainly a text constructed thus is, above all others, a sure text.

CRITICAL CONJECTURE.

The high value thus assigned to internal evidence leads to the revival, as an adjunct in the settlement of the text, of the old method, once so popular, of critical conjecture. The vagaries of those who have most used this method long since brought it into not undeserved contempt. But *à priori* it will be difficult to see why it should be excluded from possible resort in reconstructing the text of the New Testament alone, of ancient books. The documentary evidence, mechanically applied, will take us here, too, only to the earliest transmitted text; and whether this be the autographic text as well, or a more or less corrupt descendant of it, can be learned only by an appeal to the two varieties of internal evidence. But the mere fact of questioning internal evidence on the subject implies that it may give its testimony against the transmitted text, and if so, in any passage, what is left us for the reconstruction of the text but pure or impure* conjecture? The very act of reconstructing the text on any other method than that of absolutely mechanically applying the documentary evidence admits the legitimacy of conjectural emendation. It may be said here, again, that thus a wide door is opened for the entrance of deceitful dealing with the Word of Life. The danger is apparent and imminent. But we cannot arbitrarily close the door lest we incur the same charge. It is true here, as elsewhere, that wicked men have it in their power to deal wickedly with God's Word, and that our only safeguards against it are piety and right

* By *pure* conjecture is meant conjecture unsupported by any external testimony; by *impure*, conjecture supported by documents of insufficient authority to of itself authenticate the text. Impure conjecture is, then, simply (in all ordinary cases) the adoption, by a modern editor, of a successful conjecture of an ancient scribe. It is worthy of note that every editor (most of all, those who retain the Syrian text) admits impure conjectures into his text, and those of such sort that their MS. attestation cannot be possibly accounted for by any theory of transmission; and it is difficult to see why sixth or tenth century scribes should be allowed the monopoly of conjectures.

reason. Two precautionary requirements are, however, in place: 1. First of all, it must be demanded that clear occasion for conjecture shall be required in each case where it is offered, and, unless not only its legitimacy can be proved, but in each case also its *necessity*, we shall allow none of it. It has, indeed, been often asserted that it has been already proven that there is no occasion for conjecture in the New Testament; but the assertion is certainly premature—the most careful writers feel it impossible to stand upon it—and we cannot afford to repeat it.* 2. And next, it must be demanded that, even if the necessity for conjecture be proved in a particular case, no emendation offered be accepted unless it perfectly fulfils the requirements of both varieties of internal evidence. With these demands we may occupy both safe and reasonable ground.

We do not wish to conceal our belief, moreover, that in the very large majority of the cases†—perhaps in all—where Dr. Hort or Dr. Westcott or both consider that primitive error exists in the reconstructed text which must be removed by conjecture, we cannot feel that the claim of necessity for it is even very plausible, much less made out. It is, therefore, a matter of deep congratulation that they have not deformed their text with conjectural emendations, but have in every

* Dr. Roberts ("Words of the New Testament, etc.," p. 24) and Mr. Hammond ("Outlines of Textual Criticism, etc.," p. 8) take broadly the ground that there is no need for conjecture in the New Testament. The *Quarterly Reviewer* simply says, with characteristic emphasis (the small capitals are his): "May we be allowed to assure him that IN BIBLICAL TEXTUAL CRITICISM 'CONJECTURAL EMENDATION' HAS NO PLACE" (p. 320). On the other hand, Dr. Tregelles (Horne's Introduction, Edition 13. vol. iv., p. 150) and Reuss (Geschichte d. heil. Schrift. d. N. T., p. 398) speak doubtfully; and Dr. Scrivener (p. 433 and note) admits the need, but would banish the method on the plea of expediency. At present there seems to be a pretty general reaction in favor of conjecture in progress. In Holland, indeed, the traditions of Valcknaer, kept alive in our own day by Cobet et al., never died out. The latest marks of the same spirit there may be found in Dr. Hartings' Essay, in 1879, and the Teyler Society's publications for 1880 (by Van Manem and Van de Sande Bakhuyzen). In England the conjectures printed in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology* have been straws showing the way the wind was blowing. Mr. Linwood's pamphlet (1873) is of less importance; but Dr. Lightfoot's proposals of conjectural emendation at Col. ii., 18; Phil. ii., 1, and Gal. ii., 12, have been of great influence. In Germany such hands have handled it, and in such a spirit as would keep it in disgrace. The just remarks of Von Gebhardt (Leipziger Theol. Literaturz. 6, 23, p. 540) show, however, the advent of fitter influences.

† Amounting in all to some 62, as follows: Matt. xv. 30, xxi. 28–31, xxviii. 7; Mark iv. 28; Luke xi. 35; John iv. 1, vi. 4 [viii. 9]; Acts iv. 25, vii. 46, xii. 25, xiii. 32, 42, xvi. 12, xix. 40, xx. 28, xxv. 13, xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. i. 7, iii. 21; 2 Pet. iii. 10, 12; 1 John v. 10; Jude i. 5 *bis.*, 22 *ff.*; Rom. i. 22, iv. 12, v. 6, viii. 2, xiii. 3, xv. 32; 1 Cor. xii. 2; 2 Cor. iii. 3, 17, vii. 8, xii. 7; Gal. iv. 31—v. 1; Col. ii. 2, 18, 23, *bis.*; 2 Thess. i. 10; Heb. iv. 2, x. 1, xi. 4, 37, xii. 11, xiii. 21; 1 Tim. iv. 3, vi. 7; 2 Tim. i. 13; Phil. 9; Apoc. i. 20, ix. 10, xi. 3, xiii. 10, 15, 16, xviii. 12, xix. 13. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, on the other hand, wildly asserts that about 200 passages have been already successfully emended by conjecture!

case printed the best attested reading, and relegated their emendations to the Appendix. By this means they have left the question just where it should rest; admitting the legitimacy of the method and indicating the passages where, in their judgment, there is need for it, they leave as questions open for discussion in each case: Whether there be a real necessity for it, and whether their attempted emendation is successful.

THE NEW TEXT.

The question which next claims our attention is: What is the character of the text which the new editors have made, on these principles? At once the easiest, briefest, and most satisfactory way of answering it will be through a collation of the new text with the editions of Tregelles and Tischendorf (which alone are worthy of comparison with it) in some one portion of the New Testament—from which we may be able to learn immediately the relation of the three to one another, and hence the comparative value of each. We avoid the Gospels in making choice of a section, both because that portion of the new text has been already pretty fully examined by others,* and because Dr. Tregelles' text cannot be thought equal to itself in the Gospels,† and hence the comparison would not be fair to him. Outside of the Gospels we choose at random the Epistle to the Ephesians; and add to the compared texts that which underlies the Revised English New Testament, on account of its inherent interest to us all.

If we take no account of differences in mere spelling, whether due to itacism or elision, or in punctuation,—so that we consider only the real differences; and as well take no account of brackets or margins, so that we may deal with the *preferred* text in each instance:—we may count some one hundred and sixteen cases in which one or another of these four texts differs from Stephens' Editio Regia. In some seventy-five per cent. of these cases, however, they all four agree in the change made, leaving only some twenty-five per cent. of the changes from the Receptus, or about one per cent. of the whole epistle, about which there is any difference of opinion among competent editors as to the reading. This result is worth our consideration; it furnishes a sufficient answer to both the charge that textual criticism tends to unsettle the text, and the fear that we can never attain a really received text. At this early stage, at least ninety-nine per cent. of the Epistle to the Ephesians has reached the stage of a really received text,—receiv-

* *E. g.*, by Dr. Sanday in the *Expositor* (last three Nos. of 1881).

† Through the inaccessibility when it was made of both ℵ, and good editions of B.

ed by all competent critics. And this understates the case, since the number of passages where difference of opinion exists, has been largely increased by the admission of the Revisers' text to comparison and its habit of retaining even confessedly false readings, provided that they are such as cause no difference in a translation. If we omit such cases, we have, instead of thirty-one, only 23 cases where the editors differ, *i. e.*, less than twenty per cent. of the divergences from the Receptus. What the character of these is may be seen at a glance from the following list:*

PASSAGES IN EPHESIANS IN WHICH P. W. T. AND Tr. DIFFER AMONG THEMSELVES.

1. Eph. i. 14 † ὅ. P. W. Tr-mg. with A B F G L P etc.—ὃς T. Tr. W-mg. with ℵ D E. K.
2. Eph. i. 15. τὴν ἀγάπην T, Tr, P-mg with (ℵ^{c}) D F G 47 etc.—omit, P. W. [Tr-mg] with ℵ* A B (P). 17.
3. Eph. i. 20. ἐνήργησεν P. Tr. W-mg with ℵ D F G K L P etc.—ἐνήργηκεν T. W. Tr-mg. with A B etc.
4. Eph. i. 20. αὐτόν after καθίσας T. with ℵ A 17 Syrr. Memph, etc.—omit P. Tr. W. with B D E F G K L P etc.
5. Eph. iii. 1. X. Ἰησοῦ P. W. Tr. with ℵ^{a} A B C D^{c} etc—omit Ἰησοῦ T. with ℵ* D* F G.
6. Eph. iii. 9. πάντας P. Tr. W-mg. with B ℵ^{c} C D F G K L P. etc.—omit T. W. P-mg. with ℵ* A. 67.**
7. Eph. iii. 18. ὕψος καὶ βάθος P. W. Tr with B C D F G, etc.—transpose T. Tr-mg. W-mg with ℵ A K L etc.
8. Eph. iv. 2. πραότητος P with A D F G L O^{b} etc.—πραύτητος T. Tr. W. with B ℵ C. 17.
9. Eph. iv. 7. ἡ before χάρις P. T. [W]. with ℵ A C D^{c} E K etc.—omit Tr. with B D* F G E P* etc.
10. Eph. iv. 8. καὶ before ἔδοκεν P. Tr. [W.] with B ℵ^{c} C* D^{c} K L P. 37 47 etc.—omit T. with ℵ$^{\aleph}$ A C^{2} D* F G. 17.
11. Eph. iv. 16. ἑαυτοῦ P. W. Tr. with B A C D^{c} etc—αὐτοῦ T with ℵ D* F G etc.
12. Eph iv. 18. ἐσκοτισμένοι P with D F (G) K L (P)—ἐσκοτωμένοι T. Tr. W. with ℵ B A 17 etc.
13. Eph. iv. 28. τὸ ἀγαθὸν before ταῖς P. with L etc.—after χερσὶν T. Tr. W with B ℵ A D F G etc.
14. Eph. iv. 28. ἰδαις (before χερσὶν) T. Tr. W-mg with ℵ* A D F G K.—omit P. W. with B, ℵ^{c} L etc.
15. Eph. v. 2. ἡμῶν P. T. Tr. W-mg. with ℵ A D F G K L P Memph. Vulg. Syrr. etc—ὑμῶν W. P-mg. with B. 37. m. Theb. Aeth. Victorinus.
16. Eph. v. 4. καὶ (before μωρολ.) P. Tr. W. with B ℵ^{a} D^{c} K L 17. 37. 47. Memph. Aeth. Clement—ἢ T. with ℵ* A D* F G P Theb. Vulg. etc.
17. Eph. v. 4. τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα P. with D F G K L 37 47 etc.—ἃ οὐκ ἀνηκεν T. Tr. W with B ℵ A P (17) etc.

---

* In this list P. (= Palmer) denotes the Revisers' text; W, that of Westcott & Hart; T that of Tischendorf; and Tr. that of Tregelles.

†Eph. i. 1. presents a peculiar case; the editors differ as to their actual treatment of it, but mean about the same thing by their very divergences. Hence it is omitted here.

18. Eph. v. 14. Ἐγειραι P. with 17. 37. Orig. etc.—ἔγειρε T. Tr. W. with B ℵ A D F G K L P etc.

19. Eph. v. 15. πῶς after ἀκριβ. P. T. W. Tr-mg. with B ℵ* 17. Memph. Orig.—before, Tr. with A. ℵ^{c} D rel.

20. Eph. v. 19. τῇ καρδίᾳ P. T. W. with B ℵ*—ἐν τ. κ. Tr. with (A. ℵ^{c} D F G P 67) K L etc.

21. Eph. v. 22. ὑποτασσέσθωσαν Tr. [Tr-mg]. with ℵ A P 17. Memph. Vulg. Arm. Aeth. etc.—omit, P. T. W. with B. Clem. Hier.

22. Eph. v. 28. καὶ οἱ ἀνδ. P. Tr. [W] with B A D F G P 17. Memph. Vulg. etc.—omit καὶ. T. with ℵ K L 37. 47. Pst. Arm. Aeth. etc.

23. Eph. v. 31. τοὺ πατ. P. T. [W] with ℵ A D^{c} K L P. 17. 37. 47.—omit τὸν. Tr. with B D* F G etc.

24. Eph. v. 31. τὴν μητ. P. T. [W] with ℵ A D^{c} K L P etc. as above—omit τὴν, Tr. with B D* F G etc.

25. Eph. v. 31. πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα P. W . with B ℵ^{c} D^{c} K L (P) 47. Orig.—τῇ γυναικὶ. T. Tr. W-mg. with ℵ* A D* F G. 7. 37 etc.

26. Eph. v. 31. add αὐτῶν P. W. Tr. with MSS. mss.—omit T with ℵ. Marcion.

27. Eph. vi. 5. τῆς (before καρδ.) Tr. W. P. with MSS. mss. etc.—omit. T. with ℵ. and 13 mss. Orig. Catena-Cr.

28. Eph. vi. 6. τὸν (before χριστοῦ) P. with D^{c} L K 37.—omit T. Tr. W with ℵ B A D* F G etc.

29. Eph. vi. 8. ὃ ἐαν P with ℵ^{c} (L) 47 etc—ὅ ἀν Tr. with (A) D F. G. P. (37) Vulg. (Memph) etc.—ἐαν T. W. with B. L*. Peter of Alex.

30. Eph. vi. 8. κομιεῖται P. with ℵ^{c} D^{c} K L 17. 37. 47.—κομίσεται T. Tr. W with B ℵ* A D* F. G. etc.

31. Eph. vi. 21. καὶ ὑμεῖς after εἰδητε P. W. with B K L 37. 47. Syrr. Arm. Aeth. [Memph]—before, T. Tr. W-mg. with ℵ A D F G P etc.

The eight cases (8, 12, 13, 17, 18, 28, 29, 30) where P stands alone are all such that the variants would not be represented as variants in a translation, and, therefore, on which the Revision Committee refrained from expressing an opinion;* they ought to be omitted from our count. Of the rest, W stands alone in one case (15) and alone with the Revisers in five more (1, 2, 14, 25, 31); that is, T + Tr, stand against W in six cases. These will naturally be looked upon as *the* test-passages, and the question asked whether W is here justified in deserting the *consensus* of editors. Put the evidence for the rejected readings in these cases together, and we arrive at the principle of action. Here they stand in a column:

No. (1). ℵ D E K, etc.
" (2). (ℵ^{c}) D F G 47, etc.
" (14). ℵ* A D F G L P, etc.
" (15). ℵ A D F G K L P.
" (25). B D* F G.
" (31). ℵ A D F G P, etc.

We see at a glance that the rejected reading—however much or however little is added to them—has yet always on its side the *dis-*

* Compare Revised N. T., Oxford ed., pica demy 8vo, p. xiii.; Palmer's edition of its text, p. 1; Scrivener's edition of its text, p. vi.

tinctively Western documents; and moreover, that this is the only thing the rejected groups have in common. We see at once the principle involved, and the correctness of the procedure. How fully the new text is governed by the consistent application of this genealogical principle will appear on noting the authority which has swayed it in all the 31 cases. Except in such cases as 13, 18, 26, 27, 28, 30, where the Western text unites with the Neutral against Alexandrian or later corruption, and where, therefore, the accepted text rests on a peculiarly sound basis,—W rejects the reading supported by the Western documents throughout—with only three exceptions (4, 7, 22), and two of these (7, 22) it accepts with some doubt. The groups thus rejected include nearly every possible variety of further attestation, short of the union with the Western of the whole Neutral group, and agree only in this one particular,—that they all embody the specifically Western documents. On a calm consideration we can feel no doubt as to the correctness of the decision given; and indeed, can entertain doubt as to choice of the new editors only in one or two of the three exceptions they have made to their usual rule (4, 7, 22).

On the other hand, Tischendorf stands alone nine times (4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 16, 22, 26, 27), and Tregelles also nine times (3, 6, 9, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 29). A single glance at Tischendorf's peculiar readings shows that they are all probably due to overestimation of ℵ. The attestation for them runs all the way from ℵ alone among MSS. (as in 26; see also 27) up to ℵ A C³ D F G (10); and in most cases it seems certain that W. has rightly sided with Tregelles in rejecting them (*e. g.* in 26, 16, 11, 10, and 5). Where Tregelles stands alone, it is always through following a numerical majority of old documents and a combination of Western documents with other primary uncials. Thus we have Western documents in 3 supported by ℵ,—in 6 by B C,—in 9, 23, 24 by B,—in 19, 20 by A,—in 21 by ℵ A. This would have been sound procedure provided that these uncials were really independent of the Western group, — and it was on this assumption that Tregelles so proceeded,—but since they all have an element of Western corruption (in Paul), manifestly to act on such a rule is simply to betray the text into the hands of Western error. We cannot, therefore, fail to conclude that W. has rightly sided with Tischendorf against Tregelles in all these passages.

If the Epistle to the Ephesians is a fair sample of the new text,*

* That it is a fair sample of the text in Paul's epistles may be gathered from a com-

therefore, it is pretty evident that in the newly-published edition we have the best considered and most carefully framed—and therefore, also, the most perfect—text which has yet been given to the public. It is, consequently, a matter of deep gratulation, that the company of Revisers for our English New Testament not only had this text in their hands, but seem to have—not, indeed, mechanically, but with intelligent coincidence of judgment,—followed it pretty closely,—just how closely in this epistle is somewhat remarkable. A glance at the list given above will show that in only three cases would one have to alter Westcott and Hort's text to obtain the text which underlies the present Revised New Testament (3, 6, 15). It is right to mention, however, that if our sample were not Ephesians, but the Gospel of Matthew, this resemblance (unfortunately) would not be quite so striking. Dr. Sanday* compares the various editions in 195 selected passages out of Matthew, and finds that the Revisers agree with Westcott and Hort in 146 of these, in about 100 of which there is practical agreement among the editors. In other words, the Revisers agree with Westcott and Hort in 46, and disagree with them in 49 disputed cases. It will be well for us to note the MS. attestation of these readings. B and ℵ stand alone in 26 cases, and Westcott and Hort follow them each time, but never alone among editors; Tischendorf accepts them 23 times, Tregelles 13, Weiss 25, and even McClelland at least 12. So also the readings supported by B plus some other one MS. (not ℵ) amount to some 14 in this list. Again Westcott and Hort in company with a larger or smaller combination of editors, but never alone,

parison of the following table of the passages in which the three great editions differ in the course of 1 Cor. i.–iv.:

No.	*Passage.*	*Rejected by*	*Evidence for rejected reading.*
1	i. 1	W	B D F G 37.
2	2	T. Tr-mg. W	A ℵ D^b L P 17, 37, 47.
3	4	[Tr-mg] W	A $ℵ^a$ C D F G L P, etc.
4	14	T. W	A $ℵ^c$ C D F G L P. 17, 37, 47, etc.
5	28	[W]	A $ℵ^c$ C^* D^* F G, 17.
6	ii. 1	W	B $ℵ^c$ D F G L P 17, 37, 47.
7	2	Tr. W	A ℵ F G L 47.
8	9	Tr. W	ℵ D F G L P 17, 37, 47.
9	10	Tr-mg. W	A ℵ C D F G L P 17, 47.
10	15	[Tr] W	A C D^s F G.
11	iii. 16	Tr-mg. W	B P 17, 37.
12	iv. 13	Tr-mg. T. W	B $ℵ^c$ D F G L 37, 47.
13	14	T. Tr-mg. W	B D F G L 37, 47.
14	17	Tr. W	A $ℵ^*$ P. 17.
15	17	T. [W]	A B D^c L P 47.

* *The Expositor* for October, 1881.

accept them all; Tischendorf accepts 7 of them, Tregelles 9, Weiss 9, and McClelland 7. Singular readings of B amount to some 6; followed again each time by Westcott and Hort, and again always with the consent of some other editor, although in three cases with only one (*i. e.*, Lachmann once and Tregelles twice); in two cases they have the support of two (Tregelles and Weiss, and McClelland and Weiss); and in one case of the majority. From this it is evident that the new editors have not been absolutely singular in their devotion to their favorite documents.

This will appear in a still stronger light if we will try their work by another test. The passages from Matthew were *selected*, and it is mere accident that B is always followed in them. A very clear notion, both of the consistency with which the new editors follow the documentary attestation as interpreted by genealogical evidence and internal evidence of groups, and also of the readiness with which internal evidence is heard and permitted to overweigh all external testimony, may be gained by trying the new text by the list of *monstra* supported by B ℵ, or at least by B, given by Dr. Scrivener,* and constantly condemned by him with such epithets as "transparent (or 'frigid,' or 'feeble') gloss,' 'intolerable,' "against common sense." In 27 (out of 38) of these cases Westcott and Hort print the reading in their text, although in five of them between brackets, and in three with the suspicion of its being a primitive error. In eleven cases they reject the reading, although in three of these (only one of them, however, in the Gospels) it is read by B ℵ, with more or less support (in one case by B ℵ C L U T, etc., and in another by B ℵ D H—this last obelized), in two by B D, and in five by B plus secondary authorities, and only in one by B alone. They have the support of either Lachmann, Tregelles, or Tischendorf, or of two or of all of them, in 14 out of the 27 cases, in which they accept the *monstra*, whereby it is again shown that their judgment is not so peculiar in such cases as we are sometimes invited to suspect. These facts are consistent with no other supposition than this: these editors follow the reading which the best MSS. commend, not because they are "worshippers" of B or of B ℵ, but only because they follow tested external evidence more consistently than any previous editor when it is not undoubtedly in conflict with internal evidence, and because they cannot in every case bring themselves to agree with the subjective school as to the true force and bearing of the internal evidence. Clearly, they would reject the 27 accepted *monstra* as

* Page 471.

readily as they have the 11 rejected ones, if only it could be proved to them that they were *monstra*. Until that is done they rightly judge that the best attested reading must stand. In other words, their practice gives us distinctly to understand that while they stand ready to set aside any external testimony on the clear demand of combined paradiplomatic and internal evidence, they do not stand ready to reject the guidance of all three forms of testimony, and subject the text to guess-work reconstruction, or to corruption by readings whose only support is that they "find us." The effort they make—and the tendency of their example—is to oppose the intrusion of arbitrary readings from whatever source they come, and to make up a text wholly on evidence, and not one variety of evidence solely, but with a wise and consistent regard to all the sources from which testimony comes to us.

After having given thus a calm review of the work of the new editors, we feel bound, in closing, to express our conviction of its great value very clearly. We cannot doubt but that the leading principles of method which they have laid down will meet with speedy universal acceptance. They furnish us for the first time with a really scientific method; they reduce guesswork reconstruction to the narrowest limits, and substitute for it a sound inductive procedure. The individuals who will feel called upon to oppose them will pass quietly away and leave no successors. And it is to be hoped that scholars will quickly recognize the lines of investigation which promise well for the advancement of the science, and abstracting themselves from all else, throw themselves with energy into the closer study of the relations between the documents which we already possess, or which may from time to time be dragged out of hiding and given to the public. Nor can we hesitate to say that the text which the new editors have given us is, in our judgment, the best and purest that has ever passed through the press, and, for the future, must be recognized as the best basis for further work. It pretends to be "no more than an approximation to the purest text that might be formed from existing materials"; much certainly "remains to be done for the perfection of the results now obtained"; and many readings now admitted which rank in probability in present light only a very slight shade above rejected readings given in the margin, the future must (in some few cases the present may) re-examine and attempt to point out more clearly the true place for. All this is not strange: practice must ever lag behind principle. But now, at last, the *truth has been touched*,

and although he—the consummate critic—is still hidden in the womb of the future, who can say:

> "Man clomb until he touched the truth, and I,
> Even I, am he whom it was destined for,"

still the praise due to those who have first made it possible to look for his coming out of the immediate future is by no means small. And, in the meanwhile, the teacher and preacher alike may rest upon and use the text already in hand with the calm consciousness that substantially the autographic text is before him, and that probably all future criticism will not result in throwing doubt on more than one word of it in a thousand. If, as Bentley says, the true text is competently (for the ordinary purposes of life and teaching) exact in the worst copy extant, how much more is this true of the best edition yet framed? Let us all join heartily in the prayer with which Dr. Hort closes the Introduction: "that whatever labor" he and Dr. Westcott may "have been allowed to contribute toward the attainment of the truth of the letter, may also be allowed, in ways which must for the most part be invisible to them, to contribute toward strengthening, correcting, and extending human apprehension of the larger truth of the Spirit." BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

VII.

THE CRITICAL THEORIES OF JULIUS WELLHAUSEN.

JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, professor at Greifswald, is recognized as the leader of the most recent school of Old Testament criticism in Germany. He has published several works,* of which two are devoted to questions of literary criticism. These are, his essay on the composition of the Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Joshua) and his history of Israel. The attention attracted by his views in Germany sufficiently shows their importance, and calls for their consideration in this country. The following statement is full enough to give a fair idea of them, and is given largely in Wellhausen's own words.

The history of Israel is first sketched as it appears in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, comparing also the books of the prophets. The first thing remarked is, that these sources say nothing of a single central sanctuary for the whole people. "In the earliest period of Israel's history—namely, before the building of the Temple—no trace is to be found of one exclusively legitimate sanctuary. In the book of Judges and Samuel, scarcely a place is mentioned in which there does not stand an altar, and in which sacrifices are not brought" (Geschichte, p. 17). Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon sacrificed at various places without rebuke from any one. The building of the Temple was a natural consequence of political centralization, and was the beginning of a new epoch. The old altars still remained, and were recognized places of worship—no attempt was made to disturb them till the reign of Josiah [or at least of Hezekiah]. The Temple, however, grew in importance at their expense, and finally so overshadowed them that their cultus seemed illegitimate in comparison. Possibly, also, the worship at the high-places [bamoth], as these older

* "Der Text der Bücher Samuelis," Göttingen, 1872. "Die Pharisäer und die Sadduçäer," Greifswald, 1874. "Geschichte Israel's," Erster Band, Berlin, 1878. These are in book form. He contributed an extended essay—"Die Composition des Hexateuchs"—to the "Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie," 1876 and 1877, and revised Bleek's "Einleitung in das Alte Testament" for the fourth edition. The article "Israel" in the "Encyclopedia Britannica," Vol. XIII., Ninth Edition, is also by him.

sanctuaries were called, became more thoroughly corrupt (either because they came more easily under heathen influences, or because they were less under supervision) than it was in the Temple. The earlier prophets, indeed, inveigh against the contemporary worship carried on at the high-places, but not against the high-places themselves. They object not to the places, but to the kind of worship; not only because all sorts of abuses had crept in, but because the worship was estimated from the wrong point of view. "The current opinion was: as Moab shows itself to be the people of Chemosh by bringing him offerings and gifts, so Israel is shown to be the people of Jahve because it devotes its [ritual] worship to him, and it is more surely his in proportion as this worship is more splendidly and more zealously observed. In time of trouble, when his help is specially needed, the efforts of his people are redoubled. This is what the prophets oppose. At the same time they demand quite different fruits to show a living relation between Jahve and his people. This is why they were hostile to the popular worship, and their hatred to the great sanctuaries sprang from this motive—here superstitious zeal o'erleaped itself. . . . . That the high-places should be destroyed, but the cultus remain the same, only concentrated at a single spot, was by no means their desire. Nevertheless the tendency of their preaching was against the bamoth, and outward circumstances assisted" (Geschichte, p. 23 *sq.*)

The outward circumstances here alluded to are the conquest of Israel and the fall of Samaria. Heretofore the greater interest of the whole nation had been in the northern kingdom. When that kingdom was no more, Jerusalem was the only capital for the sons of Israel. The great Temple on Zion had always possessed a unique importance for Judah. The destruction of Bethel and Dan was regarded as an unmistakable decision of Jahve against the older places of his presence. Twenty years later the retreat of Sennacherib heightened the esteem in which the Temple was held. The activity of Isaiah undoubtedly contributed to the same effect. But we must not forget that he esteemed Jerusalem not as the place of Solomon's Temple, but as the city of David and the centre, not of worship, but *of Jahve's rule over his people.* "The holy mountain was, in his view, the whole city, as a political community, with her citizens, counsellors, and judges, his faith in the firm foundation on which Zion stood, was only faith in the living presence of Jahve in the camp of Israel. His contemporaries understood the logic of events and the words of the prophet differently. For them Jahve dwelt in Zion because his house was there, and it was the Temple that was shown to be his true seat—the impregnability of the Temple became the pledge of the inde-

structibility of the people. This belief was universal in the time of Jeremiah, as the seventh chapter of his book shows, but even in the time of Micah, in the first third of the seventh century, the Temple must have been regarded as a sanctuary quite *sui generis*, so that it was unreasonable to rank it with the bamoth of Judah, and to believe it would be destroyed was a thing unheard of" (Geschichte, p. 25 *sq.*) The culmination of this tendency was in the reign of Josiah, when an effort was made to abolish the local sanctuaries. They came to view again, however, in the following reigns, as may be seen from the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. If the people had remained in their own land, the efforts even of these prophets could hardly have carried out the reform. But the Exile came and severed the natural current of tradition. The new generation was, in part, absorbed by the heathen, a part preserved their interest for home and country, *because they kept up the ancient faith.* Not a nation, but a sect, returned from the Exile, and as they settled at first in the vicinity of Jerusalem, it was altogether natural that their only sanctuary should be the one on Zion.

So far the historical and prophetical books. Taking up now the Law we may discover three strata of legislation. The Jehovistic code declares (Ex. xx. 24–26): "An altar of earth shalt thou make to me, and thou shalt sacrifice upon it thy burnt-offerings and thy whole-offerings, thy sheep and thy cattle. In each place where I make my name honored, I will come to thee and bless thee. And if thou make to me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build of hewn stone; for hast thou swung thy tool over it, then thou hast defiled it. And thou shalt not go up by steps, that thy nakedness be not uncovered before it." * Here is no reference to the altar of the Tabernacle, which was of wood, overlaid with brass, or to that of the Temple, which had, at least on one side, a staircase. Earth and stone are the common materials of which an altar might be made anywhere. "This enactment, therefore, is in accord with the custom of the first historical period, springs from it and sanctions it. The liberty to offer anywhere seems indeed to be somewhat restricted by the clause 'where I make my name honored'; but this only means that the place of communion between heaven and earth is not to be regarded as arbitrarily chosen, but as in some way designated by God himself" (Geschichte, p. 30 *sq.*) The Jehovistic narrative agrees with the Jehovistic legislation. The Patriarchs sacrifice at many different places—Shechem and Bethel, Hebron and Beer-sheba, Mahanaim and Penuel. These places are

* In the presentation of Wellhausen's views, his own translation of Biblical passages is retained.

the later sanctuaries also, and the interest of this writer is mainly drawn to them on this account.

The difference between the Jehovist and the book of Deuteronomy is plainly marked. In the latter we read (ch. 12): "When ye come into the land of Canaan ye shall destroy the places of worship, and ye shall not worship Jahve your God after the manner of the heathen. Only in the place which Jahve shall choose from all your tribes as his dwelling shall ye seek him and present your offerings and gifts, eat before him and rejoice. Now we do as seems right to each one, but when ye come to an established possession and to rest, then shall the place which Jahve shall choose be the only one to which ye shall bring your sacrifices and gifts. Beware of sacrificing in every place—not in every place shall ye eat your consecrated things, but in the place only which Jahve shall choose." The book is not weary of enforcing such precepts. It opposes consciously "what we are now accustomed to do," and so presents a polemic and reformatory character. Deuteronomy is the legislative expression of the second period. In order to the reform, it changes earlier legislation. Thus it allows to slay animals elsewhere than at the [or at an] altar. In order not to abolish the asylum with each traditional place of worship, it provides the cities of refuge. In order to care for the priests of the bamoth whom it has deprived of their occupation, it urges that the Levites receive special care—the Levites being the deposed priests of the high-places.

The code of the middle books of the Pentateuch [the so-called Priest-code] is commonly supposed to take no stand in this matter. But this is an error. The sense of this document is that first the correct place of worship—the Tabernacle—must be erected. One God, one sanctuary—this is the meaning of the Tabernacle. When this sanctuary is arranged, theocracy is established, and where one is, there is the other. The relation of the Priest-code to Deuteronomy is this: "In Deuteronomy unity of cultus is commanded; in the Priest-code it is taken for granted. It is tacitly assumed, not expressly asserted. It is nothing new, rather it is quite a matter of course. What is the conclusion? This as it seems to me: the Priest-code is based upon what Deuteronomy had looked forward to. Deuteronomy stands in the midst of conflict, it declares its reformatory purpose, its opposition to 'what we are now accustomed to do'; the Priest-code stands out of the conflict and beyond it, that goal has been reached" (Geschichte, p. 37). The Tabernacle is, therefore, a fiction, it is the Temple of Solomon, made portable and carried back to the beginning of Israel's history because the author of the Priest-

code could not imagine his people ever to have been without a single central sanctuary.

An analysis of the Pentateuch, then, shows us at least three distinct documents—this is indeed common ground for all critics. A close examination enables us to trace their history. The earliest of all is the Jahvist, distinguished by the use of the divine name Jahve. Next to him in the order of time is the Elohist (heretofore generally called the younger Elohist). His work was united with that of the Jahvist by a compiler whom we may call the Jehovist. The composite book which resulted (we may designate it by the initials JE) was mainly historical. The only legislation it contained was Ex. xx.–xxv. Decidedly later was the book of Deuteronomy (D), which was an independent work. Latest of all was the great body of laws making up the Priest-code, now contained in the latter part of Exodus (ch. xxvi.–xl.), the whole of Leviticus, and the first ten chapters of Numbers. This was prefaced by a brief historical sketch founded on the materials contained in JE, but reconstructed according to the theories of a later time. This is the work heretofore assumed to be the basis [*grundschrift*] of the Pentateuch, and called the older Elohist. It is, however, younger than all, and was composed during the Exile by a writer who was under the influence of Ezekiel. As its historical part lays stress on the four great covenants, it may be called the Four-covenant-book, and designated by Q (quatuor).

These different elements—JE, D, Q—were wrought up (with additions from other sources) into our present Pentateuch by a redactor (R) or editor, who, if not Ezra himself, was some one who lived not far from his time. Brought to Jerusalem by Ezra, this work was solemnly adopted by the returned Jews, and became the Constitution of the second Commonwealth.*

---

* This outline of Wellhausen's views concerning the Pentateuch is gathered mainly from his essay on the Composition of the Hexateuch in the Jahrb. für Deutsche Theologie. The point in which he differs from other critics, is not so much the analysis of the text as the relative position (in time) of Q and JE. Most critics have made Q the oldest part of the Pentateuch, and on this account the basis of that work. It does not seem, however, that the oldest of three separate works must of necessity be the basis of the compilation in which they are united. If the editor be distinct from the author he might very well take the youngest of his sources and make it furnish the plan of the work into which the others should be fitted as best they might. It does not follow, therefore, that Wellhausen denies that Q is the *basis* because it is (according to his theory) the youngest part of the Pentateuch.

Wellhausen's analysis, while its results are much the same as those reached before (as we shall have occasion to notice), so far as concerns the constituent elements of the Pentateuch, is yet carried out with astonishing minuteness. After dissecting the first eleven chapters of Genesis (for example) he discovers that the document JE has a history behind it, in which we may discern several stages. With an original nucleus

The difference in standpoint of these various authors betrays itself in other respects. According to J E, the ritual of sacrifices is of patriarchal antiquity, according to Q it is directly commanded at Sinai. J E and D lay emphasis on the one to whom the sacrifice is made—the main thing is that it be to Jahve. Q, on the other hand, lays stress upon the manner in which the offering is brought—the *technique* is the main thing. The historical books (aside from Chronicles) agree with J E and D. Where offerings are described we find a surprisingly simple rite as compared with the elaborate ordinances of the Priest-code. The impression we gain from these books is confirmed by the Prophets. It is true that they contend against a brilliant and imposing ritual which is too highly valued by the people. "But this valuation is not based on the view that the ritual is to be traced back to Moses, that it gives the theocracy its distinctive character, or that thereby Israel attains a supernatural priestly office among the nations. It is based rather on the belief that Jahve must be honored by his adherents as are other gods by their subjects, with offerings and gifts as the natural and common expressions of religious loyalty—the greater the quantity of these, and the finer their quality, the better. That the merits of the presentation depend upon the etiquette—the exact observance of the appropriate ceremonies—is not to be discovered. The Prophets ask, therefore, whether Jahve has commanded such exertions, with the evident assumption that no such command exists, and that no one is acquainted with a Tora of ritual contents" (Geschichte, p. 58). The rules in Q change all this. They provide the exact form for every case. Moreover, Q has a more highly developed classification of offerings.*

(ch. ii., iii., iv. 16-24, xi. 1-9) was first united the history of the flood by a compiler who already had it before him in written form. The same compiler inwove minor additions. JE had, however, completed its growth before it was united with Q (Jahrb. 21, p. 404). Traces of editorial changes may be discerned elsewhere in the earliest work—that of the Jahvist (ib. p. 410). The smooth-flowing narrative of Joseph's life even, is taken apart and assigned to different sources. So in Exodus, our author thinks himself able to separate in JE "not only the two constant sources J and E, but a third quite independent account in ch. xxxiv." (ib. p. 564). Q has also gone through several editions (Jahrb. 22, p. 455). For Deuteronomy finally "we may assume three stages: (1) the original Deuteronomy was ch. xii.–xxvi., (2) two subsequent editions were published independently, each having additions (one ch. i.-iv. and xxvii., the other ch.v.-xi. and xxviii.-xxx.), (3) then came the combination of these two with the addition of ch. xxxi. and the union of this work with the rest of the Hexateuch (ib. 464). Hence we have as the sources of the Hexateuch not merely JE, Q, D, and R; but J^1, J^2, J^3; JE^1, JE^2, JE^3; Q^1, Q^2, Q^3, and so on through the list.

* Into this subject of the different classes of offerings, it is impossible to enter at length. According to Wellhausen the older writers (JE and the Prophets) distinguished only two kinds offering—burnt-offering ('ola) and thank-offering (shelem. zebach), and the 'ola was rarely offered except in conjunction with the other. The 'ola

Two other lines of argument lead to the same conclusion. One is from the yearly festivals, the other from the position of the Levites. Passing over the former,* we may briefly notice the Levites and their relations to the priests. The prophet Ezekiel in his plan of the restored Jerusalem uses this language concerning the ministry of the temple (ch. xliv. 6–16):

"Thus saith the Lord Jahve: Let all your abominations suffice, house of Israel, that ye have allowed foreigners uncircumcised of flesh and uncircumcised of heart to enter my sanctuary to profane it, when ye offered my bread, the fat and the blood; and have broken my covenant by all your abomination, and have not protected my service in that ye made such to supply my service in my sanctuary. Therefore, thus saith the Lord Jahve: no foreigner uncircumcised of heart and uncircumcised of flesh shall enter my house, none of all those who live among the children of Israel, but the Levites, who deserted me when Israel wandered from me after its false gods, shall atone for their guilt and shall be servants in my house, watchers at the door of my house and servants of

---

is in fact only that part of a large zebach—that single animal chosen from the several which made up the zebach—which is burnt upon the altar, so that in principle there is no distinction between these two classes. With the earlier offerings, moreover, a meal is always associated. The Priest-code not only lifts the burnt-offering to the chief place, but deprives all offerings of the "eating and drinking and rejoicing before Jahve," which characterized them in the earlier time. The conception of a sacred meal in which Jahve (the host) and the guests (offerer and priest) entered into the covenant of hospitality is lost. The flesh of the most prominent offerings is burnt or becomes the property of the priest. The last is the case in the new classes 'asham and chattath (Geschichte, pp. 71-77).

*An outline may, however, be given in a note. In the earlier parts of the Pentateuch we have a cycle of three festivals—"three times a year shalt thou observe a feast to me, three times a year shall all thy males appear before Jahve, the God of Israel" (Ex. xxiii. 14, xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16). These three are the feast of unleavened bread (maççoth) of weeks (shabu'oth) and of booths (sukkoth). In regard to two of them there is substantial agreement among scholars. The sukkoth of Deuteronomy is the 'asiph of Deuteronomy—the feast of ingathering, held after the vintage and oil harvest. The name 'asiph [gathering] indicates the harvest and probably the custom of making booths arose from the necessities of the vintage—families encamped for the time in the vineyards. The feast of weeks (called qaçir—the reaping time, Ex. xxiii. 16), was the festival of the grain harvest. These two have a natural connection with agricultural life. The spring festival has a historical motive—it commemorates the Exodus. It has, however, a double character, it is not only the Passover, but also the feast of maççoth. By the latter name it is brought into the agricultural cycle as the time of "the sickles' beginning in the grain" (Deut. xvi. 9). Maççoth were originally such cakes as were made in haste from the new grain—in the busy harvest time no one would take the trouble to make leavened bread. In the historical books we have no reference to any except the harvest festival before the time of Josiah.

The same three festivals are treated in the Priest-code, Lev. xxiii. and Num. xxviii. 29. Here they are divorced from their natural connection with the agricultural seasons, and with rural family life. They have become stereotyped, and must be observed with an exact sequence of sacrifices and solemn assemblies. The reason they have changed their character is that by the centralization of worship they could no longer remain the simple village and family commemoration of the vintage or the harvest, but received a special national religious meaning. The Priest-code adds also to these three ancient festivals two new ones, each of a single day—New Year's on the first of the seventh month, and the great day of Atonement on the tenth of the same month. The whole impression made by these differences is that a later stage of development is found in Q.

the house. They shall slay the burnt-offerings and the thank-offerings of the people and shall stand before them to serve them. Because they have served before their false gods and have been a stumbling-block to the house of Israel, therefore do I lift my hand against them saith the Lord Jahve, that they may atone for their guilt; they shall not come near me to be priests to me and to approach my consecrated things, but shall atone for all their shame and abomination which they have exercised, and I will make them providers of the house service, of all its work and of all that goes on therein. But the priests, the sons of Zadok, which guarded all the service of my sanctuary in the time when the children of Israel wandered from me, they shall come near to serve me and shall stand before me to present the fat and the blood, saith the Lord Jahve. *They* shall enter my sanctuary and approach my table to serve me and to keep my service." *

In this passage we may read the history of Levi. In the early times foreign slaves were presented by the kings to the temple. Ezekiel regards this as a monstrous abuse, and puts into the place of such heathen slaves, the Levites, who had been heretofore (he says) priests, but who were now to be degraded to hieroduli. The reason assigned is that they had been idolaters. Ezekiel means that they had been priests of the bamoth, service at which he regards as idolatry. The author of Deuteronomy had recognized these Levites as genuine priests, and he intended them to have full right of service in the temple. The temple, however, was already provided with its full complement of priests in the descendants of Zadok (appointed by Solomon). These would naturally refuse to share the service with others. Ezekiel settles the controversy by giving the Levites a subordinate place. In the Priest-code the subordination of the Levites appears as a thing of immemorial usage, and so of the Mosaic ordering. The order of development is plainly—Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, Priest-code † (Geschichte, pp. 123–156).

A large part of the Geschichte Israels ‡ is given to the investigation of the historical books in order to ascertain what sort of legislation they presuppose. The book of Chronicles was written some time after the Captivity.§ The book of Kings received its present shape during the Captivity, Samuel and Judges perhaps somewhat earlier. Where Chronicles differs from the others, it is on account of the Levitical bias. The author of Chronicles, that is, stands on the ground of the Pentateuch as we have it, and supposes that the older history must conform to the legislation of the Priest-code. The last editor of Kings recognizes the legislation of Deuteronomy, but the author (or authors) whose materials he uses, betrays no knowledge of

* The text of vv. 7 and 8 is corrected in some particulars by the Septuagint.

† With the complication of the service which marks the priest-code may also be mentioned here, the increased contributions which it exacts as compared for example with Deuteronomy.

‡ The section on the "History of Tradition," pp. 178–376.

§ Wellhausen puts it about 300 B.C.

any regulations except those given by the Jahvist. The effect here also is to confirm the results already reached by analyzing the Pentateuch—that the Priest-code is the youngest part, and to be dated after the Exile. The linguistic peculiarities of the same document point to a late origin (Geschichte, pp. 400–403).

The New Testament shows the prominence of the Law in Judaism. This prominence it received in the days of Ezra. The Word of the older commonwealth, however, had been a spoken word. The Tora of the priests and prophets before the time of Josiah was altogether oral. The prophets were in no sense commentators of Moses, but his accredited successors. The Word in their mouth is not inferior to that in his. Even Ezra says (Ez. ix. 10, 11): "We have forgotten thy commandments which thou hast given *by thy servants the prophets* and hast said; the land whither ye come is a land stained by the abominations of its inhabitants—which they have filled with their uncleanness from end to end." He has in mind Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy is the Tora in book form. The prophets had written many things before—their own discourses in many cases—and the priests had put their decisions on record, the book of the Sinaitic covenant was already in existence. But Deuteronomy expressly calls itself "this Tora." It came into view with the distinct intention of being authoritative. It was successful, and in the place of a living word in the prophets there was a word in writing. This was the first really canonical book. The division between Israel and Judaism is marked by its adoption.

So far Wellhausen, and it is unnecessary to remark upon the completeness of the revolution thus proposed in Old Testament history.* It would seem at the first blush as if so extravagant a reconstruction might be allowed to defeat itself by its own absurdity. If indeed the system were the product of one man's fancy it might well be left to fall into oblivion. But we have more than this to deal with. The doctrine is held by a numerous and active school. Some of its adherents are converts from a different sect of critics.† The

* As remarked by Prof. Green (PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, Jan. 1882, p. 108 *sq.*) the theory of Wellhausen—which is in substance that of W. R. Smith—was first propounded by Reuss in lectures in 1833, and elaborated by his pupil Graf. Graf at first assigned the Priest-code to a later time than the narrative with which it had been connected, afterwards he decided that the two must go together and put the narrative also at the later date (in Merx, Archiv. I. 466). The work of Kuenen on the religion of Israel as is well known takes the same position. Reuss, Kuenen, and Vatke (Religion des Alten Testamentes) seem to have come independently to the same conclusion concerning the relative age of the different documents.

† For example, Kautzsch, who had been ranked as a conservative in questions of this

concessions of those who have not been convinced are equally instructive.* On the other hand it ought not to be forgotten that those who oppose the new views are often no less rationalistic or no more evangelical (as we use that term) than is Wellhausen himself.† The natural conclusion from these facts is that we have before us an important phenomenon which deserves careful and unprejudiced

---

kind, makes the following confession: "Like the most of my co-laborers in this field, I was until now not convinced either by Graf, or Kayser, or Kuenen, or indeed by Wellhausen's own previous labors . . . . and came to the present work [W.'s Geschichte Israels] with the expectation that it would not be able to lift the weight of arguments against the Grafian hypothesis. In this expectation I was thoroughly disappointed. Step by step the confession was wrung from me—in spite of a strong prejudice—that it is no longer a question of one hypothesis or another, but that the alternative is rather whether we shall henceforth acknowledge facts in regard to which there can be no discussion, or deny them. . . . . I do not conceal from myself the gravity of this confession. With regret I must now realize that different views concerning the original documents must involve the overthrow of a well-wrought-out Biblical Theology. So much the more may the reader be assured that I am driven to so radical a change, not by the *rerum novarum cupido*, but by the irresistible force of a new-won conviction." (Theol. Literatur Zeitung, 1879, No. 2). The change of view on this subject seen in H. Schultz is quite similar and perhaps the more remarkable in that having published a book on Old Testament Theology, he reconstructed it entirely, although he "very much wished to be relieved of the labor of rewriting the book, especially because his studies had turned to other departments of theology," (Alttestamentliche Theologie, zweite auflage, p. iv.) A friend has called my attention to the words of Lenormant who as a Catholic would naturally be conservative on all points of criticism. After confessing the pain he feels in making his avowal, he gives it as his opinion that it is impossible to maintain longer the so-called "unity of composition of the books of the Pentateuch," and adds: "one single point seems to me now almost established, and that by the most recent critics, contrary to the long prevailing opinion. It is that the Jehovist, whatever may be his exact date, is considerably earlier than the Elohist" (Les Origines de l'histoire, Paris, 1880, p. x.) These examples show the strength of the Grafian position. It would be unfair to W. R. Smith (and I will venture to add Prof. Toy) to attribute his adoption of these views to the *rerum novarum cupido*.

* Of these, two prominent ones may be quoted. Delitzsch uses the following language (Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben, I., p. 339): "One thing brought to our view by this newest form of Pentateuch criticism we cannot refuse to acknowledge; it is that the Jehovist is not complementary to the Elohist but that the relation is the reverse." Elsewhere (ib. p. 620) he compares the Pentateuch to the Gospels, "which closely considered, imply a number of previous written accounts" and adds, "I was indeed long of the opinion that we could limit the hands employed [on the Pentateuch] to the period of Joshua and the Judges, but it is now evident to me that the course of development out of which the Tora (in its present final form) came, reaches to the time after the Exile and possibly in fact to the time when the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Greek translation had their origin." Kamphausen, who differs widely enough from Delitzsch, but who professes not to accept the conclusions of Graf's school, has recently confessed that since Wellhausen's edition of Bleek's "Einleitung" the postexilic date of [the Elohistic document] A has constantly become more certain (Studien und Kritiken, 1882, p. 172).

† Nöldeke, although assigning a comparatively early date to the Elohist, agrees with Wellhausen (and anticipated him) in doubting the historicity of the Tabernacle. Dillmann, who is now Wellhausen's chief opposer, and whose abilities and fairness no one can question, is no nearer the orthodoxy of Hengstenberg than is Wellhausen.

examination. *Unprejudiced* examination indeed is not so easy, for Wellhausen himself makes no effort to conciliate opponents or readers. One almost suspects that he takes pleasure in putting things in their most unfavorable light. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this here, as it is aside from the main question, and has already been severely commented upon by others. It would be amusing to quote the language in which he speaks of those critics who differ from him.* But the main problem before us is so important that we ought not to allow our attention to be diverted. Clearness of vision is essential in any discussion, and they are surely unwise who allow the mind's eye to dwell long simply upon the faults or weaknesses of an opponent. The most scrupulous fairness is never without its reward. We will then credit Wellhausen with a sincere love for the truth,† and look at his arguments.

A difficulty meets us at the outset. We must settle some principles on which inquiries of this kind should be conducted. We have given us a certain collection of writings, we call them the Scriptures, and so distinguish them from all other books. They are, however, the object of scientific investigation; we naturally wish to know all that can be known about them. How shall we conduct our investigation? The answer given by Wellhausen would evidently be that we should treat these just like any other writings. Can we offer any objection to this? Of course, every right-thinking man must come with reverence to a body of literature that is held in such high esteem by the Christian Church, and that has had so mighty an influence on the history of the world. The true Christian must have a peculiar feeling toward what is to his experience the Word of God. But this does not

* One example only. Concerning some who are in comparison with Delitzsch "Criticism incarnate," he says (Geschichte, p. 173): "They hold fast with blind faith, not to the church tradition—that would be sensible—but to the hypothesis of a few decades, for that is DeWette's discovery, that Deuteronomy is younger than the Priest-code. To the evidence against this, they oppose arguments that one is ashamed to refute. Little else as they have in common with the Jewish Scribes, their general characteristic is—they strain out gnats and swallow elephants, they understand neither how to forget nor how to remember." It is evident that such outbreaks cannot further the search for truth.

† We may also concede to him a high estimate of the value of the Old Testament revelation especially as we have it in the prophets. His pupil Smend gives no uncertain sound here. "The incomparable greatness with which Hebrew prophetism stands out in the pre-christian history of religion must not be undervalued. The fact is unique, that the God of Jerusalem showed himself only the more powerful when he seemed defeated by Chaldea and Assyria—rather that he claimed the annihilation of his people as his own work even before its accomplishment, and that he declared all the powers of the world to be his instruments by means of which he makes justice and righteousness prevail." (Smend—*Die Genesis des Judenthums*, in the Zeitschr. für die Alttest. Wissenschaft, 1882, p. 127).

withdraw the Bible from the sphere of criticism—for criticism* is simply the careful study of any writing for the purpose of finding out what does not appear to the superficial examination. Nor does the canonicity of the Old Testament withdraw it from the sphere of criticism. The Old Testament was certified by Christ and His Apostles to be the Word of God—it is therefore to the Church the Word of God. But it is still the Word of God in the form of human literature. The Holy Spirit chose as the vehicle of the truth not a new kind of composition, but made use of forms natural to the Hebrew people. The inspired histories are real histories; the inspired Psalms are Hebrew lyrics as truly as were the odes sung at the banquets of Ahab; the sermons of the prophets are genuine sermons. All these are the proper objects of the same sort of study—grammatical, historical, and critical—that is called out in the investigation of uninspired history, poetry, and oratory.

If this statement—that in systematic investigation the Scriptures are to be treated like other writings—is too vague, we may look at it a little more in detail. We have before us a Hebrew Bible. We inevitably inquire, whence did it come? The answer to this question will lead us to examine in turn the transmission of the text, the formation of the canon, and the composition and authorship of the individual books. A close inquiry into the history of the text leads to this conclusion—the books of the Bible have been subject to the same laws of transmission as hold with regard to other books of equal age. The copyists have made the same sort of errors in one case as in the other. The manuscripts differ from each other in the one case much as they do in the other. We are obliged to use the same rules for the restoration of the text by the comparison of different readings in the one case as in the other. As regards the New Testament we may assume that this is universally recognized. The right of text criticism is everywhere acknowledged, and even the unlearned have been compelled by the recent Revised Version to apprehend the fact that we are dependent for an exact knowledge of what John and Paul wrote upon the same science which ascertains for us the text of Plato or of Cicero.† The case of the Old Testament is somewhat more complex. The attention of the Scribes was early turned to the danger of error in works propagated by copying, and they took stringent measures to avoid it. In consequence of their diligence the MSS. of the Hebrew

* The word is perhaps an unfortunate one, as it is so frequently used in the sense of passing judgment upon a work with special reference to its failings.

† I do not mean to deny, of course, that the Providence of God has preserved a singular wealth of materials for the text of the New Testament.

Bible in our possession resemble each other very closely—the various readings they present do not at all approach in importance those which are discovered in the New Testament. This care of the Rabbinical authorities, which has preserved for us a text of great antiquity, seems to exempt the editor from the necessity of text criticism, and so it would if it had been exercised from the time when the individual books left the hands of their authors. Unfortunately we cannot prove that this admirable system was invented before the beginning of the Christian era. In fact, the most that we can say is, that the text from which were made the Peshito, the Targums, and the Vulgate was essentially the same with the one we now possess. The Scribes then have preserved for us the Old Testament as it was in the first Christian century. It seems probable, however, that the occasion of their scrupulous care was the growing corruption of the text, and this presumption is strengthened by the only witness* which comes to us from the time before Christ—the Septuagint. It is not the purpose of the present paper to rehearse the various estimates† which have been made of this venerable monument. All we have to note here is that the discrepancies of the two texts are virtually discrepancies in Hebrew MSS. A very brief experiment will convince any one that the translators of the LXX. endeavored to follow the Hebrew original in their possession. They did this slavishly in many cases, and nearly always with such accuracy that we can translate back into Hebrew with little trouble. We ought, therefore, in fairness, to act as if we had two ancient MSS. of the Hebrew Bible in our possession. Even if we concede greater correctness to the Masoretic text, we ought yet to weigh the other. If we had a very correct ancient copy —say the one which was in the treasury of the Temple when it was captured by Titus—and some one were to proffer us another equally ancient, written in Alexandria, it would be foolish to refuse it because it was presumably less correct. The worst MS. often helps out the inaccuracies of a better one, and even the most carefully-written copy usually has some errors. The point is this: all the care of the Scribes has not put us in possession of a perfect text of the Old Testament. We are here in the same position that we hold in regard to the New Testament, except that we deal with the ancient versions (especially the LXX.) instead of with ancient manuscripts. Of discrepant readings which we find in these two sources of the text, we ought to prefer the one which the ordinary rules of text criticism would suggest.

* Leaving the Samaritan Pentateuch aside.

† As is well known, it has been alternately in high favor as the authentic text, and in disrepute as arbitrary and unreliable.

It has not pleased God to provide a royal road for the text-critic in the case of the Old Testament, and when we come to examine the formation of the Canon we find the same thing to be true. We have no record of a formal act by which the inspired books were clearly discriminated in the Jewish Church.* Our one fixed point is the New Testament. But even the New Testament is not scientifically exact; it gives no list of inspired books. Not all the books of the Old Testament are quoted in the New. While on the one side the Apocrypha are clearly not quoted as Scripture, on the other we have no declaration concerning the books whose canonicity was a matter of debate in the Synagogue. Our Lord, indeed, speaks of "the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms" (Luke xxiv. 44), and this makes it certain that he recognized the Hebrew Scriptures in three divisions as we still have them. But "the Psalms," even if intended here to include what we call the Hagiographa, does not give us a list of them. We are left, therefore, to the investigation of other sources to determine exactly what was the extent of the Hebrew Canon at the beginning of our era.

What we have found to be true of the text and of the Canon we might naturally suspect also to be true of the other inquiry, as to date and authorship of individual books. It seems at the first blush as if we were here relieved of labor in some cases by the express declarations of the New Testament. But a little reflection shows us that these declarations are not intended to teach us anything touching the points under discussion. The expression "who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said," is equivalent to "*who hast said in one of* [the collection known as] *the Psalms of David.*" The Psalm quoted is the second, and if I conclude on internal evidence that it was written by Solomon (for which there is, in fact, good ground), the New Testament passage does not stand in the way.

We are left, then, on questions of date and composition to the examination of internal evidence. In order to this, one or two things are assumed—they are the axioms of criticism, and may be roughly put in the following form:

1. Differences of style imply difference of author.

2. The historical circumstances in which an author writes are apt to be reflected with more or less definiteness in his work.

3. The ethical and religious conceptions of his time will also influence his work.

---

* Even if we hold to the tradition which makes Ezra and the "Great Synagogue" the authoritative judges, we must still admit that we have no adequate proof of their action.

Before examining these at length we may notice here that one rule of ordinary historical criticism cannot be applied to the Scriptures. It is generally assumed that accounts of miracles or of phenomena which can only be accounted for by the supposition of supernatural agents, must be rejected at once as legendary. Such accounts are usually taken to show of themselves that they have arisen some time after the events they claim to narrate. The reason why we cannot apply such a rule here is obvious. A revelation may conceivably be authenticated by miraculous signs accompanying it. It seems to the ordinary mind natural that it be so authenticated. To reject accounts of miracles *a priori*, and assume that they must be legendary, is to beg one of the questions that we are to answer.

Of the rules already proposed, the first is that *differences of style imply difference of author*. This must, of course, be applied with some limitations, especially in the case of Hebrew. For instance, the same author may employ different styles in different kinds of composition. Milton may write both prose and poetry, and although both are Miltonic they are unlike; perhaps so unlike that we should not detect the unity of authorship on internal evidence. Even in the same kind of composition the style of an author may vary according to circumstances; the same prophet will speak differently according as his message brings the divine threatenings for the wicked, or divine consolation and promise for oppressed saints. On the other hand, Hebrew is a much less elastic language than the most of those which have become historic. Its latitude of expression for the same idea is not great, and individual differences of style are so much the less obvious. "The Hebrew (unlike many European languages) does not allow the same thought to express itself in a variety of forms; for this it is too scantily furnished. When an idea has once found its proper expression, it generally adheres to that expression ever after." * The result is that to some extent a stereotyped style became the common property of prose writers.† This might be affirmed even of poetry, as is observable in the later Psalms. The application to our assumed rule is obvious. Differences of style are here more difficult to discover than elsewhere; but where they do exist they argue all the more strongly for difference of author.

An example may be given to make this clear. If in spite of the uniformitarian tendency of the language we find two passages which use different words for the same idea, we are forced to conclude that they are by different authors. That we have such passages is not difficult of proof. Compare the following:

* Stade, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel," p. 22.

† The same thing is said to be noticed in Assyrian.

GEN. i. 25.

And God made the living-thing of the earth after its kind.

GEN. i. 27.

And God created man in his image, in the image of God he created him.

GEN. vi. 11, 12.

And the earth was corrupt before God and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth and behold it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted its way on the earth.

GEN. xx. 17.

And Abraham prayed to God and God healed Abimelech and his wife.

GEN. ii. 19.

And Jehovah God formed from the ground all the living-thing of the field.

GEN. ii. 7.

And Jehovah God formed man dust from the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.

GEN. vi. 5.

And Jehovah saw that the evil of man was great on the earth, and the whole formation of the thoughts of his heart was only evil all the day.

GEN. xxv. 21.

And Isaac entreated Jehovah for his wife for she was barren and Jehovah was entreated by him.

A slight examination shows that one class of passages uses the word God [Elohim], where the other uses Jehovah. This difference is not the only one. One set has *create* [bara'], *destroy* [shahath], *pray* ['athar], where the other has *form* [yaçar], *evil* [*ra'*], *entreat* [hithpallel]. The verses chosen are exactly parallel in sense, so that the words cannot vary on account of the context. Moreover, in many other places we find that the word Elohim is used with the same words that are found with it here, while Jehovah is found with the other set. If these peculiarities were constant in two separate books no one would hesitate to say they were by different authors. The only reason why the same reasoning is not universally accepted with the passages as they stand is that they are found in what we have always been accustomed to regard as a single homogeneous work. But it certainly is not dangerous to confess that they were originally fragments of two independent works and have come into our Pentateuch through the labors of a compiler. There were in the possession of this compiler different accounts of the creation and the flood,* and in making his book he took parts from each one and wove them together, but the seams are still plainly traceable. If he did this in two cases it is probable that he did it in others, and that by a little patience and close observation we may be able to separate the larger part of his material and reconstruct (in a fragmentary way, for of course he may have left out a considerable part of his sources) the documents he had in his possession.†

* These are the two events from whose history the above specimens are taken.

† The difference in the use of the divine names in the Pentateuch has been attributed to the intention of the single author, who varied them according to their meaning (cf. Keil, "Manual of Introduction to the Old Testament," § 25, and the same author's essay, "Ueber die Gottesnamen im Pentateuche," in the Lutherische Zeitschrift, 1851). Now it is true that Jehovah is the name by which God has revealed himself, and therefore

We have examined some phenomena of the early part of the Pentateuch and discovered evidence of different authors. These phenomena may be traced through the book of Genesis and the early part of Exodus. We come then, however, to the legislation where the style is different (as we might expect) and the evidence not quite so clear. That it exists, however, and points in the same direction, may be seen from the following example of parallel enactments—the first one that occurs in the order of the books:

Ex. xxi. 1–6.	Lev. xxv. 39–43.	Deut. xv. 12–18.
And these are the judgments thou shalt set before them. When thou buyest a Hebrew slave, six years shall he serve, and in the seventh he shall go free, without payment. If he come in single he shall go out single. If he be husband of a wife his wife shall go out with him. If his master give him a wife, and she bear him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be the master's, and he shall go out single. But, if the slave shall say: "I love my master, and my wife, and my sons; I will not go out free," then his master shall bring him to God, and shall bring him to the door, or to the doorpost, and his master shall bore his ear with the awl, and he shall be his slave forever.	When thy brother shall be needy and shall sell himself to thee thou shalt not lay upon him the service of a slave. As a hireling and as a sojourner shall he be with thee; until the year of Jubilee shall he serve by thee. And he shall go out from thee, and shall return unto his family, and to the estate of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants [slaves] whom I brought out of the land of Egypt. They shall not be sold in a slave sale. Thou shalt not rule over him oppressively, and thou shalt fear thy God.	When there shall sell himself to thee thy brother (the Hebrew or the Hebrewess) he shall serve thee six years, and the seventh year thou shalt send him forth free from thee. And when thou shalt send him forth from thee thou shalt not send him empty. Thou shalt surely load him from thy flock, and from thy floor, and from thy press. That with which Jehovah, thy God, has blessed thee shalt thou give him; and thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and Jehovah, thy God, redeemed thee, therefore I command thee this word to-day. And it shall be when he shall say to thee: "I will not go out from thee," because he loveth thee and thy house, and it is well with him with thee; then thou shalt take the awl and shalt put it into his ear and into the door, and he shall be to thee a slave forever. And also to thy handmaid shalt thou do likewise. It shall not seem hard in thine eyes when thou sendest him forth free from thee, for [he is worth] double the hire of a hireling—he hath served thee six years. And Jehovah, thy God, will bless thee in all that thou shalt do.

suggests that he is the God of his covenant people, while Elohim designates him in his more general relations. It seems difficult to suppose, however, that any writer ever set out to use the names according to this distinction. Outside of the Pentateuch no traces of such an attempt are discoverable, and within the Pentateuch so many exceptions are admitted by Keil himself as to invalidate the rule. The only apparent intention in the choice of a word is in those cases where a Hebrew holds intercourse with a foreigner. If he wishes to speak of the Divine Being, he will then, of course, use Elohim, unless he wishes to accent the difference between the God of Israel

The variations here are perhaps not quite as striking as those already noticed in the narrative portions, but they are enough to constitute plainly-marked difference of style. The inference that was drawn before seems warranted here also.* The very fact that the same law is given more than once seems to be an argument in the same direction, even if the language in both cases is much the same. An author who was making a code, even by compilation, would ordinarily avoid repetition. He would be justified in allowing it only where he made his book by putting together two or three codes already in existence, whose integrity he wished to disturb as little as possible.

The evidence we have examined favors the conclusion that the Pentateuch is made up from distinct sources, and of these sources there were three narratives and three codes of laws.† Whether either

---

and the one worshipped by other peoples, as in the case of Jephtha. Everywhere else (as Hupfeld has somewhere said) the Hebrew might use Jehovah or Elohim without affecting the sense. This may readily be shown in the passages compared above—the divine names may be interchanged throughout and the meaning will remain the same to us, as it would have remained to the original readers. The only explanation of the use of one or the other is the individual habit of the writer.

I do not mean to say that the passages given above all belong to two authors; there are strong arguments for assuming two Elohistic records as is now done by most critics.

* The differences are equally noticeable in several other passages too long to quote in a paper like this. For example, the law concerning the first-born is given (Ex. xiii. 12, xxii. 28, and Deut. xv. 19) concerning the Sabbatic year (Ex. xxiii. 10; Lev. xxv. and Deut. xv.) The laws concerning the cycle of feasts have already been noticed above. They are found in Ex. xxiii. 14; Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii., and Deut. xvi.

† The evidence is so clear that there is substantial unanimity among critics. This unanimity is so much the more valuable as the various schools differ so widely on many other points. This discrepancy has been made the ground of rejecting the whole process of criticism and its conclusions. Such an argument ought obviously to be used with great caution. The conclusions of systematic theology, even among Presbyterians, are not so entirely in accord as to exempt each student from the duty of examining and comparing one man's system with another's. As we should not agree that discrepancies in this case (and where is the branch of inquiry that is free from them?) invalidate the whole scheme of doctrine, so we ought not to draw too sweeping conclusions from the discrepancies of critics. The safe rule is to suspend the judgment so far as the discrepancies are marked. The language of Professor Green seems to me open to misconstruction in this respect. He says (l. c., p. 109): "Experiments without number have been made of running the dissecting knife through the Pentateuch; and each fresh operator has pronounced with the utmost positiveness upon the various ages of its several portions, and has pointed out the influences under which it was written, and the condition of affairs when it was produced. And now everything has been thrown into a fresh jumble again; the whole order of production, confidently insisted upon before, is suddenly declared to be a mistake; everything must be reconstructed on a new basis." This is quite true—that is, there exists wide variety of opinion as to the *order of production*. This shows that we must not accept hastily any conclusion on this one point. It does not follow that the whole *analysis*, which is founded on peculiarities of style quite different from those which are supposed to indicate the "various ages of the several portions" is thereby shown to be unsound.

Discrepancies exist, undoubtedly, in the discrimination of the documents. They are

of the narratives was originally a part of either code of laws we need not now stop to inquire. It is, however, worth noticing for a moment that this conclusion simply brings the Pentateuch into the same position with some, if not all, of the other historical books of the Old Testament. The books of Kings and Chronicles make frequent mention of other books* now lost, from which they appear to have made extensive extracts. Internal evidence is in favor of the same conclusion in the case of Judges and Samuel—they bear all the marks of having been compiled from previously existing materials. The book of Samuel indeed quotes expressly from the "Book of the Upright,"

---

reduced to comparatively narrow limits, however, when we remember that the science of criticism has passed through various stages, and that these various stages ought not, in fairness, to be compared with each other, even though they are represented by contemporary writers. If we find, however, that the recognized leaders, though far apart on the question of the "order of production" of different documents, are substantially agreed as to what makes up each document, we ought to recognize that the unanimity *here* is so much the stronger on account of the diversity *there*. An examination shows that in the first thirty chapters of Genesis the following passages are *unanimously* accepted by Hupfeld, Nöldeke, Dillmann, Wellhausen, and Kayser as making up one of the documents, the one called by Dillmann, A; by Wellhausen, Q; to wit:

Chap. i. 1—ii. 3; v. 1–28, 30–32; vi. 9–22; viii. 1–4, 13–19; ix. 1–17, 28, 29; xi. 10–26, 32; xii. 4, 5; xiii. 6, 11, 12; xvi. 3, 15, 16; xvii. 1–27; xix. 29; xxi. 2–5; xxiii. 1–20; xxv. 7–11, 17, 20, 26; xxvi. 34, 35; xxviii. 1–9. (I have disregarded fractions of a verse).

To this list Hupfeld would add: viii. 5; xi. 27, 31; xxi. 21, and xxv. 21; Wellhausen and Kayser add: xi. 27–31; Nöldeke adds: xvi. 1; Nöldeke and Kayser agree on: xxii. 20–24, and they with Wellhausen, on: xxvii. 46; Nöldeke, Wellhausen, and Dillmann unite on: xxv. 12–16 (of which v. 12 is also accepted by Hupfeld, and v. 16 by Kayser). In chapter xxv. Nöldeke would recognize vv. 1–6, and Kayser vv. 27–34. These discrepancies altogether would make up about one average chapter.

The discrepancies appear greatest in regard to the seventh and tenth chapters. In regard to the latter it is enough to say that difference of opinion is not remarkable, as it is a genealogical table whose style would naturally present few peculiarities. Nevertheless, Dillmann and Wellhausen agree in placing it with the list given above, as does Nöldeke (with Schrader), except vv. 8–12 and v. 21. Kayser and Hupfeld seem not to reckon it here.

There remains only chapter seven where the differences appear, at the first sight, quite marked, but on closer inspection there is seen to be substantial unanimity. This may be shown by the following table:

GENESIS, CHAPTER VII.

The Elohistic document is given as follows:

Nöldeke—	Verse	6,	11,	12,	13,			16,	18,				22,		24.
Wellhausen	"		11,		13,	14,	15,		18,	19,	20,	21,			24.
Kayser	"	6,	11,		13,	14,	15,	16,	18,	19,	20,	21,	22,		24.
Dillman	"	6,	11,		13,			16,	18,	19,	20,	21,	22,	23,	24.
Hupfeld	"	6,	11,	12,	13,			16,	18,	19,	20,	21,	22,	23,	24.

All agree on vv. 11, 13, 18, 24.
All but one agree on vv. 6, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22.
Two accept vv. 12, 14, 15, 23.
The substantial agreement must be obvious.

* 1 Kings xi. 41, xiv. 19, etc; 1 Chron. ix. 1; 2 Chron. xvi. 11, etc.

the same that was used by the author of Joshua (2 Sam. i. 18; Josh. x. 13). If now the Pentateuch falls, by our supposition, into the same class with these other books, no argument can be adduced against the supposition itself—it cannot be said that the fact of the Pentateuch's being a compilation * derogates from its authority or inspiration, unless it be admitted that the same fact in the case of these other books derogates from their authority and inspiration.

The second of the two rules on which criticism proceeds is: *the historical circumstances in which an author writes are apt to be reflected with more or less definiteness in his work.* That this is true of the Biblical authors to some extent can hardly be doubtful. When we read even in a prophetic composition: "Your country is devastated, your cities are burned with fire, your land—in your presence strangers devour it, and it is a desolation like the overthrow of strangers; and the daughter of Zion is left like a booth in a vineyard, like a lodge in a cucumber-field, like a besieged city"—when we read this we conclude at once concerning the situation of the prophecy. We say the prophet was speaking in the actual presence of the things which he describes, at a time when Judah was laid waste by hostile armies, and the country was devastated even to the gates of Jerusalem. We search the history of Judah for an invasion in whose time we may locate this prophecy, feeling sure that the prophecy will throw light on the history, as well as that the history will enable us the better to understand the prophecy. The Psalmist says: "Therefore I remember thee from the land of Jordan and the Hermons," and we are sure that he was in banishment in the region of Bashan—perhaps on his way to Babylon in the train of captives carried off by the conqueror of Judah. Similarly, the book of Judges gives a pretty sure indication (in one direction) of the time of its composition, when it says: "In those days there was no king in Israel" (xvii. 6, etc.) Such language is natural only in the mouth of one who lived after the establishment of the monarchy. It would be difficult to show that this conclusion should be admitted in the case of one book and rejected in the case of another. Precisely parallel with the verse just cited is the one in Genesis (xxxvi. 31)—"And these are the kings who ruled in the land of Edom before there ruled a king over the children of Israel." A single case might be explained on the theory of interpolation. But this is exactly what ought to be avoided—no means should be resorted to with greater reluctance than this. This example lies

* It ought not to be overlooked that we have one instance of avowed quotation in the Pentateuch—"Therefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of Jehovah" (Num. xxi. 14).

only on the surface,* but it is probable that if we once had the different documents in the Pentateuch fairly separated, we should be able to point out many unintentional allusions† that would fix with some certainty the age of each one, and the date of their combination. This is the problem on which critics are at work. That it is not yet solved may be assumed on the evidence of the present wide divergence. All that has as yet been settled with a good degree of probability is the existence of the different sources.‡ Their relation to each other and their place in history is yet to be determined.

The problem is a difficult one, and several things conspire to make the solution uncertain. One of the most noticeable of these is the scantiness of the materials. We have fragments of Hebrew history, literature, and philosophy—all together filling one not very large volume, and from these we are striving to reconstruct the history of more than a thousand years. These records, moreover, were not chosen for the purpose of giving us a history of Israel, but for the purpose of showing the divine preparation for the Gospel. It should not excite our wonder if we find ourselves unable to put these fragments together in a way that shall seem to us harmonious, or if we are puzzled to make the course of literature agree with the progress of political events. We are insufficiently informed about the beginning of written records, though by the testimony of one of the great-

---

* The language in Numbers xv. 32 ("and the children of Israel were in the wilderness, and they found a man gathering wood on the Sabbath day,") is most naturally interpreted as by an author who lived some time after the event narrated. Some other passages cited by various writers as bearing in the same direction may be mentioned here: Genesis xiv. 14, xl. 15; Exodus xvi. 35, besides a number in Deuteronomy. It is perhaps not necessary to reckon here the law of the kingdom—Deuteronomy xvii. 14-20, which is so well defended by the author of "Deuteronomy, the People's Book."

† The much discussed problem of the Levites and Priests will have some weight here. After admitting what Prof. Green says as to alleged discrepancies in the legislation, we have yet the discrepancy in language to account for. "The characteristic expression for the priests in the book of Deuteronomy is 'the Priests, the Levites,' or rather as the words should be rendered, 'the Levitical Priests.' In Leviticus and Numbers this phrase is never employed, but we find instead 'the Priests the sons of Aaron.' This striking difference, however, involves no real discrepancy, for the sons of Aaron were of course Levites" (PRESB. REVIEW, p. 126). The trouble is with the admitted difference in language, and the most natural explanation is by means of difference in usage of two writers, each of whom used the phrase current in his own time. Prof. Curtiss makes a significant admission in this connection (Levitical Priests, p. 16): "In all books in which the legislative element predominates, we shall find a clear distinction between the ministry of the priests and that of the Levites. This is the case not merely in Numbers, but in the *legislative portions of Ezekiel.* . . . . . *In the prophets* there is no effort at distinction between priests and Levites." The Italics are mine.

‡ It will not be deemed too much after the analysis given above to say that the *extent* of the different documents is now approaching settlement.

est modern critics* they reach back to the time of the sojourn in Egypt. In the literature we have, only the barest outline of many a long period is sketched for us, while in another era we may be left to conjecture the chronological arrangement of what is preserved of its movements—as in the period of the Judges. Hebrew literature (as distinguished from the literature of inspiration) is a fragment and must always remain a fragment. The history of Israel (as distinguished from the history of revelation) is almost equally fragmentary.

A few words only need be devoted to the third rule already proposed for the critic in the words: *the ethical and religious conceptions of an author's time will influence his work.* The rule is like the other —so clear that it would at once be accepted by all were it not for the idea that the inspiration of the Biblical writers puts them in some way beyond its action. But it is now universally acknowledged that there is a progress in revelation. One stage of this progress presupposes another, and is built upon it, itself to serve in turn as the foundation for what follows, the whole Old Testament finally being only a preparation for the coming of Christ. The two great divisions of Mosaism and Prophetism are easily recognized, and the tone of the inspired writers of the one is distinguishable from that heard in the other. Within either period we can trace a growth in moral and religious statement. The preaching of Isaiah was fitted to his time, as was that of Jeremiah to his. The aim of both was to help and elevate their contemporaries, and this practical object left its impress on their writings. Now it seems quite certain that so far as appeals to the people are concerned, the prophets of the time of Isaiah would have many things in common with him which they do not have with Jeremiah. Nor could the writers of history in the time of Isaiah avoid showing the influence exerted upon them by this greatest of the prophets. In this regard the writers whose works are now known to us by the extracts we find in the Pentateuch, probably do not differ from others. They will betray the point of religious development at which they stand, even if they have only put on record *what they received by oral tradition.*

The possibility indicated by the last words of the preceding paragraph is one of very great importance, and one which has hitherto been too much ignored. What is the part taken by oral tradition in the transmission of the Mosaic Law? Whatever we may hold of those parts of the Law which Moses is expressly affirmed to have

---

* Ewald, "Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache," Ed. 8, p. 22.

written down,* we cannot find it unnatural for him to deliver some instruction to the priests by word of mouth. The guild would be the proper guardians of the technicalities of the ritual,† for example. Among them the need of written directions would not have been felt for a long time, and indeed a written record might have been supposed to make the ritual too accessible. As the danger of incorrect transmission was discovered, different portions of the law would be written down—at first the more difficult or the more important, and deposited with the original Mosaic manuscript, "by the side of the Ark." From these various documents would finally be compiled one authoritative priestly code, containing the substance of Mosaic ordinances, but with language modified by the process of tradition, so as to be in parts apparently of later date. The process would be similar to that so well known in the Talmud. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance which the conception of an Oral Law had in Judaism. No one needs to be told that tradition had thrown the Bible into the shade as early as the time of Christ. Now the Jewish conception is of a double Law, existing from the time of Moses—the expressions Written Law and Oral Law are certainly as old as the first century.‡ They are intended to convey the idea that the written Law was only a sketch to be filled in by means of the oral teaching communicated to Moses and by him transmitted to the seventy Elders. This conception of an Oral Law has long been the object of ridicule, and it is manifestly absurd as applied to the Talmud—the most of whose dicta bear the names of Rabbis, no more ancient than the time of Herod. But how did such a conception come to be universally accepted unless it was at first applied to something more ancient§ and

* The passages in question are given by Prof. Green (l. c., p. 111), who thinks the natural presumption to be "that if he [Moses] wrote those scraps of the history and those sections of the law, he also wrote others which it was quite as important to have recorded." The presumption might be found by others more natural, that if special pains is taken to tell us what Moses did write we are thereby informed that he did not write anything else. Stress has sometimes been laid upon the *article* in Ex. xvii. 14. But even allowing that the punctuators are right in introducing it, the Hebrew article is well known to be used before the name of a thing "when it is obviously suggested by the circumstances." In this case it would mean no more than "the roll which was at hand."

† Of which so large a part of the Priest-code is made up, and in which the people at large could have comparatively little active interest

‡ Compare Weber, "System der Altsynagogale Theologie," Chap. VIII. He quotes Zunz, "Gottesdieustliche Vorträge," as authority for the age of the expressions given above.

§ The tenacity with which the Jewish tradition affirms that Ezra (and Nehemiah? *cf.* 2 Macc. ii. 13) restored books *that had been lost*, would seem to confirm the view that he went further than his predecessors had done in fixing (by writing) the form of what had been partly traditional.

less manifestly absurd? Now we know that the guild of the Scribes carried the "traditions of the Elders" with remarkable fidelity through some centuries before they were finally committed to writing. We ought not to be surprised if we find a guild of priests doing the same thing in earlier times—in an age when writing was not a common accomplishment, and when so much greater attention must have been paid to the cultivation of the memory. If such a process of verbal tradition had actually taken place we can see how its results would be nearly identical with what we have in our present Pentateuch—even though we might never be able to ascertain the details of the process.*

Once more, the difficulty of fixing the exact age of the Pentateuch may be increased by minor changes which copyists have allowed themselves to make in the text in order to remove obscurities or archaisms. We speak with admiration of Masoretic scrupulousness, and of the minuteness of the rules in the treatise Sopherim, but it must not be forgotten that these are comparatively modern. Granting that they are in substance as old as the first century—as is rendered nearly certain by the language of our Lord (Matt. v. 18)—yet, for the earlier times, we are still in the dark. Geiger† goes too far when he speaks of the "degeneration, transformation, discoloration of the language," but it may still be assumed that to the earlier copyists fidelity to the substance would seem more desirable than the propagation of obscure or archaic forms. The difficulties which the ensuing "discoloration" of the language would put in the way of criticism are sufficiently obvious.

The point we have reached is this: we cannot object to the principles upon which criticism is conducted—Wellhausen's with that of others. Upon these principles we must concede the existence of different documents in our present Pentateuch. We cannot, as yet, go further than this—regarding as unsettled all questions touching the age or authorship of these different parts. These are still legitimate objects of inquiry. It remains for us to examine somewhat more in

* Compare here Strack in Herzog's "Real-encyclopädie," vol. VII., p. 419 *ff*. The hypothesis of an oral Mosaic Tora will account satisfactorily for many of the references of the Prophets to the Tora of Moses adduced by Prof. Green. The express mention of a written Tora is certainly less common than we should expect had the whole Pentateuch been promulgated in writing. When *Oehler* also and *von Orelli*, ("Herzog," vol. VII., p. 172), assert that a period of Mosaism is necessary in order to the following history of Israel, it does not seem that they affirm the necessity of an entirely written law from the first. On the other side Reuss admits the early existence "of a Levitical tradition respecting ritual" ("Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften A Testaments," p. 76).

† "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen," p. 40. Geiger was the first to call attention to this inquiry as to pre-Masoretic treatment of the text, and his views have influenced Wellhausen. His exaggeration is to be regretted, but his facts deserve careful examination.

detail the system of Wellhausen. If his method is sound can we urge anything against the conclusions to which it has led him?

In the first place may be put a general remark, that Wellhausen has too much confidence in the instrument he uses. Literary criticism, although a good and delicate tool, is, as we have already seen, subject in its use to special limitations in the case of Hebrew. When carried beyond a certain point it arouses suspicion. We have already granted its right to draw lines of demarcation in the Pentateuch, assigning certain portions to one writer and certain others to another. But when it claims that it can discern in a single paragraph the marks of three or four different hands, we begin to demur, and we say the axe cannot do the work of the scalpel. Probably no one's work is so free from inequalities that it might not seem to such minute criticism the result of compilation. Attention has already been called to Wellhausen's analysis of the story of Joseph. A similar case is the Sinaitic legislation (Ex. xix.–xxiv.) in which he distinguishes "three different narratives and three different recensions of the laws given" (Jahrb. 21, p. 564). Such minuteness of dissection does not carry conviction. So we may say of the assertion that the constituent documents have gone through different editions so that we may refer a particular paragraph or verse or part of a verse to the first, second, or third edition of Q or JE, as the case may be. An example of this too minute dissection is seen in the treatment of the first narrative of the creation (Gen. i. 1–iv. 4^a); the paragraph is worth quoting here:

"The variants of the LXX. to Gen. i. are best judged according to Ilgen's emendations, which are generally in the same direction [with those of the LXX], but more consistent. Ilgen puts the brief ויהי כן after every command, not only vv. 9, 11, 15, 24 (Masoretic Text), but also vv. 6, 20 (LXX.), and 26, while he removes it from vv. 7 and 30. Since in most cases the carrying out of the command is added in the account after the ויהי כן, he restores such a sentence in v. 9 (in accordance with the LXX). He restores in like manner complete uniformity in vv. 14, 15 (following suggestions of the LXX.), by removing the words להאיר על־הארץ from v. 15 and inserting them in v. 14 after השמים, then striking out all of v. 15 except ויהי כן. But though Ilgen is right in particular emendations, logical uniformity is not the principle of the original text. In vv. 14–19 the names sun and moon are avoided so noticeably that one spontaneously conjectures that it is because they are afterwards to receive their names from God. The naming, however, does not follow, and who would have courage to supply the omission? The variations of the LXX then rest upon systematic revision. This had, however, been undertaken in their Hebrew original [not by the translators themselves] as is shown by the plural αυτων in v. 9, which refers to τὸ ὕδωρ (plural in the Hebrew). We have one trace of the conformity already invading the Masoretic Text; for the ויהי כן in v. 7 must have been at first marginal gloss to v. 6, afterwards inserted in the text in the wrong place. Possibly the same phrase has been displaced from v. 26 to v. 30.

"Another and older revision has been carried throughout the Masoretic Text. The

doubts expressed especially by Ilgen as to whether the division of the Creation into six portions, each occupying a single day, was the original one, are well founded. The division does indeed give a framework to the narrative, and it is undeniably æsthetic in its effect, but it is not consistent with the nature of the material; for (1) the distribution of the waters, v. 6–10, is put into two days and in compensation two unconnected works and two sentences of approval are united on the third day and on the sixth; (2) Day and night begin before their guiding powers, sun, moon and stars, appear. Light and darkness are indeed the first work, and God names the light day, and the darkness night; but difficulty arises when the days are reckoned in order; without this numeration, light and darkness are only vague existences, their regular succession must be introduced by the stars which they call from their chambers; (3) the בראשית (i. 1) is inconsistent with the *first day* and the contents of v. 2 do not fit into their setting.

"Ilgen strikes out (besides the framework of the six days) ch. ii. 2 and 3, and finds in ii. 1 an appropriate close. We need not allow ourselves to become confused here by Ex. xx. 11; xxxi. 17; but when we take into consideration the fragmentary character of ii. 2, another solution suggests itself. It is an undoubted contradiction when 2^a says he finished the work on the seventh day, and 2^b he rested on the seventh day from his work. Evidently 2^b is the later inserted for obvious reasons. With 2^b we lose 3^a, and the three verses remain in this form: 'So the heavens and the earth and all their host were finished, and God finished his work which he made on the seventh day, and God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.'

"This is a creation in days, but in seven instead of six, and to remark at the end that the Creation was finished in seven days is different from carrying the scheme through in detail. In the former case these inconsistencies do not come to light. We have the advantage of Ilgen in that we see the motives for interpolation (and for the scheme of six days). If we seek indications of the earlier division into seven days, we may find them in the recurrence of the formula וירא אלהים כי טוב. According to this, man was created on the Sabbath, quadrupeds on the sixth day, fish and birds on the fifth, the stars on the fourth, plants on the third, division of the waters came on the second, light and darkness on the first."—(Jahrb. 21, pp. 456 *ff.*)

This passage testifies to the ingenuity of the author, but the solid results of this ingenuity are very small. The acute observation which discovers from the Greek text that certain peculiarities go back to the Hebrew is certainly well exercised, and this particular discovery is worthy of attention. Otherwise the ingenuity of the passage quoted is almost its only recommendation. The revision of the text is largely conjectural and its motive subjective. To reconstruct the Hebrew after the Greek text might be reasonable, but here it is only after what the critic supposes the narrative ought to have been. If there is one thing taught by exegetical study, it is that conjectural emendations should be only a last resort, should be used with extreme caution even when all other means of making our text plain have failed.* The passage before us violates this rule of criticism—and in

* Undoubtedly we have much to do before the text of the Old Testament can be considered fairly settled (in the scientific sense of course). In this work conjecture will play as small a part as it has in establishing the genuine readings of the New Testament. The true method is first to get the original state of the LXX as nearly as may be, by using all available MSS. and derived versions. Then some competent hand should retranslate this text into Hebrew. Comparison of the two texts (this with the Masoretic) can then be made throughout. This does not imply that absolutely no use can be made of the LXX in the received (Sixtine) edition. This approximates more

many other cases we may make the same reflection on Wellhausen's method. He makes frequent use of the hypothesis of corruption or interpolation. The danger of bias in such cases is obvious. Having established some one result on the basis of probabilities the temptation is to explain away every conflicting passage on the theory of corruption. The history of tradition which discovers a double "recension" of the books Judges, Samuel, and Kings (one Deuteronomistic and one Levitical, *i. e.*, under the influence of the Priest-code) is of this sort—based largely on assumptions. In the passage already considered (Gen. i. 1—ii. 4), the ordinary observer will detect no traces of the thorough revision which our author has discovered. The paragraph is entirely homogeneous.

Another point in which Wellhausen's theory raises doubts in the mind of the reader is, the extremely late date to which he refers the Priest-code. As has been already indicated this question of dates* is one of great difficulty, one upon which we are yet to expend much labor. That does not prevent adducing now some reasons why Wellhausen's conclusions do not seem tenable. Those conclusions are as already stated: that the Pentateuch received its final form from Ezra, and that of his materials the Priest-code was written during the Exile and after the time of Ezekiel. The question is one of historic probability and is twofold. In the first place, what was Ezra's idea concerning the books that he moulded into one? It seems scarcely possible that one with his training and with his evident reverence for the Word of God (the *written* Word surely was the object of his

---

nearly to the Hebrew by so much as it shows attempts at harmonizing the two. Where we still find divergence we may suspect that it is traceable to the Hebrew copy in the hands of the Alexandrian translators. Wellhausen does not seem in his use of the LXX to have gone beyond the limits of sound reason (cf. the introduction to his Text der BB. Samuelis).

* The divergence concerns relative age quite as much as absolute date. The question is—Priest-code first, or Priest-code last? Dillmann maintains the former, and until recently his has been the accepted view. The linguistic peculiarities though strongly marked have not yet given their final answer. Riehm contends that a writer of such marked individuality as the Elohist [the author of what Wellhausen calls Q], can hardly belong to the period of the Exile, which is noted for anything rather than literary originality (Studien und Kritiken, 1872, p. 283, *ff.*) Ryssel seems to have been the first to examine the characteristics of the Elohist's style (*De Elohistae Pentateuchi Sermone*, Leipzig, 1878). He compares the language of the Elohist with that of writers known to be of the period of the Exile, and claims to have proved that the Elohist is earlier. Giesebrecht, who has challenged this argument and shows that a number of expressions are common to the Elohist, Ezekiel and the acknowledged writings of the 6th and 7th centuries (his essay is in the Zeitschr. für die Alttestamentliche Wisseusch, 1881, p. 276), yet acknowledges that Wellhausen goes too far in claiming a number of this writer's words as pronounced Aramaisms. Baudissin stands alone in placing the composition of the Priest-code and of Deuteronomy at about the same date (Herzog, Vol. VI., p. 190).

study) could have put together materials which he knew to be comparatively recent and then have published them as of immemorial antiquity. The obvious inference from his activity in introducing the Law at Jerusalem is that he at least supposed it to be the genuine ancient book of God given by Moses to Israel.* The second part of the inquiry is this—could Ezra on any theory which allows him ordinary intelligence suppose that to be of immemorial antiquity which was the product of the generation immediately preceding his own? The statement of the question is enough to show the difficulty of the supposition. But this is not all. As we are well informed, some "Book of the Law" was found in the Temple in the time of Josiah. This book aroused extraordinary interest in king and people. It became the foundation of extensive changes in the religious practice of the nation—at least of its better part. Whatever this book was, it must have become at once what we call canonical—recognized as a book different from other books, enshrined in the hearts of the faithful, endeared in its very words to the spiritually-minded. It must have been carried by the captives to Babylon as the best memento of their native land. It seems impossible to suppose that any of the Scribes would venture to change this book by incorporating it with others in a new work of which it should make only a minor part. If any of the exiles had taken such a liberty, he could hardly have found acceptance for his work among those who returned to Palestine. The inference is obvious that the book found by Hilkiah was the same that was afterwards presented by Ezra to his restored countrymen, and that we must put its compilation considerably earlier than the former date.†

Another point in which the views of our author are scarcely likely to command assent is his theory of the Tabernacle. This he con-

* That he should allow himself to make minor changes, or to introduce occasional explanatory clauses, is conceivable, and this is one of the possibilities with which we have to reckon.

† It is probable, however, that Wellhausen has done good service to Theology by calling attention anew to the event recorded Neh. viii.–x. Owing to the genius of Ezra and the force of circumstances, that event was really the point of departure for a new Israel. The features of Judaism as we see them in the New Testament are entirely unlike those of the kingdom of David or even of Hezekiah—so entirely unlike that it is difficult to realize their historical connection. The change has been attributed to the experiences of the Exile, and the loss of national independence, and this is right enough; without these, the change could not have taken place (humanly speaking). But Ezra by his reform made the subsequent career of his people what it would not otherwise have been. He was the first *effectively* to make the written Law the central point in the life of the nation. The Jews were henceforth the "people of the Book." The formal act by which Ezra pledged the people to the observance of the Law, justifies the tradition which makes him the founder of the Canon. The act of Josiah tended in the same direction, but it never really took hold of the whole people.

siders to be simply the shadow of Solomon's Temple cast upon the background of the Mosaic age by the imagination of later times—the account of it is, therefore, "unhistoric." The resemblance of the Tabernacle to the Temple has often been noticed, but the resemblance alone would not show which was the original. It is entirely natural that Solomon should have taken as his model the ancient and venerated sanctuary of Israel—all the more that the Hebrews never developed a style of architecture of their own. Wellhausen asserts that Fergusson's reconstruction of the Tabernacle* shows the fanciful and impractical nature of the description in Exodus. The unbiased reader, however, will, on attentive consideration, come to the conclusion that the scheme is far from impracticable. Fergusson himself, whose word would naturally have the greatest weight here, claims to have shown that "it is possible to reconstruct the Tabernacle in strict conformity with every word and every indication of the sacred text, and at the same time to show that it was a reasonable tent-like structure, admirably adapted to the purposes to which it was applied." Now, it seems altogether likely that a people coming from Egypt, the land of temples, would require and desire some sort of sanctuary.† Wellhausen in fact admits that they had some sort of a tent for worship—the 'ohel mo'ed—in the camp, or rather outside the camp of Israel, "as the high places were generally outside the cities" (Geschichte, p. 41). He contrasts, however, the splendid building described in Exodus xxv. *sq.*, and the soil from which it grew. Such, he thinks, could not have been the work of nomads in the desert of Sinai. The reply is obvious. These nomads were a group of thirteen clans. It would hardly seem a great task for so numerous a body to erect a tent forty-five feet by fifteen, and make the screens necessary to enclose a court a hundred and fifty feet long and seventy-five wide. The materials were right at hand; acacia wood is still the growth of the desert, the skins used were furnished by the rams of the flocks, and by the animals of the sea on whose border the people were encamped, a people just from Egypt would not find it hard to provide the other stuffs. Gold seems to be the chief difficulty. But even aside from the events of the Exodus,‡ it is not difficult to

* In Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, article TEMPLE.

† The Tabernacle may not have been the only such sanctuary. The rendering which gives us 'the tabernacle of your king' as the sanctuary of an idol worshipped in the wilderness (Amos v. 26) has still a good degree of probability on its side.

‡ Stade avoids the force of these arguments by denying that we know anything of a sojourn in Egypt, or of an Exodus (Geschichte des Volkes Israel, p. 127 *sq.*) Wellhausen, however, begins his sketch in the Encyclopedia Britannica with an account of the sojourn in Egypt.

imagine a nomad people well supplied with it. One needs only to recall the Bedawin of Gideon's day, and to remember that Arabia has always been a land of gold. Taken together, then, the difficulties in the way of constructing the Tabernacle do not seem insuperable. The references of later books to the Tabernacle can hardly all of them be interpolations. It is impossible to prove that the passage which speaks of Moses' having removed the "tent of meeting" from the midst of the camp is inserted by the editor. The references to the 'ohel mo'ed occur in what Wellhausen regards as the oldest part of the Pentateuch. That the Jehovist should have such an account is as incredible as that the Elohist should, if the possession of a single central sanctuary places either on the ground of the Deuteronomic reform.

We have now examined somewhat at length the methods and the conclusions of the most conspicuous among the critics of our own day, and it is time to come to the application of the discourse.* Its lesson is that there are many things still undecided concerning the Old Testament. The field of investigation has been greatly enlarged by the advance in linguistic and historical science which marks our century. It is incumbent upon us first to enter on this new field, and make ourselves masters of the new methods. This is incumbent upon us simply in defence of what we have inherited from the fathers. If

* There are a number of other points at which the system might be assailed, but they are mostly matters of detail, and attention has been directed to them by Prof. Delitzsch and others, among whom we may count Prof. Green, as the hypotheses he rejects are substantially those of Wellhausen. Besides the matter of the Tabernacle, Delitzsch considers the following points: the assumption that the Levitical law concerning leprosy is of late date, the assertion that an altar of incense was unknown in the Temple, the assignment of the Day of Atonement to a post-exilic date, the importance of the High-priest, the degradation of the Levites in Ezekiel, and the relation of Deuteronomy to the rest of the Pentateuch. Conclusive as his arguments seem on some of these points, almost more significant are the concessions which so evangelical and conservative a scholar is compelled to make. His intimation is that the problem of Pentateuch criticism is far from solved, and he means to apply to his own efforts the following words: "We confess frankly that the new Pentateuch theory is not refuted by exposing the exaggerations into which it has been betrayed. Such exaggerations cause it to be suspected, but do not prove it to be false. It is characteristic of the first stages of a new theory that its advocates, fascinated by their discovery, are not content with what has sufficient grounds, but go beyond what is capable of proof, and draw extravagant conclusions. Even a profane tone and boldness of assertion, though they rouse prejudice against the cause advocated, do not prove it to be wrong. For it is the way with progress in art and science to be conceived and born in sin. But progress is progress, and at last (after it has gone through a process of purification) it turns out to the advantage of the kingdom of God" (Zeitschr. für kirchliche Wissenschaft, I, p. 224). Some of this advantage we can already see in the case before us. Modern criticism has at least turned attention to parts of Scripture hitherto comparatively neglected—as the vision of Ezekiel and the legislative parts of the Pentateuch. It is scarcely possi-

apology alone were the work of the Christian scholar, he would have to make that work thorough in order to be effective, and to be thorough he must possess himself fully of the methods and aims of his adversary. The problems of Biblical criticism concern the very foundations of theology. It will not do when we are challenged to examine those foundations to refuse on any plea whatever. We may satisfy ourselves and a few followers by saying they were thoroughly examined by the fathers and the reformers, or by Buxtorf and Lightfoot and were found all right. New miners (and sappers) are burrowing away, and they are every now and then calling our attention to what they regard as fatal defects of structure. The least we can do is to take their tools if not their lights, and carefully, soberly, industriously examine for ourselves. If the foundations do not run in the exact lines that we have supposed, they may yet be good, stout walls, and able to support a sufficient superstructure. It will not help us in any case to shut our eyes to the facts. It is often said that the history of error conspicuously repeats itself; yet the new copy is never exactly like the old, and the new error needs a new reply. We should hardly republish Origen's reply to Celsus as a sufficient answer to Colonel Ingersoll. So it must be with attacks upon the Scriptures. Each new one will be best met by a new defence adapted to the needs of the hour.

But apology is not the only or the chief business of the Christian scholar. The Bible is for all time, and it has had something new to

---

ble that so minute a study of these passages can result otherwise than in throwing new light, not only upon them, but upon the whole Old Testament.

The able paper of Prof. Green has already been referred to incidentally in the course of this discussion. It succeeds in showing that so far as the different codes of legislation are concerned, they do not present such discrepancies as would prove them widely separated in point of time, or as would prove that they could not all emanate from Moses. It points out the presumptions (which will, to be sure, appear differently to different minds) in favor of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Further it cites a number of passages in the later books which by coincidence of language favor the supposition that their authors were acquainted with a code resembling the one we have in our possession. It is impossible in this paper (which was begun with a very different purpose) to note all the points in which we agree with Dr. Green, or even those in which we differ. We venture to say, however, that while his argument sufficiently establishes a very early Mosaic tradition, it does not seem to us to prove that any large portion of that tradition was fixed in a written form before the time of the monarchy. Dr Green, moreover, seems to us very greatly to underrate the difficulty in harmonizing the Pentateuchal account with the tone of the later books. For example, the life of Samuel does not make upon the reader the impression of such a state of things as Dr. Green describes (l. c., p. 138 sq.) We have no hint (except the doubtful one 1 Sam. vii. 2) that Samuel himself regarded the covenant as broken, or that to him there was anything extraordinary in his sacrificing at Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah. The fact of the continuance of the bamoth under so many kings after the erection of the Temple also weighs more heavily than is allowed by Prof. Green (p. 140). The purely literary phenomena of the Pentateuch seem to us, however, to argue more strongly than anything else against the Mosaic authorship. To consider these did not come within the plan of Prof. Green.

reveal to each age. The Christian has yet much to learn, and he may learn it by following in the path of other earnest workers, and applying to the Scriptures the method which has been fruitful in the investigation of other literature. We wrong the advanced critics when we simply class them as "unbelievers," and assume that their motive in what seems to us daring speculation, can only be hostility to what we hold dear. And besides, we thus weaken our own ability to comprehend them, and to see the true issue. While, therefore, it is necessary for every one to defend boldly the truth as he sees it, it is also incumbent upon every scholar carefully to examine his own ground and every new position of those who differ from him. It is most important that he should learn to distinguish what is not settled, and that he should have the courage to say *I do not know*. True progress comes by means of conflict. Candor, honesty, and patience will tell in the long run, and less danger is incurred by those who wait than by those who run headlong into the fray. The policy of Gamaliel was the true one, although it did not result as he himself desired. How few are his imitators! How few can say in view of innovations, "If this counsel or this work be of men it will come to nought, but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it." HENRY P. SMITH.

VIII.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

History of the Synod of Geneva.—The History of the Synod of Geneva divides itself naturally into four periods: the first extending from the organization of the Synod in 1812 to 1820, the period of its early growth down to the founding of its theological seminary; second, from 1820 to 1837, the period of eccentric tendencies and of controversy, down to the disruption of the Church; third, the Synod as a part of the New School organization, from 1837 to 1870; fourth, the Synod in its relation to the whole reunited Church. Down to the close of the last century, the advanced pickets of the Presbyterian army remained encamped along the shores of the Hudson, its main body still resting where it had been left by the shock of the Revolutionary war, in the southern counties of the State, in New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and further South. Her entire force actually engaged in the work of the ministry was but 230 men.

During the seventeen years following the peace the work of church reorganization was actively carried on; scattered congregations were gathered up, and pastors, so far as possible, provided for them; sanctuaries that had been desecrated into barracks for British troops, or ruthlessly destroyed, were to be reconstructed; a church, depleted and impoverished by the enthusiastic self-sacrifice with which she had flung her total resources of men and means into the struggle for freedom, was to recuperate her energies for another advance. With the opening of the new century the trumpets sounded, the tents were struck, and the march began, which was not to cease until the feet of the pioneers were dipped in the waves of the Pacific. In 1799 there was but one Synod in the State—indeed but half a Synod—that of New York and New Jersey. The westernmost Presbytery was that of Albany, with twelve ministers. One year after, the General Assembly set off from the latter the Presbytery of Oneida; thenceforward the march became a rush. One year later still, they were called to organize the Presbytery of Geneva. Shortly afterward this Presbytery, and the Congregational churches of the "Middle District Association," which had been received into the Presbyterian fold, were distributed into the three Presbyteries of Onondaga, Cayuga, and Geneva. In 1812 these were organized into the SYNOD OF GENEVA.

The first meeting of the Synod was in the village of Geneva on the first Wednesday of October, 1812. The number of clerical members was thirty, which, with a delegate from each of its forty churches, would have made a Synod of respectable dimensions. The eight years that followed include the period of the war on the ocean and the lakes, with all the destruction of values, and the commercial disasters that attended it; yet population continued to

pour into this inviting region, and by the close of the period in 1820, the Synod included eight Presbyteries, with 90 ministers and 140 churches. New congregations were forming every day, much beyond the supply of suitable pastors. Missionaries, appointed by the General Assembly for limited terms, patrolled all this region, gathered up scattered believers, organized churches, conducted revivals of religion, and laid the broad foundations for the sound and vigorous Presbyterianism of Western New York. The pressing need of the Church was a well-educated, earnest "native ministry," to build on these foundations. The Church in Western New York was giving signs in its infancy of a colossal future growth; it was, at the same time, developing a certain distinct and homogeneous character of its own. Even if ministers in sufficient numbers could have been furnished from New England or New Jersey, it began to be felt that the pastors for these churches must proceed from themselves, and could be best trained for their work on the spot; and that Western New York must provide herself with some such school for the ministry as had shortly before been organized at Princeton. The movers in this enterprise were members of the Synod of Geneva, whose names deserve to be held in long remembrance in the Church, such as William Wisner, Levi Parsons, Seth Smith, Dirck C. Lansing, Miles P. Squier—wise men, well fitted to lay the foundations of States as well as of schools. In February, 1818, the project of a theological seminary, to be located at Auburn, was laid before the Synod of Geneva by Dr. Wisner, and on the first of June before the General Assembly at Philadelphia. The Assembly referred the matter back to the discretion of the Synod. The result was the organization of the Auburn Theological Seminary, which went into operation in October, 1821. On the 12th of July, 1820, the trustees organized themselves under the charter granted by the State; and from this time the institution laid aside its special relation to the Synod of Geneva, and became the adopted child of the Presbyterian Church in Central and Western New York. The second division reaches from 1820 to 1837; it is the period of religious excitement and controversy ending in the disruption of the Church. The Synod of Geneva was the geographical centre of this disturbance. Students from the new seminary converted in revivals, and, trained under the influence of Richards and Lansing, began to pour out year after year, full of zeal and enthusiasm, many of whom naturally exercised their ministry within the bounds of the Synod. The seriousness which had been awakened by the war and the commercial disasters following it, broadened into the great religious awakening which shed its beneficent influence over all this region. A passion for saving souls seized the minds of these men, under which they developed into as earnest, intense, and laborious a body of preachers, as the Church in her best days has ever enjoyed. It was not long, however, before the zeal began to take on a character of morbid excitement. Professional revivalists came forward whose presence was thought almost infallibly to bring with it the special influences of the Spirit of God. Following the great preachers of this class, who seemed, indeed, to enjoy a special Divine commission, came others more audacious and less safe, who seized the control of the movement, and gave it an erratic and dangerous whirl. It was the partly true and partly exaggerated reports of this preaching that began to create the apprehension in other quarters that the Churches of the Synod of Geneva were departing from the faith and betraying the order and polity of the

Westminster Standards. The final result was the action of the General Assembly at Philadelphia in 1837, by which the Synod of Geneva, with three others, was declared not to constitute, in form or in fact, any integral part of the Presbyterian Church, and cut off as an unsound member from the body. Under these circumstances, it would have been natural to expect if the churches exscinded were as unsound in doctrine as was charged, they would throw off all disguise and exhibit their actual divergence from the system of the Confession of Faith. If they were disloyal to the polity of the Church, it would be natural that thus abruptly ejected from the Presbyterian fold, they should accept the conclusion, and turn their backs on the system forever. Invitations to such a course were by no means wanting. The Congregationalists, who had viewed with not unreasonable dissatisfaction the absorption of their churches into the comprehensive maw of Presbyterianism, sent out a sympathetic missive inviting them to return to the arms of their former brethren; other denominations proposed to exercise a generous hospitality toward these ecclesiastical outcasts. They viewed with dry eyes the catastrophe of a Church which, for some reason, to its credit or otherwise, seems never to enjoy a great share of popularity with "the sects around us." All such parties, friends and foes alike, were destined to disappointment. As these churches were, in fact, thoroughly sound in their allegiance both to the doctrinal and the ecclesiastical system of the Presbyterian Church, they resolved to hold fast to their natural relations, and assert their right to a place in the Church of their affections. They chose their Commissioners to the General Assembly of 1838 as usual, who appeared at Philadelphia at the opening of the session, and took their places on the floor. The stated clerk called the roll, omitting the exscinded Synods. The Rev. Miles P. Squier then arose, and, addressing the Moderator, said that he held in his hand a regular commission to the Assembly from the Presbytery of Geneva, and demanded to have his name entered on the roll. The Moderator asked whether the Presbytery of Geneva was within the bounds of the Synod of Geneva. Dr. Squier replying that it was, the Moderator said, "Then, sir, we do not know you." The Commissioners from within the bounds of the Synod of Geneva, and the other exscinded Synods, and those sympathizing with them, then withdrew, and organized the so-called Constitutional General Assembly. During the period that followed the shock of the disruption, the Synod of Geneva, as a part of the new school organization, devoted itself to the care of its churches and the diligent cultivation of all the interests of religion within its bounds. Admonished of the possibilities of danger to the faith and order of the Church through the influence of irresponsible evangelists, greater care was exercised in inviting or permitting outside assistance in the conduct of revivals. The pastors asserted their own proper oversight of the flocks of which the Holy Ghost had made them bishops, and declined to surrender their rights or hand over their duties to strangers. Revivals of religion, marked both by purity and power, continued to prevail throughout the Synod; Sunday-schools were diligently nursed; the study of the catechism was encouraged; voluntary societies gradually lost favor with the churches, as they were suspected of being engineered in the interest of a different church system, and church boards grew in favor—in short, the love of our ministry and people for the faith and order of the Church was not chilled by the somewhat step-motherly treatment they had experienced; they went on

steadily to disprove the truth of the charges brought against them by cultivating not merely an earnest religious, but a sound ecclesiastical life. A new generation of ministers grew up which had not been personally involved in the old disputes, and was not pledged to the issues on which the struggle had been waged. The smoke of the combat cleared away, and it was found on each side that we had been firing into the ranks of friends. When the time came for mutual regrets and explanations, members of the Synod of Geneva did their full share toward restoring the era of good feeling and Church unity. The divided Church came cordially together; party lines were rubbed out; the Commissioners of the two Assemblies flowed together at Pittsburg and joined in singing, "*All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name, let Angels prostrate fall.*" At the next session the clerk's roll was perfected. The Synod of Geneva fell into its proper alphabetical place in the minutes, affectionately sandwiched between the quondam Old School Synod of Erie on the one side, and the quondam Old School Synod of Harrisburg on the other. It went out in 1837 with 170 ministers and 200 churches, distributed among eight Presbyteries. It now falls into the great SYNOD OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, with five Presbyteries, 127 ministers, 375 elders, 102 churches, and 14,500 communicants—not the least among the tribes of Israel, and with the old traditionary renown which it has gathered during threescore years and ten of faithful and valiant service for the Church of Christ.

The discipline inflicted on the Synod of Geneva in 1837 was based in part on the supposed existence of serious doctrinal error in its churches. It is necessary, therefore, to review briefly the history of theological opinion in the Synod.

The fundamental charter of Presbyterian liberty, the adopting act of 1729, directed that all the ministers of the Church should declare their approbation of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, "as being in all the essential and necessary articles forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine. But if any minister or candidate felt a scruple as to any part of these forms, he was to declare it to the Presbytery or Synod, who shall, notwithstanding, receive him if his scruple relates only to articles not essential or necessary to the system." On this basis the Scotch-Irish members and the New England members harmoniously coalesced. But it cannot be denied that there inhered in the Presbyterian mind from an early period a certain suspicion of New England, both ecclesiastically and theologically regarded. This feeling received a marked access in the early years of the present century, when earnest friends of the revival in the Presbyterian Church were found preaching a new divinity so called, an "improved Calvinism," derived from the system of President Edwards, though passing under the name of one of his disciples. They preached that the inability of men to turn from their sins consisted merely in the strength of their disinclination—a disinclination so strong, indeed, that nothing but a direct Divine influence can overcome it; that men are held responsible only for their own sins, and that none will perish for the lack of an ample provision for their salvation in Christ's death for the sins of the world.

These views, it was claimed, were consistent with an honest acceptance of the Confession of Faith, and the liberty was claimed of preaching them without being charged with disloyalty to the Calvinistic system. The so-called new school divines appealed in their defence to the expressed sentiments of the

Fathers of the Church in America, and to the open and allowed interpretation current in theological use. But it was not without a struggle that these views won a place in the Church theology. The representatives of the former "old side" party saw in them a dangerous departure from the purity of the faith, and blew a trumpet to sound an alarm in Zion. In the year 1816, the original Synod of the Church, the Synod of Philadelphia, adopted an act protesting against "the introduction of Arian, Arminian, Socinian, and Hopkinsian heresies, as some of the means by which the enemy of souls would deceive, if possible, the very effect." But the views referred to under the last of these names, and which it was designed to make more odious by placing them in bad company, were too favorable to the highest efficiency of the Gospel to be surrendered, especially when the General Assembly refused to condemn them. The great body of the clergy in the Synod of Geneva, including the founders and first professors of its theological seminary, whether avowed Hopkinsians or not, were found in the school of this "improved Calvinism," and substantially preached and taught it. But it will not be inferred from this that they were any the less loyal to the system of the Westminster Assembly.

It has been a somewhat prevalent idea that the Theological Seminary at Auburn was founded in a spirit of something like hostility to Princeton, and was designed to be the nursery of a different theology. Nothing could be more erroneous. The occasion for the seminary was found, as already observed, in the urgent demand for more ministers of the right stamp, "encouraged by the hope that the sympathies and liberality of the churches would be more drawn out to sustain a school of their own than a distant one." But neither half-educated nor half-sound men were wanted for its chairs of instruction. The trustees did not look to New England for their professors. They went to the very headquarters of orthodoxy and Church order, to New Jersey, to the immediate circle shined upon by the Synod of Philadelphia, and the Princeton Theological Seminary. Henry Mills, pastor of the church in Woodbridge, though a young man in 1821, was already known, not only as a biblical scholar, but as a sound, judicious, conservative theologian. Dr. Perrine, who had exercised his ministry first in New Jersey, and then as pastor of the Spring Street church, New York City, though inclined to the "improved Calvinism" of Emmons, was never chargeable with coming short of the full demands of orthodoxy, but only, perhaps, of going beyond them. James Richards, Pastor of the church in Morristown, had been prominent among the founders of Princeton Seminary, was one of the committee that drew out its course of study, and a member of its Board of Trustees. The classes trained under such teachers were not likely to be wanting in love either to the faith or order of the Church; in fact, no more zealous apostles of a Calvinistic theology ever went forth from any seminary. They indoctrinated this whole region with the system, since they not only preached it from the pulpit, but made the acceptance of it absolutely essential as an evidence of piety in private church members. Many of these ministers drew up "articles of faith," to be used at the reception of members to the Church, all embodying the peculiar features of the Westminster Confession. Dr. Richards said, in his plain, strong way: "I have now before me twenty-six of these articles, and if I have any judgment as to what belongs to orthodoxy, they are as sound as a roach, with the single exception of the article on the Atonement. They favor the idea of a general

atonement, as John Calvin and the early reformers did. Some, I suppose, would regard this as deviating from our Standards; but, aside from this, I do not believe Dr. Green himself would find any fault with these confessions." Dr. Richards, than whom there was no theologian in the Church more respected for integrity and discrimination, said, in another connection: "Were you to ask me to name the minister or church in the Synod of Geneva who did not fully and unqualifiedly believe in the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature, in regeneration by the influence of the Holy Spirit, in personal election, and justification by faith through the righteousness of Christ alone, I could not do it."

The fruits of this thorough saturation of the Synod of Geneva with the strong brine of undiluted Calvinism, appeared in the doctrinal results of the AUBURN CONVENTION. This was a meeting held in August, 1837, of a large body of representatives of the exscinded Synods and such as sympathized with them. It was presided over by a member of the Synod of Geneva, and attended by many of its pastors. Upon the distinguishing doctrines of the Calvinistic system, it pronounced fully in the sense of the Westminster symbols. With an unconscious supralapsarianism, they put the doctrine of election first in order, and ranged all the other facts in the process of redemption after it; that is to say, the effect of the arrangement is to suggest that it was the primary purpose of God to save a definite number of men out of a race to be thereafter created; that in pursuance of this plan, man was formed, the fall provided for, and a limited atonement made by the suffering of Christ for the elect alone. No affirmation of the universality of the provision for man's redemption is found in their sixteen articles. Original sin, total depravity, vicarious suffering, Christ's intercession for the elect previous to their regeneration, absolute dependence upon irresistible Divine grace for the renewal of the heart, instantaneous regeneration, etc., all these dogmas are expressly affirmed, but no single proposition of a pelagianizing or arminianizing tendency. "The reason why God does not save all men (the thirteenth proposition declares), is not that He wants the power to do it, but that in His wisdom He does not see fit to exert that power further than He actually does." In short, the "Auburn declaration," contrary to the popular belief, and contrary to elaborate interpretations sometimes given of it, rises well up to the highest water-mark of the Calvinistic theology. This declaration, it is true, has no symbolical force in the Synod of Geneva or anywhere else. No one subscribes it as a test of his soundness in the faith; but at the same time, adopted under circumstances so peculiar, and at so critical a time in the history of these churches, it had all the effect of pledging them to a sacred adherence to the system of the confession. It consolidated the Synods, invigorated their Presbyterianism, and made them jealous of any departure from the Westminster Standards. From that time there has been no part of the Church purer in doctrine or more careful in government and discipline than the Synod of Geneva.

SAMUEL M. HOPKINS.

The Results of the Discussion conducted in the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW *as to the Nature of Bible Wine and of the Wine used by Christ in the Institution of the Lord's Supper.*—The frank reference to me by Dr. Willis J. Beecher in his able and valuable article on the principle of Total Abstinence in this Number

of the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, makes it proper that I should exercise my editorial right of restating my opinion, and at the same time of recapitulating the results attained in the discussion of the question in debate as far as it has appeared in the three articles published in these pages. It must unquestionably be a satisfaction to all wise friends of temperance and of peace to know that so decided a progress should have been made in clearing the question and in narrowing the points of difference.

1st. In the first place the clear judgment and honorable frankness of Dr. Beecher have emphasized the fact that there is no debate between the different parties of Christian brethren represented in these articles as to the wisdom and prudential obligation, under present social conditions, of total abstinence from all intoxicants as a beverage or "common drink." In this Dr. Moore has placed himself on record as agreeing with all other temperance men. Dr. Beecher apparently thinks that it is not important that expediency should be insisted on as the only ground upon which the duty of total abstinence is acknowledged. But we insist that while we acknowledge the duty, we do so only on the ground of expediency. If the duty were absolute, either intuitively revealed to the natural conscience or expressly commanded in Scripture, it might be enforced by church discipline. But in the entire sphere of expediency each Christian has the liberty of judging for himself, and neither has any person nor church court any right to bind their own conclusions upon their brother's conscience.

2d. In the second place Dr. Beecher has made it very plain that the respective writers on each side of this controversy have made a great mistake in using the predicates fermented and intoxicating as equivalent. Fermentation is an attribute essential to the character of the thing called wine, while intoxicating power is a matter of degree, of concentration or dilution, of quantity, and of susceptibility on the part of the participant. The single point essential to the position of Dr. Moore and those who sympathize with him is the fact that the word "wine" means only and always juice of the grape fermented, and that the same was made and drunk by Christ, and used by Him as one of the elements of the Last Supper. Fermentation by developing alcohol indicates doubtless a tendency in the direction of producing an intoxicating influence. But no Christian can desire to prove that the wine actually used and given by Christ possessed that power in any positive degree. All that any have contended for in this direction is that the essential nature of the "wine" used by Christ is fermented grape-juice.

3d. We maintain that as Christ unquestionably made, drank, and gave to others fermented grape-juice, whatever may be our own practice we cannot condemn in our brethren what our Lord has done. Yet we heartily concur with Dr. Beecher in insisting that this example of our Master must not be allowed to shelter drinking practices essentially different. The moderate use of fermented grape-juice is the single thing covered by this example. This is no warrant for the use in any quantity or under any circumstances, of distilled and fermented compounds full of fire and madness and death, which constitute the mass of intoxicant beverages. Total abstinence, under present conditions, even from the use of wine as a "common drink," is best, though a matter to be left to each Christian's conscience. But the plea of the example of Christ in justification of the use of ordinary intoxicants is absurd and profane.

4th. Again we rejoice that Dr. Beecher, as an accredited representative of our more pronounced temperance brethren, so wisely and candidly acknowledges that the use of pure fermented grape-juice of ordinary strength in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is absolutely incapable of harm to any one rational enough to profit by the sacrament under any conditions. He thus relieves the debate in hand from the intrusion of a not infrequent, however absurd, line of argument. It is a praiseworthy exercise of Christian candor to relieve the altars of the Christian Church from the aspersion of having been for more than eighteen hundred years centres of moral infection, and snares for the easily misled.

5th. But the basis of universal and permanent peace is gained when these representative writers, Moore and Beecher, agree that there is but one kind of "wine," and that nothing other than fermented juice of the grape is "wine." This is the point for which Dr. Moore, and those who are represented by him, have been contending from the first. In the otherwise admirable article of the lamented Prof. Mears, in the July (1881) Number of this REVIEW, the author bases the whole defence of the two-wine theory upon the supposed *positive* evidence afforded by my life-long friend and colleague, Dr. Jacobus, as a sufficient offset to the united *negative* testimony of all missionaries and Orientalists. The letter of Dr. Jacobus,* printed in the January (1882) Number of this REVIEW by Dr. Moore, forevermore disposes of *that* argument. Hereafter all informed contestants will suppress it.

In the July (1881) Number, in a note on the action of the last General Assembly, I said that "the traditions of the fathers, the consensus of the churches, the history of the past, the scholarship of the present, the testimony of travellers and missionaries, stand as one unbroken wall in testimony of the fact that to become WINE it is necessary that the juice of the grape should be fermented." Dr. Beecher says of this sentence, that "if uttered by some other man and in some different context" (although it is not plain how those considerations affect the matter), "it would have been extremely supercilious." For this I am extremely sorry. I wrote the sentence only because I believed it to be simply and quite obviously true. And now I am, if possible, the more confirmed in that opinion, by the full endorsement of Dr. Beecher himself, who speaks in the present Number of this REVIEW "of the EXPLODED distinction between a fermented and an unfermented wine." All debate, therefore, upon this point should now cease, and all true temperance men will be in sight of permanent peace.

Dr. Beecher also gracefully says that "the advocates of Total Abstinence ought heartily to welcome such contributions to the literature of temperance as the careful and valuable articles of Dr. Dunlop Moore. The exegesis represented in the passages which he cites from such authors as Samson and

* We are sorry to know that some of our common friends have understood the reference to Dr. Jacobus's letter in Dr. Moore's article to be derogatory to the memory of that eminent scholar and Christian gentleman. Nothing, we are certain, was further from the minds of all the parties concerned. The frequent reference to Dr. Jacobus's testimony on this subject is a high compliment to his influence. His testimony as to facts is, of course, unquestionable authority. The only point in debate has been the value of the *inferences* which the Doctor himself, and others after him, have drawn from the facts of his experience. The facts in question are given the public with absolute accuracy in his own letter above referred to.

Lees, evidently mistaken as it is, has been somewhat widely accepted, for the sake of conclusions to which it leads. But these conclusions are too precious to be ventured upon any such rotten foundation." The sincere and earnest friends of Temperance should, therefore, henceforth recognize their wisest and most candid coadjutors. The judgment of Prof. Beecher certainly puts Dr. Dunlop Moore far in advance of Drs. Samson and Lees as a trustworthy champion of true Christian Temperance. Let this be remembered.

6th. This fact being established, it follows that our Lord made and drank and gave to others the fermented juice of the grape. It will not be doubted in the future by sane men, as it never has been questioned in the past, that our Lord used "WINE" (acknowledged to be fermented juice of the grape), and gave it to His disciples at the institution of the Holy Supper. Prof. Beecher adnits this to have been highly probable. He styles it "an immemorial tradition." If not pressed by the exigencies of an argument, that perspicacious and candid scholar would say, in the light of all the facts, that it was CERTAIN, quite as certain as if all the evangelists affirmed it in words. Precisely this is what Dr. Moore and those represented by him have contended for. If a brother does not believe this fact that Christ used "wine" in the sacrament, he is not bound by it. But if he *does* believe it, he *is* bound by it. I said in the July (1881) Number of this REVIEW: "If a man, WHO KNOWS that Christ used the fermented juice of the grape in the institution of the Last Supper to symbolize His atoning blood, yet declares that it is IMMORAL for us to do so, he is evidently guilty of an unsurpassed blasphemy." I did not charge this awful sin upon any class of my brethren. The judgment expressed appears to me self-evident, and to be utterly independent of all "logic." It was expressed only as an emphatic protest, addressed to those brethren who do *not* believe that Christ used fermented grape-juice in the Last Supper, against the apparent disposition of many of them to force such of us who are sure that Christ did use such wine, into a position which would *in us*, so believing, involve evident blasphemy.

In the same connection I said in the July Number that "those brethren who press this question (*i. e.*, the disuse of fermented grape-juice at the Lord's Table) as a MORAL one, threaten not only to oppress the consciences of their brethren, but to introduce an occasion of schism, etc." This Dr. Beecher characterizes as a threat. I certainly did not mean it as such. A threat is ridiculous unless backed with power. I was from the first fully conscious of personal impotency. The intention was simply to point out a patent and significant fact. It is admitted that each session must decide all such questions for each church. But if a Presbytery or Synod or General Assembly should pass orders forbidding us to do, or declaring it to be *wrong* for us to do, what Christ did, it would be an obvious usurpation of power not committed to the Church. It is the essence of Pharisaism and Popery to attempt to bind the consciences of Christ's disciples by "the commandments of men." It is not competent for any Christian Church to enforce conditions of Christian communion which Christ has not previously made conditions of salvation. And no Presbyterian Church can enforce any conditions of *ministerial* communion which are not previously made such by the Constitution of the Church. Any mere resolutions to such effect passed by Presbyteries and the higher church courts would be certainly disobeyed and resented as *ultra vires*. Any serious

and widely supported attempt to embody in the Constitution the principle of the *immorality* of following the example of Christ in the administration of His Supper would explode the Church. This is no threat. It is an expostulation and a prediction of inevitable ultimate consequences of certain courses of action, uttered in faithfulness and love. Those who are represented by Dr. Moore are a vast and respectable body of serious Christians. If driven to the wall on this subject we *could not* submit. We do not maintain that the use of wine is of the essence of the Lord's Supper. We do not say that under no conceivable circumstances could we observe the sacrament without wine. But we do say that we cannot possibly take part in any observance of the sacrament of Christ's death, in which, by assertion or by necessary implication, the following of Christ's example is declared to be *immoral.*

7th. The question as to *what fluid* it is proper to use at the Lord's table is now, as stated by Dr. Beecher, reduced to the following terms: Conceding that the theory of an unfermented wine is exploded—admitting that Christ made and drank fermented juice of the grape, and in all probability (we say absolute certainty) used it in instituting the Lord's Supper—admitting that the use of fermented grape-juice in the sacrament cannot do real harm to any one, and is intrinsically innocent—yet considering the change in the customs and dangers of the present generations—considering that a large class of self-indulgent users of intoxicants as "a common drink" claim that the immemorial use of wine by the Church in her sacred offices is a practical recognition of the legitimacy of their own drinking practices—and considering further, that a large class of rationalistic and naturalistic reformers outside the pale of the Church proclaim the Church to be responsible, because of her use of wine at the sacrament, for fostering instead of fighting the crying sins of intemperance—admitting "that both these classes are wilfully and blamably mistaken"—yet is it not required by Christian charity, would it not be an exercise of Christian magnanimity, if we should depart from the example of Christ, from the immemorial usage of the Christian Church and from our own preferences, and give to all parties an "object lesson" of practical and absolute abstinence by banishing wine (fermented grape-juice) from the Lord's table?

We have no wish to reflect upon the judgment of our brethren, but for ourselves and our households we answer with all our hearts, NEVER! *In us* such a course should be characterized by any other terms than those of charity, magnanimity, or of loyalty to our Lord, or His people. The arguments for the course are our conclusive reasons against it. It is impossible to us, just because two large classes claim that our following the example of Christ in doing that which is intrinsically innocent is the occasion in them of sin, either of sinful drinking, or of sinful judgment. The example of Christ in this case we regard as peculiarly authoritative. It was not when putting Himself into a reclining position upon the couch, but when eating and drinking and giving the bread and wine, He said, "Do *this* in remembrance of me."

We said advisedly in the July Number that the action of the General Assembly recognizing the right of each session to decide for itself the question as to what is the proper fluid to use at the Lord's Supper involved upon the part of the conservative party an "extreme concession." By this I did not claim that we were in the majority, nor that we had any right whatever to control our brethren. I meant simply that this action involved so far forth a change in

the "immemorial tradition" of the Christian Church, and that such a change always involves a "concession" on the part of the conservative party, however small and insignificant, when they submit to it without schism. I called it an "*extreme* concession," because it marks the absolute limit of peace, for just beyond it lie, as we honestly believe, practical conflicts, which will destroy the peace, and threaten ultimately the division of the Church.

A. A. HODGE.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.—*Babylonian Calendars.*—The December Number of the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology" contains an interesting account, by Theo. G. Pinches, of two Babylonian Calendars now in the British Museum. The following note in regard to them is based upon that account, with some additional matter kindly communicated by Mr. Pinches. One of the two contains the omens for the several days of the first four months of the year—Nisan, Iyyar, Sivan, and Tammuz; the other, which exists in two copies, gives a similar list for all the year. The better preserved of these copies is in the Akkadian language, and some of the omens are difficult to translate; the other copy, much mutilated, is in the Shemitic-Babylonian. The greater part of the omens are brief, *e. g.*: "In the month Nisan, the 1st day is wholly lucky"; "the 4th, half the day is lucky"; or, "In the month Kislev, the 1st day is lucky"; "the 2d is unlucky." But others are longer and more curious; on the 5th of Iyyar, "If one takes not a wife one grows old," and on the 6th, "Take a wife and grow old"; 28th Kislev, "One should not take a wife, it is not happy"; 9th Iyyar, "If one eats fish, one takes evil"; 3d Kislev, "One should not give wheat for silver"; 6th Kislev, "A master should not pay a servant"; 24th, "One should not ride in a chariot. . . . ." The 11th Nisan and 5th Kislev are days "of joy of heart" (*ûmi ḫud libbi*). On the 15th Tammuz there is an "eclipse of the moon," and, curiously enough, on the 20th of Sivan, Tisri, and Kislev there are eclipses of the sun. The prediction of eclipses seems to indicate that each calendar was good only for one year, but to explain these eclipses of the sun on the same day of three different months, and all in the same year, is somewhat difficult.

Euphrates and Tigris.—The meaning of these names is put beyond a doubt by Friedrich Delitzsch's presentation of the facts, "Wo Lag das Paradies," pp. 169, sq. The Assyrians pronounced the name of the Euphrates "*Purattu*," or "*Purâtu*" (Comp. Heb. פְּרָת). This is simply the feminine form (names of rivers are feminine in Assyrian) of the word "*Pura*," borrowed from the pre-Shemitic Akkadian. The Akkadians called the Euphrates "*Pura-nunu* (V. R. 22, 31, e. f.), = "great river" (*pur* = "deep," "vessel," "river-channel," "river"; *nunu* = "great"). The Assyrians dropped the *nunu* (as the Akkadians may very likely have done in popular speech), and said simply, "River (*par excellence*). The Akkadians called the Euphrates also "*Id Zimbir*," *i. e.*, "River of Sippara," and this writing of it was retained by the Assyrians as an ideogram (Comp. with V. R. 22, 31, e. f.; II. R. 50, 8, c. d., etc.) In Assyrian texts, and very common there, we find the following: "*id A. rat*" (*e. g.*, I. R. 25, 64, etc.), in which *id* is the determinative prefix customary before names of rivers, *A* is the Akkadian word for "water" (Assyr. *mî*), and *rat* is the phonetic complement. The interpretation of the whole would then be, "the

name of a river, which means 'Water' (or 'The Water'), but must be pronounced '*Purat*.'" The phonetic writing, *Pu-rat-tu*, etc., is also found (*e. g.*, I. R. 23, 14, and 24, 34, 41, etc.)

In the vocabularies there occur also the phonetically written name for the same river, *U-ru-ut-tum* (II. R. 48, 47, a. b.), and the ideographic *id Unu-bi-tara* (II. R. 51, 43, a.), = "river of the city Unu-bitara (= Sippara ?)." In one list of streams, it is called *napišti mâti* = "soul of the land" (II. R. 51, Nr. I., Obv. 26).

As to the Tigris, the derivation so confidently given from the Zend *tighri*, "*arrow*," certainly does not point to the real origin of the name. The Babylonians and Assyrians called this river *Idiḳlat* (or *Idignat ?*), and *Diḳlat*, cf. Heb. חִדֶּקֶל, Aram. דִּגְלַת, etc., a word formed, like *Purâtu*, by adding a feminine termination to the Akkadian name *I-digna*, or *I-dignu* (*e. g.*, V. R. 22, 30, e. f.) *I*, for *id*, means "river," *dig* = "border," "bank," and *na* = "high." Hence *Idigna* (Sumerian *Idigla ?*) means "River with high banks," or, possibly, "River-channel," and hence "River," like *Pura*. The Tigris is represented also by the characters *id-dala*, of uncertain meaning (Del. *Lesestücke*, S^{b} 372, 373), and by *id* '*gal*-'*gala*, "arrow-like river," from its swiftness (*e. g.*, I. R. 22, 104, var., etc.) Once it is called *babilat nâḫši*, "bearer of blessing" (II. R. 51, Nr. I., Obv. 25), and once, "River of the gods" (IV. R. 36, No. 17.)

Sippara.—A recent discovery by Hormuzd Rassam makes it necessary to correct the statement in the January Number of the Review as to the site of Sippara. In the mounds of *Abu Habba*, close by the ancient canal-bed, now called *Ruthwanieh*, southward from Bagdad, and about half-way between Bagdad and Babylon, Rassam found the ruins of a great temple, with a slab containing the bas-relief of a deity who sits upon a throne with cherubim (Comp. Note on *Cherubim*, in the Review for January, 1882, p. 168), while the inscription begins "Statue of the Sun-god, the great lord, who dwells in the temple Ebabbara, in the city of Sippar." The site is now at some distance from the Euphrates, which formerly must have flowed past it, as is proved by the name "River of Sippara" (see above).

Pul, King of Assyria.—The difficulty which Assyriologists have had in finding a place for this conqueror in the Assyrian records is well known. No such king appears in the Eponym Canon, and one hypothesis (Oppert's), which was supposed also to solve a chronological difficulty, assumed a break in that Canon, by which the record of some forty-seven years, including the reign of Pul, had dropped out. Another hypothesis proposed to consider him a usurper, who maintained himself against the lawful kings in some part of Assyria, or in Babylonia (G. Rawlinson). A third view regarded him as an allied king of Tiglath-Pileser II., immediately before whom he is named in the Bible (2 Ki. xv. 19; 1 Chr. v. 26). Schrader refuted all these views (*Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 422 sq.; see notice in this Review, April, 1880, pp. 407 sq.), and strongly maintained the identity of Pul and Tiglath-Pileser II. Victor Floigl (*Die Chronologie der Bibel*, etc.; see this Review, July, 1881, pp. 601 sq., and also his latest work, *Geschichte des Semitischen Alterthums*, 1882) believes that he has made this identification more certain by modifying Schrader's statement, and adding to it. Floigl holds that Pul was the Pur

(ilsagal'i) who appears in the Canon as Eponym for B.C. 763. In one copy of this canon there is a line just above this name, such as usually divides one reign from another. The next king whose name appears in the list is Asurnirar, who was Eponym in 753, which is indicated by another dividing line as the first year of his reign. Now, by the ingenious application of a system of averages, Floigl argues that Asurnirar cannot have been more than fourteen years old in 753, and supposes that his father and predecessor, Asurdan, died in 763, and that Pul (Pur) became regent for the child, Asurnirar. As regent he undertook the campaign recorded in 2 Ki. xv., yielded up the power in 753 to Asurnirar, and on the death of the latter, eight years afterward, ascended the throne as a usurper, under the name of Tiglath-Pileser II. One great advantage of this hypothesis—for it cannot be called anything more —is that it seems to confirm the accuracy of some Biblical dates. There would be no need, for example, of putting the ascension of Menahem of Israel later than B.C. 754. FRANCIS BROWN.

The Recently Discovered Inscription at the Pool of Siloam.—One of the pupils of Herr Schick, German architect, long resident in Jerusalem, and well known for his interest in Biblical Geography, fell into the water while playing, at the pool of Siloam, in Jerusalem, in June, 1880, and thus had his attention called to some letters in the wall of the conduit leading from the pool of the Virgin to the pool of Siloam, in a niche some nineteen feet from the latter.

This passage had been thoroughly explored by Dr. Edward Robinson in 1838, and also by Titus Tobler and Col. Warren in recent years, but the inscription, being for the most part covered with water and filled in with a deposit of lime, escaped attention.

Herr Schick made several attempts to secure a copy, but was not sufficiently successful to enable scholars to decipher it. The German and British Palestine Exploration Societies vied with one another in making appropriations for lowering the water of the pool, but the British were first on the ground, and Prof. A. H. Sayce, happening in Jerusalem in February, 1881, with great difficulty secured a sufficiently accurate copy to justify him in transliteration and translation. In the meanwhile others, such as Dr. Guthe and Messrs. Pilter and Shapira, made additional copies which cleared up several obscurities; and the study of a large number of scholars was directed upon it, such as Kautzsch, Socin, Euting, Neubauer, and Taylor, the results of their labors appearing in the quarterly statements of the British and of the German Palestine Exploration Societies and in notices from time to time in the *Academy*, *Athenæum*, and other journals. The Exploration Societies in the meanwhile, through Dr. Guthe and Lieut. Conder, who were on the ground, secured several distinct fac-similes by removing from the letters of the inscription the lime, by the use of hydrochloric acid. These have been used by Prof. Sayce, in the October Number of the Statements of the Palestine Exploration Society; by Dr. Guthe and Prof. Kautzsch, in Hefte 3 and 4 of the "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palestina-Vereins," 1881, and by Dr. Derenbourg in *Revue des Études Juives*, VI. p. 161, sq., with great success in transliteration, translation, and explanation, with substantial agreement. Lieut. Conder also informs us in the same statement of the British Palestine Exploration Society that "the inscription is of six lines, occupies a space twenty-six inches long by eight inches in height, the top being

fourteen inches from the upper surface of the tablet and the bottom of the sixth line five inches above the lower border of the tablet, which is twenty-seven inches square" (p. 288).

From a comparison of these various labors we present to our readers the results as far as we can determine them:

(1) *The Inscription:*

(1) הנקבה וזה היה דבר הנקבה בעוד . . . . . .
(2) חגרזן אש אל רעו ובעוד שלש אמת . . . קל אש ק
(3) רא אל רעו כי היתי זדה בצר מים . . . . ובים ה
(4) נקבה הכו החצבם אש לקרת רעו גרזן על גרזן ויולכו
(5) המום מן המוצא אל הברכה במאתים ואלף אמה ומא
(6) ת אמה היה גבה הצר על ראש החצבם

In the first line there seems to be room at the beginning for two or three letters of a word, and hence Prof. Sayce conjectures הן, and Prof. Kautzsch זאת; Dr. Guthe זה; Dr. Derenbourg תם. The words that we have placed in the first line are agreed to by all. Prof. Sayce claims for the remainder of the line to have read four letters, and supplying the remainder by conjecture reads after בעוד: עלו ב (ם ה) (החצ), but Prof. Kautzsch is of the opinion that nothing can be determined as to these letters, save that there must have been from twelve to thirteen of them. Dr. Derenbourg reads: החצבם מניפם את and translates: while the miners yet swung the pick—all of which is conjecture but ב, the last letter but one of the first word. There are in the fac-similes of Conder and Guthe, however, several letters in an imperfect condition after the break, toward the end of the line, and we must regard Prof. Kautzsch as altogether too positive over against Prof. Sayce, whose reading is certainly a good one, save that it seems not to supply a sufficient number of letters. In the second line there is agreement as far as the last letter before the gap which Prof. Sayce reads ה, and makes the form אמה. Where the letter is so uncertain the probabilities are with אמת of Prof. Kautzsch. The gap is partially supplied by Prof. Sayce with (מא) - - - להפ, and he takes להפ as Hiphil infin. from פרץ, while admitting that the idea does not suit the context. Prof. Kautzsch reads להנ-ע, and finds a Hiphil infinitive of a verb meaning to break through, so that they are substantially agreed in the meaning if not in the form. Dr. Derenbourg reads by conjecture להפץ וישמע and translates "to break through, they heard." In the third line there is agreement again as far as the gap. This is partially filled by Sayce with (הכו)א - - (ו) מ (ק·) ן, while Prof. Kautzsch only puts a ן before the בים. With the ן after מים Prof. Sayce gets מימין = מימין = on the right hand. He derives זדה from זוד, and claims the meaning "excess" rather than "boiling over," though with some doubt. The reading קמו is entirely conjectural, based on a possible מ, which is not admitted by others. Dr. Derenbourg agrees with Sayce in the reading מימן ומשמאל and with Kautzsch in ובים.

In the fourth line there is entire agreement, as the line is altogether perfect, save one letter which is easily supplied from the context. In the fifth line there is also agreement, save that Prof. Sayce has במאתי אלף for במאתים ואלף,

taking מָאתַי as = מָתַי when, only in a local sense = for a distance, which must certainly be abandoned; and also that a מ seems to be very clear after ו at the end of the line, after which Prof. Kautzsch conjectures an א and gets the word ומאת = 100, which seems clearly established, although Derenbourg reads ומד and gets מרת = measure.

In the sixth line there is agreement as far as the letter before the last given above. This is not clear, but Dr. Guthe and Prof. Kautzsch seem to be justified by the fac-similes and the context in reading מ and ending the inscription here. Prof. Sayce finds a ז, and conjecture a ה in order to get זה and render "here."

It is to be noted that the words begin at the end of lines two, three, and five, and are finished on the following lines.

(2) *The Translation.*—The excavation. Now this is the story of the excavation. While. . . . . the pick, one toward the other. While three cubits. . . . . the voice of one called to the other that there was an overflow (?) in the rock, water. . . . . And on the day of the excavation the excavators struck each to meet the other, pick over against pick, and the waters flowed from their outlet in the pool twelve hundred cubits, and one hundred cubits was the height of the rock over the head of the excavators.

נקבה is a new word not found in the Biblical Hebrew. נֶקֶב is found in Ez. xxviii. 13 = pipe, and מַקֶּבֶת Is. li. 1 = quarry from נקב = bore, pierce through. אש is defectively written איש, not found in Biblical Hebrew. איש אל רעו = one to the other, is genuine Biblical Hebrew. Comp. Judges vi. 29, etc. קל defectively written קול. הית defectively written הָיְתָה. זָדָה fem. part זוד = boil up and over. In Ps. cxxiv. 5, המים הזידונים = swelling waters. It seems to refer to an overflow, or boiling forth of waters through the thin partition remaining to be excavated, or from some other source. ים defectively written יום, חצבם defectively written plural חֹצְבִים. The construction of numerals is the same as in Biblical Hebrew שלש אמות and מאתים ואלף אמה. We notice the classic Hebrew ו consec. of imperfect after a perfect, *e. g.* הכו - - - וילכו. וֹ of the 3d sing. masc. suffix and ה—for the fem. ending are in use.

(3) *Date of Inscription.* — There has been considerable discussion on this point. Prof. Sayce at first took the position that it was Solomonic, then adopted the suggestion of Neubauer, that it should be assigned to the reign of Ahaz, but now in the Statement of the Palestine Exploration Society, January, 1882 (p. 62), he returns to his original views, and agrees with Derenbourg that Is. viii. 6 has no sense unless it refers to the passage of waters through the tunnel which supplied the pool of Siloam. "Now that we know the exact forms of the characters used in the inscriptions, there is only one—the *Aleph*, which stands in the way of assigning it to a very early date. Two characters, the *waw* and the *zayin*, have more *archaic forms* than have been found elsewhere, and to these I should also be disposed to add the *tsade*. The *kheth*, and *àyin*, are more archaic than those of the Moabite stone." On the other hand, Prof. Kautzsch (l. c., p. 270) claims that all the forms of the inscription except פ ע ל and צ are found in Euting's table of the old Hebrew Seals and Gems, eighth to fifth century B.C., in Bickell's Grammar,

translated by Curtiss; that many of the letters are transitional from the Messa type to the later type, that the eighth century is the extreme *terminus à quo* for dating it; and, on the whole, adopts the time of Hezekiah as the most plausible. The data seem to be insufficient to determine the question. But inasmuch as there are many of the letters which agree with the Messa type, while others are more archaic, and still others more recent in type, it would seem that the inscription must be very near the same period; the difference of country would account for the slight variation in these respects.

(4) *Archæological Results.* — The archæological results of this discovery are very slight. Mr. Beswick, of Ontario, has ventured to calculate the cubit on the basis of the reading of 1,000 cubits in the fifth line. This fails on account of the true reading, 1,200 cubits, and also from the fact that it is difficult to determine a starting-point for the measurement. Derenbourg (l. c. 166) finds here a confirmation of the Rabbinical statements as to the longer and shorter cubits related as 5 : 6. The measurement of the tunnel is 533 metres = 1025 longer cubits and 1195 shorter ones, which is as near the 1200, given in round numbers as we could expect. This is not so evident that it can be accepted without hesitation. It is possible, however, that more careful study of the locality on the basis of the two measurements given in the inscription a length of 1,200 and a height of 100, may throw some light on this important subject. The most important result of this discovery will be the stimulus to search for other inscriptions of the same character, with the encouragement it gives for hope that the ruins of Palestine, buried under masses of rubbish, may yet yield the most important information as to Hebrew history and archæology.

C. A. Briggs.

The Divine Name, El.—The history of this word, whose derivation has been so often discussed, is still quite obscure. It is well known that in the Hebrew language its use is most common in poetry, and that in prose it is almost always found in connection with some modifying attribute or some other divine name. אֵל עוֹלָם, אֵל חַי, אֵל בָּרָא, אֵל שַׁדַּי, אֵל עֶלְיוֹן, and אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, יהוה אֵל אֱלֹהִים are examples. In both prose and poetry it may be preceded by the article; in poetry it sometimes occurs with the suffix of the first person. The same word can also be applied to heathen gods, and then admits of the plural form, אֵלִים. It reappears in several of the cognate languages. Now, if this were all, we might regard it as a word so primitive that inquiry into its origin would involve us in an inquiry as to the first elements of speech, and might wisely decline to consider it apart from that. But in fact there are two circumstances which have always tempted the inquirer, and yet have always threatened to confound him. One is, that אֵל is also used in Hebrew interchangeably with אַיִל, "strong," "hero," and has even at times the meaning, "strength," "force." This apparently gives a clue to the root of the word, on the one hand. On the other, we must notice the second fact, namely, that אֱלוֹהַּ, or, in the ordinary plural form, אֱלֹהִים, "god," or "gods," has the first two consonants of אֵל, and that the ה, although possessing its consonantal force, is a weak letter, and one that might easily disappear. Influenced

by one or both of these facts, the Shemitic scholars of the last one hundred years have been seeking diligently for the true etymology of אֵל.

Here, as in all such discussions, the opinion of Gesenius deserves careful attention. He treats it under the stem אול (Thesaurus, I., p. 49, n. 2). אול is an assumed root, whose primary meaning he gives (Ib. 42) as *præcessit*, etc., like the Arabic *'awila*. He attributes to it also the secondary meaning, *fortis, potens fuit:* whence אַיִל, *fortis;* אֵלָה, etc., *arbor robusta;* אַיֵל, אֵילוּת, *robur, auxilium.* אֵל would then apply to God as "the strong"; but Gesenius, in his discussion, makes this significant remark: "Quod ad nostrum אֵל attinet, potest illud, quamquam proprie primitivum, etymo radicis אול quodammodo aptatum et accommodatum esse, ita ut Hebraeis in vocabulo illo roboris et fortitudinis notio observaretur." He regards אֱלוֹהַּ as another form of the same primitive stem, adding: "Neque desunt alia nomina, quorum variae diversaeque formae variarum radicum analogiam sequantur: e contrario est illud nominibus irregularibus, *praesertim primitivis*, fere proprium."

Ewald became the vigorous champion of another view (*e. g., Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaft*, X., 1859–60, pp. 11, *sq.*) He holds, like Gesenius, to the substantial identity of אֵל and אֱלוֹהַּ, but denies any connection or association with the root אול. אֵל, he says, is an abbreviation of אֱלֹהִים, and the root of both is אלה, "to be strong." אֱלוֹהַּ is a formation precisely like אֱנוֹשׁ, and as the latter applies to man as *weak*, so the former applies to God as *powerful.* Dillmann (*Genesis*, p. 18) adopts essentially the same view: the ground-idea of אֱלֹהִים, he says, "is powers, or power, a very ancient formation from אֱלָהּ (softer, אֱלָה), 'to be strong,' and closely connected with אֵל (from אֱלָה, not אוּל, etc.)"

Delitzsch follows the opinion of Fleischer (Del. *Genesis*, 1872, p. 57), that the root-word of אֱלֹהִים is the Arabic *'âliha*, "to fear," so that God is denoted as the object of awe and reverence. There is here no distinct statement of the relation between אֵל and אֱלֹהִים. But Mühlau and Volck, who belong to the same philological school, and adopt Fleischer's explanation of אֱלוֹהַּ, derive אֵל from אוּל (*Gesen. Heb. u. Chald. Handworterbuch*, 8te Aufl., 1878). De Lagarde discusses אֵל in Orientalia II., 1880). He commits himself emphatically to אֵלִי (אלה) as the root. He declares that אֵל occurs in Assyrian, Phenician, and Himyaritic, but that in Syriac and Northern Arabic it only appears as a word borrowed from the Hebrew. He considers it proved that in the three languages first named its pronunciation was Il. The root אול has not the meaning "to be strong," and thus no supposed requirements of the sense lead us to associate אֵל with it. If the retention of the ־ in the construct. sing., and in the forms אֵלֵי, אֵלִים, אֵלַי, seems to favor a root אול, we must rather compare גֵּר (Is. l. 6, etc.), כְּתִים = שִׁתִּים, and also כְּלִים, pl. of כְּלִי. [But constr. pl. is כְּלֵי.] Having concluded that the root is אלה,

he puts forward with reserve a conjectural interpretation of that root. The expression יש לאל ידי (Gen. xxxi. 29, Deut. xxviii. 32, Neh. v. 5, Prov. iii. 27, Mi. ii. 1), "it is in my power," gives him the ground for supposing that the root-meaning is "within reach," and that God is so designated as "one whom men strive to reach" (den, welchem man zustrebt).

Nöldeke (*Monatsber. der Berl. Akad.*, Oct., 1880) follows a different method and reaches a different conclusion. By an examination of Shemitic proper names found in Greek inscriptions—the oldest being a Greek-Egyptian dedicatory inscription of the second century B.C.—and a comparison of Palmyrene and other Shemitic inscriptions and documentary evidence, he shows, as against Lagarde, that *Êl* entered into the composition of genuine Arabic and Aramaic names, and hence must be regarded as belonging to these, as well as the other Shemitic languages. Further, since the earliest demonstrable pronunciation is אֵל, (ηλ), and since this is retained in the majority of cases, he infers that the vowel is long by nature, and, comparing כֵּן, כֵּף, שֵׁד, and other similar words, almost all of which belong to 'ע or עע' stems, he infers that אֵל is of the same sort. לר' is thus practically excluded. Accordingly, he connects אֵל with אול, in the sense "to be in front": hence "leader," "lord." He is not certain whether אֱלֹהַּ is related, but thinks it probable. It will be seen that Nöldeke reaches in the main the same conclusions with Gesenius; he prefers, however, the meaning "to be in front" as the root-meaning for אֵל, and so breaks the force of De Lagarde's denial of the meaning "to be strong," and he does not fairly present the question whether אול is the original, or only the associated root for אֵל.

Glancing back over these views, we may feel free at once to reject that of Fleischer and Delitzsch as to the origin of אֱלֹהַּ. A strong presumption against it is found in the physical nature of the fear denoted by *'aliha*, and in the fact that the Arabic does not use it of reverence toward God. This objection is noted by Dillmann, who makes the further point that *'aliha* is found only in Arabic, and is modified from *waliha* (*wahila*, Ethiop. *valvala*); this by itself would be less conclusive if, as Nöldeke makes probable, *Êl* is found in the oldest Arabic. Dillmann also notices, as against this view, its separation of אֱלֹהַּ from אֵל. Besides, in endeavoring to explain the divine name from a possible turn of meaning in an Arabic stem, we are on the most dangerous ground possible. Sprenger (Leben des Mohammad, I., pp. 286, *sq.*) illustrates the fancies which have governed the Arabic lexicographers in similar attempts, and his own explanation of the name as "Mirage" (see also p. 237), is not much better. In favor of the view of Ewald and Dillmann is the actual existence in Hebrew of the root אָלַהּ, "to be strong," and its etymological connection of אֵל with אֱלֹהִים. On the other hand, the step from אלה to אלה is a considerable one, and if אֵל is abbreviated from אֱלֹהִים, one does not see why אֵל should appear in that style of writing where we look for antique forms, namely, the poetical.

As to De Lagarde, and apart from the fact that his proposed meaning for אלה is conjectural, in failing to observe the Aramaic use of אל he has not been able to guard his theory against Nöldeke's position, reinforced from the Syriac, that formations like כֵּן, etc., point to 'ער or 'עע stems; nor does his declaration in regard to the ancient pronunciation, *Il*, take account of the numerous cases of ηλ which Nöldeke brings forward.

But what shall be said with regard to the views of Gesenius and Nöldeke? Three weighty facts are brought forward by Friedrich Delitzsch (*Wo Lag das Paradies?* pp. 163–165): (1). The Assyrian *ilu* (by far the oldest known form of the name) never appears as *êlu* nor *îlu*, but always with simple, short *i*; while, *e.g.*, מֵת appears in Assyrian as *mîtu*, and שֵׁד as *sêdu*. (2). Not noticed for the first time, but important in this connection, is the short vowel under א in proper names like אֶלְקָנָה, אֱלִיהוּא, which Noldeke notices and explains as an irregular shortening peculiar to proper names. But if the Assyrian *ilu* receives proper consideration, it would seem that the earlier and presumably original quantity of the vowel is indicated by the ֱ and ֱ: in these proper names. (3). The cuneiform character which in Assyrian ordinarily has the value *ni*, but which in Akkadian was pronounced also *i* and *ili* (Del. *Lesest.* S^a., 13–16), is used to denote "*god*" (*e. g.* V. R. 34, Col. ii. 52). The original meaning of *i* and *ili* was "lofty," "majestic"; and in the sense "god" they could be applied to the chief god of the oldest Babylonish (Shemitic) system of divinities, *Ilu*.

The following conclusions seem to be admissible: (1). Whatever connection אֵל may to the Hebrew (and Arabic) mind have had with אול, this can have been in fact only by association, and that at a comparatively late date. (2). Although it may seem natural to derive אֵל and אֱלֹהִים (אֱלוֹהַּ) from the same root, it has not yet been clearly proved that they are so derived. (3). No derivation for אֵל is admissible which does not account also for the Assyrian *ilu*. (4). The pre-Shemitic *ili (ilí, ilá)*, if the meaning "god" shall be clearly shown to belong to it, would offer a tempting solution of the difficulty, especially in view of the very large number of words used in Shemitic literature which are derived from the same source. For the present, however, the words of Gesenius are still in place: "Quid in tanta harum rerum obscuritate certam sententiam dixerit?"

FRANCIS BROWN.

IX.

REVIEWS OF

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments entworfen von Eduard Reuss 8vo. pp. xvi. 744. Braunschweig, C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn. New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1881.

The veteran Biblical scholar of Strasburg concludes a long life of unusual literary activity in the study of the Old and New Testaments, with that which he himself names his "last work." It represents his youthful lectures of 1834, when he laid the foundation of the critical school known as that of Graf and Wellhausen, but which must now bear the name of Reuss. It is the result of forty-seven years of matured study of the Old Testament in all its parts. It is now published as the darling of the old man, warned by severe illness that he must make haste, for his end is near. He had just completed two extensive works, namely, his Commentary of the entire Scriptures in the French language, in many volumes, and his critical edition of the letters of Calvin. A work published under such circumstances, by the recognized peer of Ewald, demands a more thoughtful consideration than those of the more youthful and ambitious Wellhausen, Kayser, etc., even from those who are radically opposed to the principles and opinions of this critical school.

Reuss is the father of the most aggressive, popular, and growing of the critical school of Europe, and here presents a compact, thorough, and masterly system which will be regarded as the text-book of all his disciples, and must be the centre of conflict for a long time to come.

Prof. Reuss regards his theory of the Old Testament Scriptures as the "product of an intuition" in his youth, confirmed by the studies of half a century. He proposes to bring fresh life into a science that is too dry and formal in the details of criticism. That we have a work of genius—the most attractive and scholarly that has ever been written upon the literature of the Old Testament, it seems to us all must admit, whether they recognize the "intuition" as sound or unsound, and the system built upon it as true or false. The "intuition," as stated by Prof. Reuss, is that the Hebrew prophets are older than the Law, and that the Psalms are more recent than both of them. These are the pillars of his reconstruction of Hebrew history and literature. This is the banner of the most aggressive critical school that has ever waged war upon the traditional theory that the Law precedes the Psalms, and the Psalms are followed by the prophets.

The reconstruction of Prof. Reuss is as follows: The History is divided into

four periods: the Heroic, Prophetic, Priestly, and that of the Scribes. I. The *Heroic* Period extends until the reign of David, and is the period of legend, as among all nations. The only literature preserved is the Decalogue, stript of its present paraphrase, the song of Deborah and Jotham's fable. II. The *Prophetic* Period extends from the reign of David until the exile. The prophetic writings begin with the poetic pieces: Gen. xlix., Ex. xv., Num. xxiii. and iv., the book of the wars of *Jahveh* and the book of *Jasher*, followed after the rupture of the nation by the Song of Songs in the northern kingdom, and the histories of the prophets Shemaiah, Iddo, and Jehu. In the time of Jehoshaphat the book of the Covenant (the first part of our Pentateuch) was composed. Joel then begins the line of our prophetic writings in the reign of Joash. The *Jahvist* wrote the second integral part of our Pentateuch in the second half of the 9th century, and was followed by Deut. xxxiii., and sundry legends as to the origin of the race, preserved in our Genesis. Then follows Amos, Hosea, Zechariah ix.–xi., Deut. xxxii., Job, Ruth, and Books of Samuel; the original Isaiah, Micah, and the song of Hezekiah. In the reign of Manasseh were composed Zech. xii.–xiv., the book of Judges and Zephaniah. Under Josiah the Deuteronomist composed the third great section of our Pentateuch, and was followed by Jeremiah, the book of Joshua, and the annalistic works quoted in our historical books.

III. The *Priestly* Period extends from the beginning of the exile until the Maccabean wars. During the exile we have Isaiah xxiv.–xxvii., Ezekiel, Books of Kings, Is. xiii.–xiv., Is. xxxiv.–v., Jer. l.–li., Is. xl.–lxvi., Pss. xlii.–iii. (possibly others). After the Restoration we have Haggai, Zechariah i.–viii., Obadiah, the law book, Lev. xvii.–xxvi., Malachi, the Priestly codex (the fourth great section of the Pentateuch), the Books of Proverbs and Jonah, Pss. cvii. and cxxxvii., and the works of the Chronicler, including our Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. In the Greek period we have the earlier part of Baruch, Koheleth, Sirach, and Tobit.

IV. The period of the *Scribes*, extending from the beginning of the Maccabean period until the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. This is exceedingly rich in literature, embracing Daniel, Esther, the great mass of the Psalms, earlier part of the Sibylline oracles, I. Maccabees, second part of Baruch, letter of Jeremiah, III. Ezra, additions to Daniel, Prayer of Manasseh, letter of Aristeas, Book of Wisdom. In the Roman period come the Psalter of Solomon, later Sibylline oracles, II. Maccabees, *Pirke Aboth*, Book of Jubilees, Ascension of Moses, III. Maccabees.

Thus the literature of the ancient Hebrews is reconstructed on the basis of this "intuition" with an amount of ingenuity, shrewdness, literary insight, and scholarship that is amazing—and an entire revolution is proposed with regard to the traditional views of the Old Testament Scriptures.

To discuss this elaborate theory would demand an article, or rather a work of equal length with the one reviewed. We would refer to the articles in progress in this REVIEW, and reserve our own discussions until the completion of the series, when we propose, as we have promised, to review the critical theories of the 19th century as a whole. It will only be necessary here to make a few general remarks.

(1). The theory of the school of Reuss and the traditional system are alike theories, and with those of Delitzsch, Ewald, and others, must stand or fall in accordance with the statements of the sacred Scriptures themselves, which, as determined by a thorough exegesis, will be regarded as final by all who accept without hesitation their inspiration and divine authority. It is not safe, in a controversy such as is now upon us, to pin our faith to traditional views which are based on the sandy bottom of human conjecture in the uncritical ages of the

Jewish synagogue, and which have never received symbolical recognition and authority in the Christian Church. The long neglect of Biblical studies in Great Britain and America, in which the traditional views have prevailed, has left us ill-prepared for the struggle. But the problem for exegetes is manifestly now, to leave the traditions to take care of themselves, and reconstruct a system of Biblical literature, history, and theology based on the simple and thorough exegesis of the Scriptures themselves, and founded, so far as possible, on the rock of the divine authority of apostles and prophets.

(2). The great feature of this system is that the golden age of Hebrew history and literature is transferred from the reigns of David and Solomon and placed in the Persian and Greek periods after the Restoration. The Persian period is honored with the priestly legislation of the Pentateuch and the Chokma literature, the Maccabean period with the great majority of the Psalms—thus the mass of Hebrew poetry is post-exilic. This seems to us unnatural and unreasonable, raising more difficulties than the traditional view it is designed to displace. The unthinking tradition which assigns the whole Psalter to David and his times, the entire Chokma literature to Solomon, and the Pentateuch to Moses, is more rational and natural than to think of nameless sages, and singers, and legislators in such a very late period of history when the Hebrews were in subjugation to foreign dominion and influence. The classic language of Proverbs and the Psalter as a whole; the stage of ethical and doctrinal development therein presented, with few exceptions, showing no trace of Persian or Greek conceptions or influence; the very silence of the poetical books as to the institutions upon which so much stress was laid by the scribes and priests—an argument used with great effect by the school of Reuss in other sections of Hebrew literature—all militate against the scheme.

(3). The construction of Reuss is the unfolding of a theory which he admits to have received as an "*intuition*." But a *critic* ought not to subject himself to any *á priori* theory. If it be unreasonable, as it is charged, to accept the divine inspiration of the sacred books, the miraculous element, and the predictive prophecies, and the traditions which have elaborated themselves on these bases, surely it is no less unreasonable to accept such an "intuition" of a genius of the 19th century, however great a teacher he may be, and reconstruct everything on its basis, denying therewith the supernatural element altogether. Do not these great Biblical scholars of our age implicitly claim an authority for their *intuitions* which they would substitute for the inspiration of prophets and apostles, which is more difficult to accept than the infallibility of the sacred books of the Church? A theory that thus requires that all the miraculous shall be assigned to legend, myth, and fable; that all predictive prophecy must be placed after the events; and that the development of history, religion, doctrine, and literature must be *purely natural* without supernatural influences to start new lines of development and direct them to their appointed issues—such a theory is as *á priori* and as *uncritical* as the traditional theories themselves, and exacts more of our doubt than they do of our faith.

We do not deny the value of a theory as a working hypothesis. In all inductive studies this seems to be indispensable. But the theory, especially if received as an intuition rather than from an induction of facts, must never be made the *master*. It should ever be employed as the *servant*, and dismissed as soon as proved incompetent.

(4). The Church is not concerned to defend the traditional theory of the order: Law, Psalms, Prophets over against this new "intuition"; Prophets, Law, Psalms—but only the divine inspiration and authority of these sacred Scriptures, and their own statements as to themselves and one another. And if this radical theory of Prof. Reuss breaks the traditional lines and cuts them

to pieces so that they can never be reconstructed, it also has driven to the wall all the other critical theories that have preceded it, and now must bear the strain of a combined attack from all sides. We are confident that it will, ere long, be riddled and torn to shreds, and that substantial gain will accrue to the Church from this conflict, as from all others. The rubbish of tradition having been stripped off from the word of God, and the hay, straw, and stubble of human conceits and additions, venerable with age, having been consumed in its fires, the golden truth will shine forth alone in its untarnished lustre from a new system reconstructed by believing faithful exegetes that will endure for ever. For this all intelligent Christian scholars should unitedly strive. It may be found, after all, that the three elements, Law, Prophets, Psalms, are entwined in a threefold cord that cannot be broken, extending through long periods of history, giving unity and variety to the unfolding system of divine revelation.

(5). The charm of the work of Prof. Reuss is his *method*. It sets the literature in the frame of the history, and traces its development as literature. It will, we trust, give the finishing stroke to that series of Biblical Introductions which have gathered a vast amount of material in a dry, scholastic, pedantic, and ill-adjusted mass, to prejudice the student against the Old Testament Scriptures rather than invite and introduce him into the sacred halls of its literature. Like the *Prolegomena* of the Dogmatic System, it should be buried in the graves of Theological Literature. For a true system of Dogmatics will be so complete, harmonious, symmetrical, and admirably-jointed that it will need no *Prolegomena;* and Biblical Introduction will give place to Biblical Literature in its historic genesis, which will take its position alongside of Biblical History and Biblical Theology, imparting to Biblical studies a charm and attractiveness greater than ever before. C. A. BRIGGS.

THE NEWER CRITICISM AND THE ANALOGY OF THE FAITH. A reply to lectures by W. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A., on the Old Testament in the Jewish Church, by ROBERT WATTS, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the General Assembly's College, Belfast. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882. 16mo, pp. 326. [New York: Scribner & Welford].

The estimation in which this volume is held may be inferred from the fact that a second edition became necessary in a few weeks after its original issue. As is announced in its title, it seeks to invalidate the critical theories of Prof. Robertson Smith, not so much by directly refuting the arguments on which they are professedly based, as by testing their consistency with other scriptural statements of both the Old Testament, and of the New, and their compatibility with the recognized standards of the faith of the Church. Ezra's alleged production of the Levitical law is shown to be contradicted by statements in the book of Ezra itself; and the date assigned to Deuteronomy is shown to be at variance with the narrative in Kings, and necessarily to imply a groundless charge of fraud on the part of those concerned in finding the book of the law in the temple. The exhibition of the departures of this hypothesis from the obvious meaning of the language of the Pentateuch may not disturb its advocates by whom this is avowed; but it will have its weight with those who reverence the letter of God's word. The proof is here given that it draws sweeping conclusions from slender premises; that after all that it proposes to eliminate from received views of Israelitish history, it is nevertheless obliged to leave enough undisturbed to overthrow its conclusions; that it involves a new doctrine as to the inspiration and infallibility of the sacred volume; that it sets different portions of the Bible in conflict, making prophet clash with prophet, and the revelations of one age contradict those of another; that it presents a conception of the origin and character of the ceremonial system, and of the Pentateuchal legislation irreconcilable with that which was entertained and taught by the inspired

writers of the New Testament; that it annuls the scheme of redemption, and the scriptural method of the salvation of sinners, and sunders the entire pre-exilic history from any proper prefiguration of or preparation for the coming of the Great Redeemer.

It may be said that this line of argument does not furnish a complete answer to the hypothesis in question, and does not even undertake to grapple with the critical grounds adduced on its behalf. But it is a perfectly legitimate mode of attack to show what havoc it makes of the Scriptures and of the Christian system; and that those who are not prepared to abandon their faith in the Bible as a real revelation from God, and to surrender their convictions of Christian doctrine drawn from the Bible cannot adopt it. Prof. Robertson Smith freely develops what he considers the theology of the prophets and of the pre-exilic revelation, and lays even greater stress upon this than upon his critical conclusions. Dr. Watts does not sufficiently take account of the progressive nature of divine revelation and of the distinctions which characterize its earlier and later stages; but he presses a pertinent inquiry, especially in view of the ecclesiastical controversy waged about this very point, when he discusses the question whether, in advocating this novel hypothesis, the Scotch Professor seriously contravenes the symbols of the church which he was appointed and pledged to maintain and defend.

Some issues are raised in this volume which appear to be needless and irrelevant. The question whether sacrifices are of divine or human origin is as equivocal, and admits of as endless disputation as the like question regarding prayer or worship or language. It surely puts a dubious honor upon a divine ordinance to affirm pp. 123-4, that it is so unreasonable that the human mind never could have devised it, and that its origin and prevalence can only be accounted for by the assumption that it was instituted by God himself. The weakest part of the book is where it leaves, as it occasionally does, the theological for the critical standpoint, as in the explanation offered p. 18 of 2 Kings xii. 16 (there was a pecuniary compensation connected with the trespass-offering under the Mosaic law, but this idea was foreign to the sin-offering); the alleged diversity between Exodus and Deuteronomy in the matter and mode of the passover is set aside, pp. 59-61, by simply showing that the paschal victim was a sacrifice for sin; the special nature of the Deuteronomic tithes is overlooked, p. 71; the self-contradiction charged, pp. 84-86, is not very obvious; the argument from the Samaritan Pentateuch, pp. 104-5, is to the last degree precarious; the accuracy of the scribes conceded for one period of the transmission of the text cannot be construed, p. 107, into an admission of the same thing for a preceding period in which it is denied; the argument upon the "stratification" theory of the Pentateuch, pp. 316 ff., can scarcely be considered conclusive; and we cannot divine the pertinence of the appended note, p. 322, to the subject under discussion. W. H. GREEN.

A STUDY OF THE PENTATEUCH FOR POPULAR READING, being an inquiry into the age of the so-called books of Moses, with an introductory examination of recent Dutch theories, as represented by DR. KUENEN'S Religion of Israel, by RUFUS P. STEBBINS, D.D., formerly President, Lecturer on Hebrew Literature, and Professor of Theology in the Meadville Theological School, Boston, 1881. 12mo, pp. 233.

The substance of this volume appeared originally in the *Unitarian Review*. It is a sober and earnest discussion, with no parade of learning, and well adapted for plain readers, for whom it is specially intended. The introductory discussion of Kuenen's Religion of Israel disposes of that work by showing that its conclusions are spun from the author's own brain, who resolutely carries out his preconceived theory with a reckless disregard of well-accredited facts, and who perpetually plays fast and loose with his own authorities, accept-

ing their statements when he can bend them to his own notions, and rejecting them without scruple when they do not suit him. A variety of external and internal grounds are urged to fix the date of the Pentateuch in the Mosaic age. The most carefully elaborated argument is that which traces the indications of the existence of the Pentateuch through the various books of the Old Testament back to the time of the great legislator. To this other cogent considerations are added from the language and contents of the books of Moses.

The volume is written from the standpoint of "liberal" Christianity, unencumbered by the doctrines of inspiration and infallibility; and thus has the advantage of showing the impression of genuineness which the Mosaic history and legislation carry with them, to one who views it as a purely literary question, and withal has such a shrinking from the supernatural as to convert the divine descent upon Sinai into the effects produced by mountain phenomena upon the minds of recent dwellers in Egypt, and to think, p. 79, that Ex. i.—xx. may have been written a century after the death of Moses, though this verdict seems to have been forgotten or discarded when the Egyptian relations of these chapters came under consideration, p. 219. W. H. GREEN.

BIBLISCH-THEOLOGISCHES WERTERBUCH DER N. T. LICHEN GRAECITAET. Von Dr. HERMANN CREMER, o. Prof. der Theologie zu Greifswald, etc. Dritte sehr vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Erste Lieferung. 8vo, pp. 1–128. Gotha: Perthes. 1881. [B. Westermann & Co., N. Y.]

Archbishop Trench has somewhere hinted that the work of a theological teacher is half done at least if he can awaken in his scholars an enthusiasm for the lexicon. "The words of the New Testament," says he, "are eminently the στοιχεῖα of Christian theology, and he who will not begin with a patient study of those shall never make any considerable, least of all any secure, advance in this." This witness is true. The theology of the New Testament is bound up in its words. According as we are able or unable to wipe out the difference between the impression which a word makes on our minds and that which it was intended to make on the mind of the Greek reader whom the New Testament writers primarily addressed, will we understand or misunderstand their teaching. We cannot overestimate, therefore, the value of careful lexical study. And we can safely leave him only to the teaching of the Word of God who is in (or willing to put himself in) a condition to feel the real force and estimate the exact actual value of the words in which it is clothed. The proof of this is all about us. What theological vagary does not, in the last analysis, rest on an inadequate grasp of the real import of some words? Thus immersionists largely base their error on an inadequate study of βαπτίζω; the annihilationists build a necessarily false fabric on patently false assumptions as the force of ἀπολλύμι; trichotomists defend their system by an appeal to a demonstrably erroneous explanation of πνευματικός; restorationists exchange the primary and secondary senses of αἰώνιος. A careful unbiased study of words on all hands—such a study as would read out of them their real contents and not read into them our wishes—would have saved the world much wrangling—would save it now a multitude of errors. In this we see the value of lexica.

Twenty years ago the lexical helps to the understanding of New Testament Greek were very insufficient. Perhaps, however, in no other department is the new impetus which Biblical scholarship has received more apparent. We have now, in Grimm's Clavis (why does Prof. Thayer's promised translation so long delay its wished-for coming?) and Cremer's Lexicon, two books which, in broad, accurate, scholarly treatment of words, leave little to be desired. The two must not, however, be confounded—they can hardly be compared. They fill entirely different niches, and no exegetical apparatus is complete without both. Grimm's is a hand-lexicon of the New Testament, contains all its words alphabetically arranged, and defines and illustrates with a scholarly accuracy and concise precision which are beyond all

praise. Cremer's work is utterly different in purpose and character. It is not a hand-lexicon, but a series of not very concise disquisitions on important New Testament words. Its object is defined in its title; it is a Biblico-Theological Lexicon. Its plan is determined by its object; recognizing "the language-moulding power of Christianity," it attempts to determine the theological sense of the chief New Testament words as used in the "language of the Holy Ghost." The discussions are, therefore, very full; the number of words treated comparatively small. To those who wish *to sink themselves into* the more important New Testament terms this work is indispensable. The material which could otherwise be gotten together only by long and patient study, is here digested and classified to our hand. Of course this, as done by one man's hand and as it appears to one man's mind, represents only an individual's opinion. But it shares this drawback with all lexica. None is inspired, and all must be used, like commentaries, with common sense and judgment.

The commencement of a new edition of Cremer's work so soon after the issue of the second is a mark at once of the value of the book and the diligence of the author. The second edition was the result of a very careful revision which such important articles as those on *ἀγαθός*, *ἀγαπᾶν*, *ἅγιος*, *δίκαιος*, etc., particularly felt; and contained over one hundred and twenty new words. If we may judge by the first part, the third edition will mark as great an advance on the second as it was on the first. Hardly any article has escaped the reviser's hand—here additions are received, there compression is undergone, everywhere minute correction is suffered. And in this one part, extending from A to *ἀρετή*, no less than forty new articles have been inserted—a proportionate increase which, if kept up, will soon extend the work over all New Testament words. Nor are all these new words unimportant ones; they include such as *ἀϊδιος*, *αἱρέω*, and its derivatives and compounds, *ἀκροβυστία*, etc. The revision extends to the minutest points and succeeds in improving the quality of the work greatly without greatly disturbing the form. Thus, in the important article on *ἁμαρτάνω*, the general article on the group and the special one on the word as found in Ed. 2 are combined; information as to the late character of, and rarity in, the New Testament of the future form *ἁμαρτήσω* is inserted; the loose statement as to derivation given in the second edition is corrected, with an appropriate reference to Curtius; and the distinction of the word from its synonym *ὑπερβαίνειν*, which was lacking in Ed. 2, is drawn out. The bettering hand is busy almost everywhere with derivations and etymologies, as *e. g.*, under *ἀγαθός*, *ἀγαπάω*, etc. So also throughout the articles: see the compression of article A, and the improvement in it of the quotation from Jalkut Rub., f. 17 : 4, with the addition and explanation of another apposite one from f. 48 : 4; or the additions at beginning and end of article *Ἀγαθοσύνη*; or at end of article *φιλάγαθος*; or the alterations at the close of the first paragraph of the article *Ἁγιάζω*. The work certainly does not belie its promise on the title, of being a greatly enlarged and improved edition. The second part has been issued since the above notice was in type.

It is a pity to have Mr. Urwick's excellent translation of Ed. 2 (T. & T. Clark, 1878) so soon put out of date, but it will doubtless be pretty well sold off before the completed third edition is before the public. Then, perhaps, we may hope for a translation of this also from the same competent hand; and if so, it would be well to give it to us in the 8vo form of the original (but *not* in the bulky one volume of Ed. 1), and with the distinctions between the groups of words retained as in the German, both in the form of type used and in the running titles.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

FORSCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN KANONS UND DER ALTKIRCHLICHEN LITERATUR. By THEODOR ZAHN, D. u. o., Prof. der Theol. in Erlangen. 1 Theil: Tatian's Diatessaron, Erlangen, Verlag, von ANDREAS DEICHERT, 1881. New York: B. Westermann & Co.

To read this book is like taking a journey on foot over a sandy plain, with

scarcely an oasis to delight the eye, or a spring to quench the thirst. And yet it is not altogether unprofitable. Zahn is an investigator (a *forscher*), as the Germans say, and has done some admirable work on the Ignatian controversy and as co-editor with Gebhardt and Harnack, of the best critical edition of the Apostolic Fathers.

Tatianus was a pupil of Justin Martyr, and the compiler of the first Harmony of the Gospels, and therefore one of the oldest witnesses of the ecclesiastical reception and use of the four canonical Gospels. His "Diatessaron," so-called, is the real object of this book of 386 pages. It is first mentioned by Eusebius, was often used by Greek fathers, notwithstanding the heretical opinions of the author, but disappeared, until a few years ago a commentary of Ephræm Syrus on the Diatessaron turned up in the Armenian Convent at Venice in an Armenian translation, and a Latin translation of it was published at Venice in 1876. Dr. Zahn tries to restore the text chiefly from Ephræm's Commentary. He speaks highly of the boldness and independence of Tatian, but acquits him of the charge of heretical perversion either by extrabiblical additions or omissions of objectionable sections. The omission of the genealogies of Matthew and Luke has been attributed to Tatian's Gnosticism and Doketism, which denies the realness of Christ's human nature, but Zahn explains it from a different motive (p. 265 sq.)

This book is a forerunner of a History of the New Testament Canon, on which Zahn has been engaged for more than ten years. P. SCHAFF.

KURZGEFASSTES EXEGETISCHES HANDBUCH, ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Erste Lieferung. Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten, von DR. F. HITZIG. Vierte Auflage, besorgt, von DR. H. STEINER, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie in Zürich. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1881. [B. Westermann & Co., New York].

The whirligig of time brings its revenges, and it is interesting to notice the present work as an example. Hitzig was known in his time as a brilliant but erratic critic, whose position was on the extreme left of the line of battle. But the moderns have got so far beyond him that his views begin to look conservative. The recent commentator on Ezekiel, who undertook a new edition of Hitzig's work, found himself compelled so entirely to reconstruct it that he removed Hitzig's name from the title-page. Dr. Steiner, who was a pupil of Hitzig, retains his master's name, and defends his positions. But the result is to give the impression of a defensive rather than an aggressive attitude. This is especially evident in the introduction to some of the books. In the introduction to Joel, Steiner's additions are nearly as extensive as the original remarks of Hitzig. As is well known, the more recent critics—Duhm, Merx, and Wellhausen—have tried to locate this prophet after the Exile. Merx, who is most explicit, gives his date as B. C. 445, and makes the prophet a contemporary of Malachi. Steiner argues positively, and also *e silentio* against this view. He points out with especial force that this theory is the necessary complement of Graf's hypothesis concerning the Pentateuch. The evidences of pre-exilic authorship, however, ought not to be set aside in order that this hypothesis may not be disturbed, and of course it is illogical to make Joel live after the Exile, and then argue from his references to the Levitical law, that it (the law) is also post-exilic.

If the author had waited a little longer he might have had opportunity to extend his refutation to the book of Micah, for the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* has been trying to bring the major part of this book down to the time of Ezra. In regard to Zechariah, Steiner alludes to Stade's first intimation (*Ueber das Volk Javan*, Giessen, 1880,) of his views, but was too early to consider their full presentation in the above-named periodical. Steiner leaves unchanged the language of Hitzig, according to whom the [alleged]

Deutero-Zechariah wrote before the Exile. The necessities of Wellhausen and his school bring him this side of the Exile, and so lead them back nearly to the traditional view.

The additions to the introductions to Haggai and Malachi are also extensive. In the former Steiner modifies the view of Hitzig, in the latter he endeavors to determine more exactly the date of the prophet, in both cases with due consideration of recent investigation. The same may be said of Nahum, where the results of Assyriology are presented.

Changes in the exegesis are not very marked, Numerous small notes (designated by asterisks) are inserted, but they usually only supplement what was already in the text, or refute some recent expression opposed to that in the text. The work remains that of Hitzig, and as it was twice revised by himself, it may probably be the longest-lived, as it is certainly one of the most valuable of his works. It cannot be expected that this notice should give *in extenso* the merits and defects of the Kurzgefasstes Handbuch, or of this author. The editor has done his work with piety toward his deceased teacher, and thereby given that teacher a longer career of usefulness. HENRY P. SMITH.

LECTURES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT: delivered before the New York Sunday-school Association. By Rev. Drs. WESTON, BEVAN, LLOYD, STORRS, HALL, TAYLOR, VINCENT, ELDER, FOWLER, TIFFANY, and JOHNSON. 12mo. pp. 355. New York: American Tract Society, 1881.

These eleven lectures, which are really "special introductions" to some fifteen of the books of the New Testament, are calculated to make one open his eyes at the food which a modern Sunday-school teacher is able to assimilate. Time was when the orderly discussion of the canonicity, authorship, date, destination, occasion, object, contents of the several books of the Bible, was a specialty of the theological seminaries, and perhaps was not very popular even there. That the New York Sunday-school Association could listen to, enjoy, and digest these admirable attempts to popularize such subjects is one of the signs that the old order has changed and given place to a new and better. We feel nothing but gratification at the growth of this new appetite for good things,—and can feel nothing but gratification at the specimen which lies before us of the food that is being furnished to satisfy it.

Of course, a book made up of lectures from so many different hands cannot be expected to be uniform throughout, in either value or execution; nor can a popular work be expected to reach the very highest standard of critical soundness in every part. The standard actually reached by this volume is, however, very high. The first lecture strikes a very high key and although it must have been somewhat dry to listen to—considered as a popular lecture—it yet must have been eminently satisfactory considered as so much instruction. The others are more popular without losing greatly in critical accuracy or instructiveness. The way in which the subjects are handled so as to attract interest and at the same time give both literary and moral teaching commands our warmest admiration. On the other hand the faults are few and of very minor importance—mostly slips of memory or such as are inherent in such a work. The slips are such as that on p. 21 of the lecture on Matthew, where we are told that that Evangelist records no appearance of the risen Jesus in Judea, in momentary forgetfulness of Mat. xxviii. 9. There are some almost unavoidable inconsistencies of statement, such as the opinion expressed, John p. 11 and Acts p. 5, that Matthew was written primarily to Jews compared with the explicit denial of this in Matthew, p. 9; and the similar conflict in opinion as to the sponsor of Mark whether Peter (Mark, p. 4), or Paul (Luke p. 15). Only once or twice do we find a shadowness resting over a statement, such as seems to point to some lack of accurate knowledge or forgetfulness at the moment; as, for instance, in the account of Marcion's Gospel given in Luke p. 11. Once or twice, too, rhetoric seems to be chargeable with introducing a too vivid word, as when Peter's accuser at our Lord's

trial is called a *Barmaid*. An enumeration of these faults sufficiently points out their insignificance, and how fully they leave the general excellence of the book untouched. We are free to say that we know of no volume which can be more safely recommended to pastors and Sunday-school teachers as a popular treatment of the questions needing to be understood before the various New Testament books can be studied with full profit. Its only considerable fault is incompleteness. It is a great pity to jump from Acts to Galatians, and to let Peter stand as the only representative of the Catholic Epistles. Cannot this fault be remedied even now by the issue of a companion volume? Incidentally a lesson is read by this book to critical students in general: the influence which Dr. Lightfoot has exerted over the lectures is evidently greater than that of any other modern writer—and extends even to the points in which he is clearly wrong. Why cannot more scholars put their conclusions before the public in a form somewhat approaching the readable and attractive disquisitions of this master-workman? Clearly that is the way to get a hearing.

B. B. WARFIELD.

THOUGHTS ON THE HOLY GOSPELS: How they came to be in manner and form as they are. By FRANCIS W. UPHAM, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 378. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1881.

Dr. Upham has been a diligent student of the Gospels, and while profoundly and tenderly reverent toward them, and disposed most to emphasize that in them for which they are most precious, has found a great fascination in their silences and their enigmas. His "Wise Men" and "Star of our Lord" indicated this habit of his mind. Some portions of the volume before us are strongly characterized by a disposition to explain the omissions of the story of the Gospels, as well as its affirmations, and to supply conjectural reasons for what is said or implied. His main object is sufficiently indicated in the title of his book. The oral Gospel, in its relations to the written Gospels, and these in many of their relations to each other, naturally open attractive inquiries to which the author has devoted, with loving diligence and a most loyal spirit, much patient investigation and curious speculation. He reaches many interesting conclusions, not always, however, we think, conclusively. His "must have been" not seldom fails to convince; *e.g.*, in his discussion of the reasons why only two apostles personally wrote Gospels—and just the two who did write—and why by agreement they divided the material between them as they did, and why Matthew wrote just at the time when he did his Hebrew Gospel, etc., etc. The explanation on some of these points put (p. 112) into the mouth of the last survivor but one of the apostolic band, with its "Brother Peter," does not seem to us worthy of the usually dignified style of the book.

Infelicities like "every minutiæ," "that far," "to schoolmaster" (used as a verb), and inaccuracies like "Timæus the blind man of Jericho," and "Lysanius," should be corrected in any future edition.

CHARLES A. AIKEN.

THE HISTORY OF JESUS OF NAZARA. By Dr. THEODOR KEIM. Translated by ARTHUR RANSOM. Vol. V. Williams & Norgats, London, 1881. 8vo, pp. 343.

This volume, the next to the last, includes the Messianic Progress of Jerusalem, from the Journey to the Feast to the Last Supper. Keim regards the Gospel History from a purely psychological point of view, discarding the Gospel of John. He writes with a serious tone, reaching out to a higher view than his philosophy recognizes. His book is full of suggestiveness and of critical and historical information, the result of original research, and often bringing substantial contributions to our knowledge—altogether the best of the thoroughly rationalistic lives of Christ. Of the resurrection of Lazarus he writes: "This masterpiece of miracles, at which Paulus and Venturini tried their hands poorly with trance and life balsam, and Renan with juggling arts, in the face of which even Pliny the elder was compelled to withdraw his bitter taunt of the impotence of the gods; a witty Pilate, in the pretended report

to the Emperor Tiberius to recognize the weakness of the heathen gods against the God of the Christians, in the presence of which finally Spinoza was willing—in the event of finding proof—to throw up his system and become a convert to the ordinary Christian faith: this miracle is in every point admirably calculated to form a brilliant close to the career of Jesus. To sober exposition it is, however, absolutely untenable," etc. At the last supper, Jesus is led by the associations of the Passover to represent His approaching death as a blood atonement, but, measured by the profoundest ideas of the Old Testament and of the teaching of Jesus himself, this sacrificial purpose, if we confess the truth, appears rather as a relapse into obsolete opinions which were then being resuscitated in the contemporary dissolution of Judaism and Paganism than as striking out a fresh path of higher and highest truth. This sacrifice ranges itself in the category of blood sacrifices, and as such has already been discarded by the Old Testament. That old conception has made it possible to millions, with the intellectually mighty and yet Jewish-thinking Apostle Paul at the head, to believe not only in the bottomless depth of their sinfulness, but also in the redemptive attitude of Jesus, in the paternal will of God, and in an end of the sacrifices; for the great majority of men are not able to believe in ideas and spiritual truths, but are able to believe in facts in which their ideas and truths have become visible. And we might almost believe that Jesus had in view this very majority, the need of weak men burdened with old and new sins, etc.

C. W. HODGE.

THE following works in Exegetical Theology deserve mention:

Das Paulinische Evangelium. Von *J. H. Scholten, Professor in Leiden.* pp. 326. (Elberfeld). A German translation of the Dutch work, with additions, etc., by the author. It is a thorough critical examination of the Gospel of Luke, and its relations to the other Synoptists and to the Acts of the Apostles. —*Korrekturen zur bisherigen Erklärung des Römerbriefes*, von *A. Klostermann, Professor an der Universität Kiel.* pp. 235. (Elberfeld). A discussion of eight different passages of the Epistle to the Romans, with some interesting suggestions.—*Ueber Veranlassung u. Zweck des Römerbriefes*, von *Dr. Eduard Grafe.* pp. 100. (Freiburgi B. and Tübingen). A condensed and valuable account of the history of opinions on this subject, followed by the author's own view. The Roman Church, according to him, was chiefly Gentile, with a Jewish minority. It was in substantial sympathy with Paul, but Judaizing Christians had come in, and Paul wrote to counteract their influence. *Galaterbrief u. Apostelgeschichte*, von *F. Zimmer, Privatdocenten in Bonn.* pp. 208. (Hildburghausen). The author finds in Gal. ii. 10 an allusion to Paul's journey to Jerusalem, Acts xi. 30 and xii. 25. By the same writer is *Der Spruch vom Jonaszeichen.* pp. 35. (Hildburghausen).—*Die Einheit des ersten u. letzten Evangelii.* pp. xiv. 34. (Leipzig), is an attempt to show that our present Greek Gospel of Matthew is a translation of Matthew's original, Aramaic, Gospel, by the apostle John.—*The Cambridge Bible for Schools. St. John.* By the *Rev. A. Plummer, M.A., Master of University College, Durham.* pp. 388 (Cambridge, England). An excellent little commentary, with introduction and maps. *Ely Lectures on the Revised Version of the New Testament.* By *B. H. Kennedy, D.D., Canon of Ely, etc.* pp. 165. (London). Three lecture-sermons by one of the English Revisers. A postscript deals briefly with Dean Burgon's attack on the Revisers' Text in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1881.—*The Gospel according to Mark*, explained by *Matthew B. Riddle, D.D., Professor of N. T. Exegesis, Hartford, Ct.* pp. 243. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons). "The beginning of a series of popular commentaries on the New Testament, based upon the Revised Version of 1881," under the editorship of Dr. Philip Schaff. "A cheap and abridged edition of the author's 'Illustrated Popular Commentary.'" The notes are concise and clear.—*A Pic-*

torial Commentary on the Gospel according to Mark. By *Rev. Edwin W. Rice.* pp. 319. (Philadelphia: Am. S. S. Union). This gives the Authorized and Revised Versions in parallel columns at the top of each page, and contains wood-cuts and maps. — *The Westminster Question Book for* 1882. pp. 192. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication). Contains the International S. S. Lessons for the year (Gospel of Mark), with helps to study.

FRANCIS BROWN.

II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

ROM UND DAS CHRISTENTHUM. EINE DARSTELLUNG DES KAMPFES ZWISCHEN DEM ALTEN UND DEM NEUEN GLAUBEN IM ROMISCHEN REICHE WAHREND DER BEIDEN ERSTEN JAHRHUNDERTE UNSRER ZEITRECHNUNG von Dr. THEODOR KEIM. Aus Th. Keim's handschriftlichen Nachlass herausgegeben von H. Ziegler, Pastor in Liebnitz. Berlin, 1881. (8vo. pp. xxxvi, 667.) [New York: B. Westermann & Co.]

The title-page awakens an interest which the book itself does not disappoint. It is an old story which is here told, how the young and ardent spirit of Christianity contended in a death-struggle with the old and listless gods of paganism, but Keim has invested it with new and profounder interest by his genius and learning. The work is posthumous, although it was written more than twenty years ago. Herr Ziegler found it among Keim's papers, and justly considering it worthy of publication, cheerfully undertook the labor of seeing it through the press. He tells us in his preface how great was the task. The first difficulty lay in copying the manuscript, for Keim wrote an execrable hand, and had made so many alterations and erasures that the badly-written sheets were well-nigh illegible. The second difficulty arose from the very age of the production. The past twenty years have been fruitful in researches in the "beginnings of Christianity," and therefore some account would have to be taken of the innumerable essays and works that had appeared. Besides, Keim himself had changed his opinion upon several points. Herr Ziegler had surely a delicate business in hand, but he has discharged it admirably. He has acted the part of a true friend and admirer of the great scholar. He has ventured upon few changes, and these, for the most part, are modestly put in foot-notes. But, as the result of the combined labors of author and editor, the reader has a thesaurus of information respecting the most memorable conflict in history.

The book at once suggests comparison with Uhlhorn's "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism," accessible to English readers in Profs. Smyth and Ropes' spirited translation. But the two books were written from different standpoints and for different audiences. Uhlhorn is scholarly, yet popular, full of life and eloquence. Keim is more cautious and sceptical, more thoughtful and radical. He wrote from a profound and prolonged acquaintance with the sources. He goes far more into detail. He gives the amplest authority for every statement. But his book is not popular in the usual acceptation of the term. He is primarily interested in the concisest statement of facts. Yet there is no parade of learning; there are no Latin and Greek quotations in the text, and comparatively few in the notes, and those, for the most part, merely of single words. But you feel yourself to be in the hands of a master, of one who is at home among those poets and orators, philosophers and historians who have transmitted to us the thought of the old Roman world.

He presents, in the first part, the "old Religion and the new Antagonist"; analyzes deftly and impartially the Roman State-religion and the imported varieties; then discusses the relation of the successive emperors, from Tiberius to Nerva, toward Christianity, which was rapidly becoming formidable. In the second part he shows how desperate was the struggle between the old religions and the new by revealing their "direct contradiction." In many successive sections he presents the true char-

acter of the later Roman philosophy and morality, its pretence and hollowness. Over against this polished hypocrisy he puts the simple, truthful, manly lives of the Christians. He outlines the various apologies addressed by that noble band—Justin Martyr, Tatian, and the rest—to the emperors, those pleas for mercy and justice which even now stir our pulses and move our tears. He closes with a continuation of his story of the conduct of the emperors toward the heaven-born faith down to the third century.

As was to be expected, the least satisfactory portions are those which relate to the New Testament writings. We cannot accept the late dates he assigns to them. But the book, as a whole, is far from producing a negative and sceptical result. It leaves ineffaceable the impression that no religion could have wrought such moral miracles unless God were with it. Look at the Roman world as Keim calmly pictures it at the beginning of the triumph of Jesus Christ, and then at those lands today where His religion rules, and say, if you can, that there has been no progress, or that the advance of civilization explains all. We find the heart of man still desperately wicked, we find the same forces which destroyed Roman virtue still working among us. But we find also that in Christ there is pardon for sin and strength to live aright, and counteracting evil is the irresistible might of God. Civilization is advancing without the possibility of retrogression, because it is the material embodiment of the Christian religion.

SAMUEL M. JACKSON.

OCTAVIUS: Ein Dialogue des M. Minucius Felix übersetzt von BERNHARD DOMBART. Zweite Ausgabe. Erlangen: A. Deichert. [N. Y.: B. Westermann & Co.]

Marcus Minutius Felix has left us what is usually considered the earliest instance of Latin Apologetics. A practiced lawyer of Rome, he embraced Christianity when of mature age, and afterward set forth a defence of his faith in a dialogue or rather conference which takes its name from that of the chief speaker, Octavius Julianus. After a graceful introduction, relating the meeting of the three friends, Caecilius brings forward his objections to which Octavius makes answer, while Minucius sits as judge. When the discussion is finished, Caecilius without waiting for the umpire owns himself overcome, and all part in mutual content. The book says little or nothing of the person of Christ or of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, but rather seeks to lay the foundation for these by establishing a pure ethical monotheism. Hence its main points are the existence of one God, the government of the world by his providence and the moral purity of the Christians. The author was a man of education and experience, and wrote with spirit and force, sometimes putting a point with the neatness of a Tacitus, as in the clause (C. 38), Non eloquimur magna sed vivimus, which becomes rather flat in Dombart's rendering, *deren Stärke nicht in Worten, sondern im Wandel ruht.* He seems to have had before him, as a model Cicero's discussion, *De natura Deorum*, of whose thoughts he makes frequent use, yet the vivacity of the narrative and the statement of personal traits make one sure that the work is not a mere invention of the closet, but represents a course of argument which, in substance, had often been employed in familiar intercourse with the author's friends. This, of course, is only a conjecture, as we know absolutely nothing of the writer except what is to be learned from this book.

The work is extant in only one manuscript (Codex Parisinis), a copy of which is found in a Brussels MS., where, owing to a confusion between *octavus* and *Octavius*, it appears as the eighth book of "Arnobius adv. nationes," under which title it was first printed in 1543. It has been repeatedly edited, but the two best works are those of Holden (Cambridge, 1853) and Carolus Harms (1867), in the Vienna "Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum." The time of the composition of the Octavius has been much contested, but the weight of authority is in favor of the last decade, or last but one of the second century. Theodore Keim, in his posthumous "Rom und das Christentum," which has just appeared, says (p. 471) it was written

between 178 and 180, and probably about 177, in the beginning of the persecution under Marcus Aurelius. But Dombart argues from its use of a Sibylline citation in Theophilus, respecting the propagation of the gods, that it must have been subsequent to the Greek writer, and therefore could not have been issued before the year 180. In any event Minucius preceded Lactantius, and heads the list of Christian writers in the Latin tongue.

The edition before us contains the original and a German translation on opposite pages, with foot-notes giving exact references to the sacred or profane writings quoted or referred to in the text. There are no quotations from Scripture, doubtless because the argument was founded not on authority but on rational grounds. An appendix at the end contains a judicious selection of textual readings and observations. The German version is in the main correct as well as very fluent and perspicuous, but lacks the nervous conciseness of the original. In one important passage (end of chapter 38) the author's meaning is quite lost from view. Dombart renders veritas divinitatis by *die göttliche Wahrheit;* but what Minucius means is not divine truth, but the truth about divinity or deity, which is quite a different thing. But the edition on the whole is the cheapest and best, accessible to ordinary students, and may be warmly recommended. T. W. CHAMBERS.

EIGHTEEN CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By the Rev. A. H. HORE, M.A. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 680. Parker & Co., Oxford.

Nothing is more needed in theological literature than a complete, exhaustive, and scholarly church history of Great Britain, in which all the religious parties and movements will be genetically traced and justly estimated. Our author proposes to "lay before English churchmen, I will not say the history, but an unbroken narrative of their church from its commencement to the present day" (p. iii.). Taking "English churchmen" in the sense of *Ritualists*, the author has been fairly successful in his task, for the book has a tendency and purpose throughout to exalt his *party* in the church at the expense of all others, and thus doubtless without intention and unconsciously, the history is colored and warped and misrepresented.

The narrative is divided into seven periods: (1) the British Church, (2) the Anglo-Saxon Church, (3) Anglo-Norman, (4) Anglo-Roman, (5) Church of the Reformation Era, (6) Protestant Era, (7) the Church of the Present Day. This division, not without its advantage for the purposes of the author, is yet artificial and out of accord with the development of the Christian Church; and the titles, especially the *Anglo-Roman* and *Protestant*, are given to mark off for the author's school those periods and tendencies that are most obnoxious to them. The style of the book is charming, and an immense amount of information is condensed, apparently, however, from secondary rather than primary sources of history. In the British period we note with considerable sympathy the zeal of the author to establish the Eastern origin of the British Church independent of Rome. In the Anglo-Saxon the effort is made to show that after all it was British Christianity rather than the Roman missionaries who converted the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. We cannot but regard the author's efforts in this particular as overstrained, especially in attaching the "stigma of cowardice" to the first four Archbishops of Canterbury and the other Italian missionaries, and in underrating their work. In the Anglo-Norman period the struggle between the Church and State is sketched in an interesting manner, and it is shown that the British Church triumphed only by becoming subject to Rome. In the Anglo-Roman period the struggle between the British State and Rome is continued with varying results. As to the Church of the Reformation Era the author states:

"We may well be thankful that it did not proceed, as in Germany or Switzerland, from one individual; had this been the case, had it come sooner under Wickliffe, we might have been Wickliffites; had it come later

under Edward VI., we might have been Zwinglians or Calvinists; as it is, we bear no human name. In one word we are Catholics; our Church is continuous, one with the pre-Reformation Church, differing only as 'a garden weeded, from a garden unweeded.'"

This is as unhistoric and false a statement as possible. The national churches of Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, and Holland were as much the result of national movements in the masses of the churches themselves as in England, and their continuity with the pre-Reformation Church is as close as that of the Anglican Church. The difference was that the British Reformation did not produce such great heroes as the churches of France, Switzerland, and Germany, and a tyrannical monarch checked the natural progress of Reformation, leaving three great parties to struggle in the Church History of Great Britain until the present time. And here our author joins one of these parties, the high churchmen, and misrepresents the Puritans and the Latitudinarians throughout. He confounds the Puritans with the Anabaptists at the start, underrates the learning of the great lights of Puritanism which, on the whole, was far greater in extent and in massiveness than that represented by the author's party. One learns but little of the great movements inaugurated by Knox and Cartwright, and the wonder to the uninformed reader must be how Puritanism ever came to triumph under Charles I. Laud is defended as only endeavoring to "introduce a decent ceremonial into the services of the Church." The Westminster Assembly is maligned by the repetition of the slander of Clarendon, that there were "not above twenty in the Assembly who were not the avowed enemies of the Church, many of them men of infamous character and scandalous ignorance," which is as far from the truth as possible. No body of men has ever assembled which have left a greater amount of learning in literary documents, or produced greater fruits of piety in their lives. Mr. Hore knows nothing more of the Westminster Assembly than the Solemn League and Covenant and the Directory for Public Worship. The Westminster Catechisms and Confession of Faith are deemed unworthy of mention by our historian. The Puritans are charged first with destroying the Church and then "after it the throne also" in spite of the facts that the Presbyterians protested against the murder of Charles I., and rebelled against Cromwell, and finally restored Charles II. to his throne, and that they reformed the *Church* in accordance with all other Protestant churches. The Presbyterians of Zion college are represented as "constantly troubling the king with their complaints," when they were simply respectfully asking him to fulfil his solemn engagements, and not violate them as our author's party finally prevailed upon him to do. The number of the martyrs of St. Bartholomew's day is reduced from the 2,000 of non-conformist historians to 800, without the support of any evidence whatever. If our author had but taken the trouble to look over the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum or consult the sources of the history of the times in the Bodleian of his own city, he might have saved his reputation as a historian from not a few serious spots. The Church of the Protestant era is the abhorrence of Mr. Hore and his party. Then the Latitudinarians or comprehensionists and Low Church men dominated the Church, and the times waxed worse and worse. Deism prevails, Methodism springs into being and grows to gigantic dimensions, the evangelical movement in the Established Church almost destroyed it, so that Nonconformity had grown from a twenty-fifth to at least one-fourth of the population at the beginning of the 19th century. Our author exhibits a marvellous knowledge of and sympathy for America:

"Although remonstrances and most touching petitions were constantly flowing in from America, no bishop, till 1784, was ever consecrated to the North American Continent. From such causes the people in North America went without confirmation; and those who desired ordination were obliged to travel 3,000 miles to be ordained by the Bishop of London."

What a lamentable condition must America have been in prior to our Revolutionary war, with no ordained ministers save those few who had gone to the

Bishop of London, and no communicants in the churches. The supreme assurance and placid ignorance of this historian excites our mingled pity and contempt.

The best part of this "narrative" is the account of the Tractarian and Ritualistic movement of the Church of the present day, for it is from one whose real interest is in the movement, and who from the inside knows its history. We sympathize with its ardor of piety, its æstheticism, its practical good works, and its endurance of persecution. We do not wonder that the lesson has been learned by our author and his associates that "Disestablishment will probably some day come, and with it disendowment may come also" (p. 654).

Interesting statistics are presented at the close. We trust they are more reliable than the facts relied upon in his previous History. The clergy of the Church of England have grown from 10,300 at the beginning of the century to 23,000 in 1878; the parishes from 10,600 to 13,300; the average stipend from £82. 5s. 8d. to £150. The relative strength of parties is given as less than one-fourth Low Church, and one-ninth Broad Church, the High Church as more than half of the clergy. This seems to us hardly credible. Of the 887 churches (Established) of London and suburbs, 43 have daily communion, 454 weekly, 533 early celebrations, 128 choral celebrations, 256 daily service, 433 Saints' Days services, 303 full choral services, 397 surpliced choir, 124 Gregorian tones, 440 weekly offerings, 317 free and open seats, 581 use the surplice in pulpit, 111 are open for private prayer. In 234 the Eastward position is taken by the celebrant of communion, in 35 vestments are worn, in 11 incense is used, in 54 altar lights, in 53 candles on the altar during holy communion, in 219 floral decoration, in 156 the dedication festival is kept. C. A. BRIGGS.

JOHANNES A LASCO. Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte Polens, Deutschlands und Englands. Mit Porträt. von Hermann Dalton. Gotha: Perthes. 1881. [B. Westermann & Co., N. Y.]

In this volume Dr. Dalton tells the remarkable, and what may well be called romantic story, of the life and work of John à Lasco, the Polish reformer. This work is more full and enters more into detail, than the beautiful monograph of Dr. Bartels, found in the ninth volume of Hagenbach's *Leben und Ausgewahlte schriften der Väter und Begründer der Reformirten Kirche.* John à Lasco stood in the front rank of the reformers of the second class, and was specially successful in organization and administration. In sacrifices of worldly dignities and wealth and high ecclesiastical positions for the sake of the Gospel, he was not behind the chiefest of the reformers. He did a great work in East Friesland, in England, and in Poland, where in the midst of his labors he died in 1560. The interesting and satisfactory work of Dr. Dalton is divided into three parts: 1. John à Lasco as a Catholic in his native country. 2. As a Protestant in Germany and in England. 3. As a Protestant in his native country. His career was traced in an article in this REVIEW of January, 1881, to which the reader is referred. Those who are interested in the subject will do well to read the work of Dr. Dalton. It is specially full and satisfactory on the history of the early years of à Lasco, in regard to which previous accounts have been quite meagre. It was well known that he was in early boyhood taken in charge by his uncle, the Archbishop of Gnessen, to be educated for the priesthood, who sent him to the different universities and introduced him to the most eminent scholars of Europe, and was preparing the way for his advancement to the highest dignities of the Church. But while it was known that his father was of noble birth, little was known of his actual position. We now learn that his name was Jaroslaw, and that he was the hereditary Lord of Laski, and successively Tribune of Sieradz, Palatine of Leczyc, and Palatine of Sieradz. All that John à Lasco possessed and all that was before him of this world, he gave up cheerfully for the sake of the Gospel. The life of such a man cannot be studied without profit.

D. D. DEMAREST.

THE TRUE STORY OF JOHN SMYTH, THE SE-BAPTIST, as told by himself and his contemporaries; with an inquiry whether dipping were a new mode of Baptism in or about 1641, etc. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. 4to, pp. viii. 106. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Dr. Dexter in the true spirit of the historian has gone to the sources of information in the original documents preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere; in a most exhaustive and satisfactory manner has shown that dipping was a new mode of baptism among the English Baptists in or about 1641; and at the same time has exploded forever the unsatisfactory statements current in Baptist circles about this and other matters relating to the origin of the English Baptist churches, whose authors have never taken the trouble to go back of denominational traditions and prejudices to the original sources of history. The fact is that the Baptists with their Anabaptist predecessors were essentially *Separatists*. They regarded the Church of Rome and also the various national churches of the Reformation as *anti-Christ*, and would not recognize their sacraments and their services as Christian, and so they rebaptized their converts not on account of the defective *mode* of baptism, but on account of its anti-Christian and therefore invalid character. They took the position which is a favorite with some Presbyterians of the present day that Roman Catholic ordination and baptism were invalid, and thus separated themselves from all the Lutheran and Reformed churches which unanimously recognized their validity and regarded the other view as heretical. It was therefore in order to have Christian baptism that the Anabaptists rebaptised, and where there they could not find what they regarded as a true Christian Church, or truly baptised persons, they must, as in the case of the subject of the memoir—*baptize themselves*, and hence were called *Se-Baptists*. This is clearly and unmistakably shown by Dr. Dexter, and cannot be disputed on historical grounds. This baptism was not by immersion, but by affusion. In Chapter II. it is shown from a great variety of documentary evidence that the English Baptists first begun to immerse in or about 1641; the leaders first baptised one another and then their flocks. In Chapter III. we have a specimen of masterly criticism and demonstration that the alleged "Ancient Records" of the Baptist Church of Crowle are clumsy and absurd forgeries. The work concludes with a Bibliography of the first two generations of the Baptist Controversy in England, which is singularly accurate and complete. We note several works that we have seen, which have not been included, because they have not fallen under the eye of the author, but any one who knows what it is to construct such a Bibliography will unite with us in thanking Dr. Dexter for it. As a whole, this work will increase the reputation of the author as in the first rank of American Ecclesiastical Historians. C. A. BRIGGS.

JOHANNES HUBER VON DR. EBERHARD ZIRNGIEBL. Gotha, 1881. Friedrich Andreas Perthes, pp. 334. [N. Y.: B. Westermann & Co.]

Johannes Huber is well known as one of the leaders of the Old Catholics in Germany. He was born in 1830 as the son of a poor peddler, and died in 1879 as one of the most prominent professors of the University of Munich. He was a remarkable man, a man of great talents, of a warm and great heart, an earnest and indefatigable seeker after truth, and in the great struggle between superstition and infidelity on one side and religious faith on the other, one of the foremost defenders of revealed truth. A son of the Catholic Church of Bavaria, his native country, he writes, while in college, a poem, in which he glorifies Dr. Eck, the antagonist of Luther, as a great hero. His ambition is, to become a Catholic priest; but when he examines more closely the Romish system, he finds that he cannot do it, and turns to the study of philosophy. Extreme poverty and sickness almost break down the noble youth, but by his wonderful energy and industry he overcomes all obstacles. He earns his daily bread by

giving lessons, and gives himself at the same time so entirely to his studies that he masters in a few years a dozen languages besides Greek and Latin, and acquires such a profound and comprehensive knowledge of general history and especially of the history of philosophy, that he is regarded by his teachers and his fellow students as a shining light. The noble and much lamented King Max II. of Bavaria inspired the University of Munich with new life by calling men of great learning and liberal views, men like Liebig, the chemist, Carriere, the philosopher, Sybel, the historian, and poets like Geibel Riehl and Paul Heyse. Huber imbibed, as it were, this liberal, *i.e.*, anti-Romish spirit, of these great men. In 1854 Huber acquires the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by a "Dissertatio inauguralis de relatione philosophiæ et religionis Christianæ," in which he proposes among others the thesis: In philosophia a dubitatione exeundum non est. This thesis manifests the character of the young man. He is a *positive* thinker, as Schelling calls it: eine begahungslustige natur! This positive character is peculiar to all his philosophical works, a great number of which he has written. Henceforth he takes an active part in the great struggles of our time. Having written on Plato's "Doctrine of God" (1855), and on the "Freedom of Will" (1858), a great work on "Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter" (1859), and on "Johannes Scotus Erigena" (1861), and having become professor ordinarius of Philosophy in Munich, 1864—in the same year in which the Pope's "Syllabus" was issued!—he commenced at once his life-long struggle against the Jesuitism in Bavaria, and when the Vatican Council had adopted the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope in 1870, Dr. Huber with some of his friends published the celebrated book "Janus," in which the dogma of infallibility is demolished. In vain Prof. Hergenrother made an effort to refute this book, which protests as a "monumentum aere perennius" against the greatest humbug of the 19th century. The Old Catholic movement was started and Huber took a leading part in it. He has done more than any other man to defend and promote it. Since he regarded Jesuitism as the source of all evil in the Catholic Church, Dr. Huber published in 1873 the book: "Der Jesuitenorden nach seiner Verfassung und Doctrin, Wirksamkeit und Geschichte," in which he shows to the world the evil fruit which that evil tree has produced. In the meantime Darwinism had sprung up and found many admirers and followers. Dr. Huber met boldly the great problem and examined in a very thorough manner Darwin's theory. His book on "Darwinism" is one of the best published on this subject in Germany. At the same time Socialism was spreading in Germany. Huber, the son of poor parents, became deeply interested in the great social question. He studied it in England and wrote several excellent books on it, *e. g.*, "Die Proletarier" 1865, "Socialismus" 1878. We see that there is hardly a great question discussed in our days, in which Dr. Huber was not deeply interested. One cannot help admiring the fertility and comprehensiveness of this man. His life was brief, and he was almost all the time suffering from a heart-disease, yet he worked more than ten ordinary men of his rank together. One of his best books is written on the immortality of the soul, which has in my opinion no equal in German.

Indeed, such a man deserved a monument. Dr. Firngiebl has erected one in the above-named book. This book is not a biography, but only a biographical sketch, with numerous extracts from Huber's writings and general characteristics of the man. It is written by an admiring friend and is calculated to awaken in us a strong wish, that the great material, specimens of which are given here, may be more fully used for a more comprehensive and thorough biography of this admirable propugnator veritatis. GEO. C. SEIBERT.

THE following works in Historical Theology deserve a brief notice:

Bibliotheca Symbolica Ecclesiæ Universalis. The Creeds of Christendom, with a

History and Critical Notes. By *Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D.* 3 vols. 3d edition, revised and enlarged. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1881). That such an extensive work containing for the most part documentary material and historical exposition of the material, should have attained a third edition within five years of its original publication is a noteworthy fact in the history of Theological Literature. Indeed, the work has more and more commended itself to the theological public as a monumental one which will long remain the *classic* upon this topic. It occupies a unique place in Theological Literature, having filled a gap in the otherwise most comprehensive German Theological Literature. The only additions to the third edition are a translation of the second Helvetic Confession, and a list of new works in various departments of the subject.—*History of Bedford Church. Discourse delivered at the 200th Anniversary of the Presbyterian Church of Bedford, Westchester Co., N. Y.* By *Charles W. Baird, D.D.*, with an account of the proceedings upon that occasion. pp. 149. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.) This is a model local church history, based on a thorough examination of MSS. sources, and especially interesting as showing the intimate relationship between Connecticut Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, and also the struggles of a Presbyterian population against the usurpations of an Episcopacy supported by civil authority.—*Historical Sketch of the Presbytery of the North River.* By *Rev. J. K. Wight.* pp. 24. Poughkeepsie: 1881. An interesting account of the growth of a few frontier churches into a Presbytery which soon became central in importance, and has long since been esteemed as one of the ancient Presbyteries of the American Church.—*A History of Presbyterianism in New England.* By *Alexander Blaikie, D.D.* 2 vols. in 1, pp. 512. This extensive book contains an immense amount of information in detail, but it is so colored by a narrow partisanship and a miserable pessimism and disfigured by a defective method and horrid style, that its facts will be questioned and its usefulness marred. C. A. BRIGGS.

III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

APOLOGETICS: A Course of Lectures by HENRY B. SMITH, D.D., LL.D. Edited by WILLIAM S. KARR, D.D., Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1882.

This is a small volume, containing a great amount of thought. If one cannot say of it what Coleridge said of Selden's Table Talk: "There is more weighty bullion sense in this work than I ever found in the same number of pages of any uninspired writer," it certainly can be said, that no treatise on Apologetics contains within the same narrow limits so much material for the defence of Christianity. It requires, however, considerable familiarity with philosophical systems, both Christian and sceptical, and an ability to supply secondary links in the chain of reasoning, in order to be fully estimated. The lamented author has given only the plan which he filled in orally from the fulness of a very learned and logical mind. Could Dr. Smith himself, upon the scheme here presented, have constructed two large volumes, they would have constituted the ablest apologetical treatise in the English language.

Our limits forbid an analysis; and so does the nature of the book itself. It is mainly outline in its character; so that to analyze it would be merely to recite the fundamental conceptions and leading positions. To do more than this would be to expand the substance of the volume itself, and make a treatise founded upon it. And this will be the great value of the volume. Students and teachers of apologetics will join on upon the systematizing here done for them by this able apologete, and

follow out the lines of defence which he indicates. In this way it must prove to be a stimulating and reproductive work.

The volume exhibits a number of qualities that belong only to the higher order of intellect. We call attention to one characteristic, continually appearing. We mean subtlety: the power to detect a fallacy in error, and to mark a nice distinction in truth. Dr. Smith had a hawk's eye for a sophism, and always punctured the real thing at issue with a needle. As examples of his subtlety, see his remarks upon confounding the supernatural with the miraculous, pp. 20, 21, 124; upon the conservation of force, p. 43; upon sensation as implying an ego that is above sense, p. 53; upon true and false induction, p. 55; upon Hamilton's use of Unconditioned, Absolute, and Infinite, p. 56 *sq.*; upon the relations of an object as being the most difficult, instead of the most clear part of our knowledge, p. 61; upon the impossibility of strictly deducing the objective from the subjective, p. 73; and upon the fact that we really know mind more adequately than we do matter, p. 181. The list might be made much longer. Any reader who is at all sympathetic with keen close reasoning will inevitably shut the book at almost every page, and think awhile with the author, reproducing his processes and perhaps extending them. And there is no higher proof of mental power than in authorship of this kind.

We close this brief notice of the last work of one of the finest and best disciplined intellects of this age with some feeling of sadness that the providence of God did not give him health and long life to put his thinking and his lore into finished form for the coming generation of students. He took a vast deal away with him when summoned into the blessed life beyond this, although he left a vast deal behind him in the multitude of pupils who received their mental tendency from his teachings, and in the multitude of readers whose opinions on the highest themes were moulded by his. A remark of Dr. Karr in his Introductory Note relieves this reflection to some degree, and will give great gratification to that large circle who hold Dr. Smith's memory in veneration. It is to the effect, that after examining "Dr. Smith's preparation for his course in theology, he is of the opinion that a selection can be made which would secure to him a place of influence in American theology in some degree worthy of him." We earnestly hope that this selection and publication will soon be made.

WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD.

LECTURES IN DEFENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. By Professor F. GODET. Translated by W. H. LYTTELTON. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

Of the seven lectures which make up this volume, one (the seventh, on the "Immutability of the Apostolic Gospel") has already become familiar to such of our readers as have access to the Reports of the Basle Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. The other six are literally apologetic, having been delivered in Neuchâtel in reply to M. Réville and other opponents of the Christian faith who had spoken there. Prof. Godet's learning, steadfast Christian loyalty, admirable spirit, and attractive style, are well engaged and illustrated in these popular discussions of the Resurrection, the Hypothesis of Visions, the Miracles of Christ, the Supernatural, Christ's perfect holiness (defended especially against the criticisms and reasonings of Pécaut), and His Divinity. Many of the minor points are admirably put. Thus, in regard to the manner in which Christ wrought His Miracles, Prof. Godet says (p. 139): "Jesus brings Lazarus out of the grave, as we wake a friend, by calling him by his name."

The one qualification to our satisfaction with the discussions of the volume, grows out of the author's Kenotic views of the nature of Christ. In Sec. 3 of the lecture on the Divinity of Christ, he holds "first, that Jesus had to lay down His Divine manner of existence—His '*form of God*'—in order to become man; second, that in order to regain His Divine condition, a glorious transformation was effected in His humanity by means of the ascension. . . . . That supernatural knowledge

which Jesus possessed was specifically different from omniscience. . . . . His supernatural power, though superior to that of the prophets, does not seem to have been omnipotence." . . . . As for His moral development and manifestation, "This is not the unchangeable wisdom, holiness, love of God; it is the growing wisdom, holiness, charity of a man, which grows by trial and conflict, and advances gradually to perfection. . . . ." But "behind the veil of that cloud with which God enshrouded Jesus at the moment of His ascension, there passed over Him a transformation, by virtue of which it became possible for His humanity to be associated with the Divine glory" (pp. 275–283). In harmony with this view we read (p. 138): "The power by which Jesus worked His miracles was a borrowed power," and naturally the author's discussion of the growth of Jesus in holiness (in Lecture V.) conforms to his conception of the nature of our Lord.

We need not here discuss the doctrine of the *Kenosis*. The way in which Prof. Godet's views are advanced, calls upon us to say only this: that the Christian apologist who holds these views occupies no vantage ground in comparison with those who, with better exegetical and dogmatic warrant, maintain the more common doctrine as to the nature of Christ.

In a few instances inadvertence, either in the printing or in the translation (usually very felicitous) obscures the meaning; *e. g.*, p. 62, lines 19–25, and p. 237, lines 22, 23. CHARLES A. AIKEN.

DAS PRINCIP UND SYSTEM DER DOGMATIK. Einleitung in die christliche Glaubenslehre. VON D. LUDWIG SCHOEBERLEIN. pp. 834. Gottingen. [New York: B. Westermann & Co.]

In THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1882, may be found an extended notice of Dr. Schultz's "*Die Lehre von der Gottheit Christi.*"

We there remarked, at the outset, "A fuller notice of this book will enable us to reduce to a minimum the notice of another book which comes from the same University and adopts the same primal principle. Much that is said of the one would, in the final analysis, well apply to the other," (p. 196). This will account for the brevity of the present notice.

This book by Dr. Schoeberlein is "Einleitung" or introduction, and brings up at the conclusion with a tabulated scheme of what is to follow ("Breiten-Schema der Dogmatik.")

What calm courage must inspire the soul of such an author! This book is the introduction to a complete system of theology which is to have for its primal and organizing principle,—Love.

One great object of this introduction is to show the feasibility of such an attempt. Dr. Schoeberlein and Dr. Schultz, fellow Professors in the same University, seem to regard love as essence—divine essence, so that God is holy love *and* spirit. Hence, in essence, God is compound! This radical defect appears to be involved in the very organism of the system.

Again, these Professors seem to regard John's expression, "God is love," as a formal definition (so far forth) of the divine essence. But John also says, "God is light"; and Paul says, "God is a consuming fire." These are figures of speech doubtless symbolizing some great truths, but they are not formal definitions of the divine essence.

Christ declared, "God is a spirit." Evangelical orthodoxy teaches that God is one in essence and one in number, while there are three hypostases or distinctions in this one essence. This seems clear, and especially in the light of Christ's conception and revelation of God's being: "God is spirit." But to declare that in his essence God is consuming fire, or material light, or holy love, is to us worse than confusing. And to say that in his essence God is holy love and spirit, is still worse. In the varied treatment of this "Einleitung" our author pursues not always the

beaten path, but always proceeds in a calm and orderly manner. After reading many familiar truths, we wonder that Dr. S. should have spent so much time in repeating them, and regret that he did not write the introduction last. Our anxious wish is that he may live to produce the complete system. R. B. WELCH.

PARADISE: THE PLACE AND STATE OF SAVED SOULS BETWEEN DEATH AND THE RESURRECTION. By ROBERT M. PATTERSON. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

What becomes of man at death? "Man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?" Does he cease to be, or does he yet live? Is it wholly true of the spiritual and the intellectual man as of the corporeal man, that he lives no more? "Man lieth down and riseth not, till the heavens be no more; they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep." Death ends all, is the language of infidelity and of the mere scientist.

Obscurely as these questions are treated in the writings of Moses and the prophets under the old dispensation of grace, a flood of light is poured upon them by Christ and His apostles under the new dispensation. "He that came down from heaven," who "in the beginning" "was with God," and "was God," and "was made flesh and dwelt among us," "hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." He has answered, as only He could, that question of questions, that so effectually and so hopelessly challenged the wisdom of the ages before the Advent, and that so utterly puts to shame all merely human science—"If a man die, shall he live again?"

If death does not end all; if it is the body only that ceases to be, or returns to the dust as it was; if the soul of man subsists separate from the body, and is continued in conscious existence and vitality, how does it subsist; with what powers; in what relations; under what limitations; in what surroundings; subject to what influences; engaged in what occupations; liable to what personal changes? Do all souls fare alike at death? Are there separate abodes for departed souls, and how is their place and fate determined? Does any change of state occur in either abode, or transfer from the one to the other? Is probation limited to the corporeal state, or does it extend to the spirit world?

No more important themes than these can be presented to the human mind, involving, as they do, the being and attributes of God and the relations that subsist between man and his Maker. Their discussion is timely. Important as they are always, they are especially called for at the present time. "Science—falsely so-called"—pronounces death an "eternal sleep," or casts doubt on the possibility or probability of separate spiritual existence. True science utterly disclaims all dogmatism in relation to questions so manifestly beyond its reach, referring them entirely to the province of revelation, of special communication from the Creator. Has God spoken? That ends it.

Dr. Patterson goes back to Calvary; sees "Christ crucified" for man's redemption; hears the Son of God talking to the dying and penitent malefactor hanging also on an "accursed tree"; gives us the very words as they came from the sacred lips of Him, who was and "is in the bosom of the Father"—"To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise"; and makes these memorable words the theme of his book, using them as a key to unlock the treasures of the Divine word, and to reveal to us the glories of the ransomed in the kingdom of their Father.

In the unfolding of the text he discusses the meaning of the word "Paradise"; shows its origin and use; separates it from the *sheol* and the *hades* of the heathen and of the old dispensation; and identifies it as the abode of ransomed souls, both before and after the resurrection of the body. He then treats of the Dwellers in this Paradise, and determines who may hope to be of their number. He has something to say, especially in the light of a true science of astronomy, on the Locality

of Paradise, fixing it, of course, where the Great God has fixed His throne and keeps His court, wherever in the wide universe that may be—

> . . . . "the shrine where motion first began,
> And light and life in mingling torrents ran;
> From whence each bright rotundity was hurled,
> The throne of God—the centre of the world."

In the chapters that follow, he treats of the state and occupation of the ransomed, with special reference to their proper individuality and uninterrupted activity; their unalloyed blessedness and spotless purity; closing with a brief notice of what is meant by the "many mansions" in the "Father's house," and the "Home Life" of the redeemed in glory, and the endlessness, as well as the boundlessness of the glory into which the souls of the ransomed are introduced at death.

In this consideration of the intermediate *state*, he gives no countenance to the idea of an intermediate *place*, believing that the Scriptures, properly interpreted, teach that "besides these two places [heaven and hell] for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none," and that the "gulf" between them is absolutely "impassable."

The whole discussion, though of a popular caste, as in the case of pulpit discourses, as they doubtless were in the first instance, is candid, biblical, and, for the most part, careful. It is not always practical in matters of such far-reaching inquiry, to distinguish between the positive facts of revelation and the inferences, the plausible conjectures and the fanciful pictures of a lively imagination. In this respect the author has, undoubtedly, taken some liberties, and occasionally exceeded the just limitations of a strict exegesis; but these blemishes are few, and do not materially affect the argument. E. F. HATFIELD.

THE HEREAFTER OF SIN. By Rev. J. W. HALEY, M.A. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1881.

This author announces in his preface, his desire to relieve certain minds

—"by calling attention to the fact that the punishment which awaits the finally impenitent is not an arbitrary infliction, but is simply the legitimate result of transgression, the outcome of the moral laws of the universe; which laws were established in wisdom and intended to promote the highest welfare of all created beings."

And after the discussion is finished he makes the following inference, showing that he believes himself to have accomplished the purpose announced at first, viz.:

"If the theory advocated in the preceding pages is correct, future endless suffering is simply the natural result, the legitimate fruit of sin. Unless the entire moral constitution of the universe were changed, no other result could follow. Were there no God, and provided that the laws of matter and mind remained the same as now, the sinner would, we have no doubt, suffer precisely as under the present arrangement, with the single exception that, in that case, the displeasure of God would, of course, be wanting."

These quotations furnish the substance of the book, and a radical objection to its doctrine. There is no doubt that a *part* of the suffering of the sinner will be the natural result, as legitimate fruit of his sin. But the point to be considered is, whether the Bible represents this to be *all* that is included in punishment of the transgressor. Indeed, it is difficult to see how, in any proper sense, this may be called punishment at all. Punishment implies an infliction of some kind, not merely a natural result. And this is intimated in the illustrations by which the Bible represents the doom of the incorrigible, in the various inferences suggested by its declarations, and in the positive declarations themselves which utter the particulars of their state. The argument of this book is conclusive and forcible, but it is only with reference to a part of the truth. The question may be pressed after it is all read: "Has not *God* something directly to do with the punishment of the sinner, and does *law* inflict the whole?"

The statement of this question seems sufficient criticism of the argument, for the Word does not hesitate to tell us of a Judge, and of His sentence, and of His di-

rect execution of it, in addition to the truth, that the wicked "eat of the fruit of their ways." The attempt is always lame which offers to free what God declares of all features which are distasteful to bad men. Ingenuity and ability, as in this case, may be displayed in the attempt, and it may be prompted by the most praiseworthy motives; but there is no occasion for it, and the Bible loses by any subtraction from it of the distinct and emphatic assurance that God deals with men in His personal Being, and not simply through general principles and laws. As such a Being, He declares Himself to have a judgment seat, and that after the final assize some will be welcomed to His favor, and some will be visited with His wrath.

JAMES EELLS.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS. Special Part. First Division: Individual Ethics. By Dr. H. MARTENSEN, Bishop of Seeland. Translated from the Author's German Edition by William Affleck, B.D. pp. vi., 423. New York: Scribner & Welford.

It is not easy to draw lines of sharp distinction between the several departments of theological encyclopædia, or to make divisions that will not overlap or run into one another. At first sight it would appear that dogmatics and ethics might easily be kept apart by division lines that would be absolutely exclusive. It is so obvious that one department has to do with faith and the other with practice; that the one is theocentric and the other anthropocentric. But, inasmuch as ethical maxims rest on a dogmatic basis, and dogmatic faiths have ethical applications, it is impossible to avoid the repetition of topics in either department that have already been treated in the other. Great advantage arises out of the division of systematic theology into the departments of dogmatics and ethics, but it is, nevertheless, an advantage that is attended with the difficulty already named, and of which Dr. Martensen's writings furnish very apt illustrations. For in this, and in the preceding volumes that have come from his pen, we have separate discussions of such topics as Sin, the Person of Christ, Regeneration, Sanctification, the Future State, etc., first, from the dogmatic, and then from the ethical point of view.

In the first part of his Christian Ethics, Dr. Martensen has very ably discussed the relations of dogmatics and ethics, and his remarks in that connection are of special value as throwing light upon the relation which the present volume sustains to his previous writings.

Defining dogmatics as treating of the "doctrines of the Christian faith held by the community of believers—in other words, by the Church"—he exhibits his dogmatic system under a Trinitarian conception: (1) The Doctrine of the Father; (2) The Doctrine of the Son; (3) The Doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The third division concludes with "the perfecting of the Church" and the final consummation. As we are not reviewing the dogmatics, we say nothing here of the author's kenoticism in regard to the person of Christ, or his suggestive and interesting but hesitant and unsatisfactory discussion of the ἀποκατάστασις, which are the most noticeable features in that work. The conclusion of the Dogmatics is, however, the starting-point of the Ethics. In other words, the consummation of all things is to be found in the everlasting happiness and highest holiness of the redeemed.

This, then, is the teleological basis of Christian ethics. Dogmatically to ascertain what the Christian Church is to be, is ethically to affirm what the Christian individual ought to be. The author unfolds his ethical system under two main divisions: first, the theoretical or general part, consisting of a discussion of principles; and, secondly, a special or practical part, consisting of the application of these principles to the experience of (*a*) the individual and (*b*) society.

In dealing with the principles of ethics, Dr. Martensen presents first the ethical postulates. These are derived from the department of Dogmatics, and

appear on his pages as theological, anthropological, soteriological, and eschatological. Then follows an account of the Christian idea of the highest good in contrast with that of competing systems. This is seen to be the attainment to likeness to God, and everlasting happiness, which, for the individual, is virtue. The attainment to virtue and the realization of the highest good is through the imitation of Christ. Hence, under the head of "virtue," we have a discussion of the various forms under which Christ is presented to us as an example.

"What virtue is as fulfilment, duty is as demand; and duty points back to the law as the norm of the good, the eternal rule and criterion of the will." The chapter on the law naturally follows that on virtue, therefore, and deals with the nature of the law, the content of the law, antinomianism, expediency, Christian liberty, etc.

From the consideration of the ethical ideal we turn to the progressive realization of the ideal; in other words, we pass from the general to the special part of ethics. With this transition, however, the author's method changes. In general ethics, the ideal is the leading thought; in special ethics, the order of thought is the order of historic manifestation in the individual life. "An ethical view of the world must lay special stress on the aim and place the ideals in the foreground. The representation of the *Ethical Development of Personality* should, on the other hand, lay stress on the *way* which leads to the goal, on the *means* which should be employed, on the *obstacles* which should be combated."

Accordingly, we find the author, in the volume before us, distributing his material under two main divisions: Life under the Law and Sin; and Life in following Christ. The discussion begins by a consideration of what the writer calls the pre-ethical state, the life without law, the state of immediateness, "when a man, without having hitherto come to a conscious and independent position over against the law and duty, lives according to his born nature and his individualized natural capacity." Following this period is that of "earnestness," when a man asks how he is to rid his nature of its inner schism, and when he commonly meets with the answer: "Thou must ethicise thy nature (cultivate it morally); thou must master it, make it the obedient organ of the will, determined by duty and the ideal." The author then criticises the different answers that have been offered in solution of this ethical problem that life, in its earnestness, presses upon us—the stoical doctrine of Life according to Reason, the relief that is vainly sought in self-knowledge, and in particularistic morality, and finally the attempt to satisfy the demands of our ethical nature by æsthetic education. The contrasting views of Schiller and Kant upon the last-mentioned topic are presented, and the whole subject is admirably dealt with. Indeed, it may be said that in the discussion of æsthetic education and of what he calls "the middle-way morality," the author's power of analysis and his literary resources are seen at their best. We have seen nothing else in the volume that is quite equal to it as a piece of philosophical writing. The following passage exhibits the author's estimate of the sanctifying power of art: "Wherever there is a want of right in sight, in order to be able to control the æsthetic, the latter will become, in more than one respect, dangerous and obstructive to morality, will easily give the one concerned the impulse to antinomianism, eudemonism, epicureanism, and quietism, to effeminacy, moral sloth, and self-indulgence, of which there are always too many examples among poets, artists, dilettantists, æsthetic reviewers, and theatrical critics, theatre-goers, and novel-readers of both sexes; in those rich people who again and again make Italian tours to see works of art, picture galleries, and the beauties of Nature; people whose morality, instead of being supported by the æsthetic, goes to ruin under a thousand æsthetic temptations, and who, not to speak of much else, manifestly become unfit for actual life."

Schiller's scheme of justification by taste was a failure, as the author shows, because he did not understand the radical evil that affects our moral nature, and in this respect he stands in decided contrast to Kant, who said that "if good-will is to appear in us, this cannot happen through a *partial* improvement, nor through any reform, but only through a *revolution*, a total overturn within us, that is to be compared to a new creation." And says Martensen: "When Kant uttered these words, he stood immediately before the door of Christianity without, however, entering, or yet making any further application of this acknowledgment."

The second division of Individual Ethics, or life in following Christ, is considered under the heads: Christian love; appropriating love; contemplative love; mystical love; practical love; Christian self-love, and Christian liberty. The tone of the discussion is elevated and devotional, with here and there an element of sacramentarianism indicative of Lutheran orthodoxy. Compared with the author's previous volumes, the one before us is less profound, and on this account it is more likely to realize the author's wish that it may be found useful outside the circle of those who never had a theological education.

Sometimes the reader feels that the Bishop is not as clear, that the order of his thoughts is not as severely logical, that the parts of his discussion do not sustain as close and obvious a relation to each other as he could wish. And sometimes, it must be confessed, the discussion drops to the level of commonplace and proves wearisome. This, however, does not occur often enough to prevent us from saying that the volume before us is very suggestive and stimulating, and that we shall wait with interest to see what this discriminating writer, with his wealth of illustration and felicity of expression, will say in that portion of his work which will deal with the application of Christian principles to the great social problems.

FRANCIS L. PATTON.

FOR the following books a short notice is all that our space allows at present:

The Creed and Modern Thought. By *the Rev. B. Franklin, D.D.*, Rector of Christ Church, Shrewsbury, New Jersey. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. 1881. This is a well-meant and very creditably executed attempt to maintain the integrity of the ancient faith of the Christian Church, in the face of all the apparently hostile elements of "Modern Thought." A chapter is given to the discussion in this relation of each clause of the Apostles' Creed in succession, taken severally in connection with the corresponding statements and amplifications of the Nicene Creed. Under each heading, however, the author brings in, far beyond the language of the Creed, the corresponding Christian doctrine, as to sin and redemption, the Person and work of Christ, and the experience of His people, common to all Christendom. The work is fully orthodox according to the general standard of the historical Church of England, and is at once essentially evangelical and churchly. It discovers vast reading and very considerable intellectual force, and is at once intelligent and candid in dealing with anti-Christian modes of thought, and loyal in maintaining the ancient faith. We consider it a readable and profitable book for the general intelligent Christian public. It can hardly be regarded as exhaustive or critically accurate, or scholarly in form. It is a pity that the author should not have illustrated and rendered his text clearer by more definite discussions of principles, and more copious citations of the leaders of "Modern Thought" by name and writings in the form of notes. His assumptions are often indicative of a superficial knowledge of the matter in hand, rather than of a thoughtful comprehension of it in all its bearings. An illustration of this is his quiet assumption that the trichotomic language of Scripture implies a gross tripartite constitution of human nature, as if man consists of a body and two souls, each a distinct substance,—a view which is excluded by the consensus of the Catholic and Protestant theologians, and by the *usus loquen-*

di of Scripture, and even by the most earnest advocates of Trichotomy among modern scholars. Even Delitzsch says, "We thoroughly agree in this respect with Thomas Aquinas: '*Impossibile est, in uno homine esse plures animas per essentiam differentes, sed una tantum est anima intellectiva quæ vegetativæ et sensitivæ et intellectivæ officiis fungitur.*'" (Bib. Psych. p. 114).—*Studies in the Life of Christ.* By *the Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.*, Principal of Airedale College, Bradford, and author of "Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History." 12mo. $1.75. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882. Dr. Fairbairn is well known by his able and learned work, "Studies on the Philosophy of Religion and History," and by two admirable articles on the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer in the *Contemporary Review.* The contents of the present volume were originally prepared as a series of Sunday evening discourses, while the author was minister at Aberdeen. It is put forth with the hope, on his part, of returning to the discussion of this subject, and of dealing with it "in a more critical and comprehensive spirit, especially in its relations to contemporary history, and its action, through the Apostles and Church on the creation of Christianity." The present discussion of these great themes is very able, learned, and critical and reverent in its treatment of the person of Christ, and of the inspired record of His life and character. The principal error we have found in the book is its putting forth the moral significance and design of the sufferings of Christ in Gethsemane and on the cross as an adequate account of the facts, and an utter ignoring, if not denial, of their relation to the expiation of guilt and to the fulfilment of the penalty of the law.—*The Doctrine of Inspiration: an Outline Historical Study.* By *Theodore Hopkins.* Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 106. (Not published.) Rochester, N. Y. Printed for the author. 1881. Mr. Hopkins was for some years Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Congregational Theological Seminary, Chicago, and is now pastor of one of the Presbyterian churches in Rochester, N. Y. The present history of the doctrine of Inspiration is not set forth as exhaustive, nor published as final, but appears rather to be put in its present form as a tentative essay, in preparation for a more complete work in the future. Nevertheless it already covers a vast deal of ground, heathen and Christian, Patristic, Mediæval, and Modern, and is well worth the examination of scholars. The author has attempted to represent the facts of history in an impartial spirit, yet he frankly says in the introduction, that "his personal convictions and sympathies are wholly in the direction of conservative orthodox opinions." We trust the author will fulfil the auspicious promise of this essay, and give the world a complete history of this doctrine, prepared on the same principles and in the same spirit as the present essay.—*A System of Christian Doctrine.* By *J. A. Dorner*, Oberconsistorialrath and Professor of Theology, Berlin. Translated by Rev. Alfred Cave, B.A., Professor of Philosophy and Church History, Hackney College, London, and Rev. J. S. Banks, Professor of Theology, Wesleyan College, Leeds. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1881. The first volumes of this classical work have already, both in the German original and in the English translation, been noticed in this REVIEW (January, 1880, and April, 1881). We purpose to give an extended notice of the future volumes and their contents as they appear in their English form.—*A History of Christian Doctrine.* By the late *Dr. K. R. Hagenbach*, Professor of Theology at Basel. Translated from the fifth and last German edition. With additions from other sources. With an Introduction by E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, London; Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Vol. III. New York: Scribner & Welford, 743 and 745 Broadway. The first and second volumes of the last and best edition of this standard work were noticed in the January and April, 1881, numbers of this REVIEW. It is sufficient now that we

call attention to the fact that the set of volumes is complete.—*Moses and the Philosophers.* In three parts: The Physical System; The Moral System; The Mercy Seat. The whole together giving a view of the Universe, as written by Moses the servant of God. Part I. and Part II. By *Stephen Alexander Hodgman.* Sold by subscription. Philadelphia. 1881. We have no reason to doubt that the writer is a sincere Christian, and that his single design is to defend the essential truths of Revealed Religion against all assaulting and perverting tendencies of modern thought. Nevertheless, if this be indeed his purpose, he would have far more directly promoted it by keeping close silence than by burdening the public with his voluminous books. In proportion as he has read science he is unscientific. In proportion as he has read and thought in the departments of metaphysics and psychology, he is confused and erroneous in his statements of fundamental truth. In proportion as he champions the revealed word of God, he confounds its testimony by his unreliable exegesis. In proportion as his scheme has been presumptuous, has he illustrated his own entire incompetence. A. A. HODGE.

IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church as amended by the Presbyterian Divines in the Royal Commission of 1661, and in Agreement with the Directory for Public Worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Edited, with a Supplementary Treatise, by CHARLES W. SHIELDS, D.D., LL.D., Professor in Princeton College. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

This volume is a reprint of a book published in 1864 by Messrs. W. S. & A. Martien, Philadelphia. The original edition has long since been exhausted, and the present publication was urgently called for. Its appearance is timely, in view of the growing interest manifested in our Church with reference to liturgical studies.

The Restoration found the Presbyterians of England a powerful party. Presbyterianism had been for more than ten years the established religion of the land. Its clergy held the greater number of the benefices in the Church, and its members filled the offices of magistracy and local authority in the State. The leaders of the party had been forward in recalling the king: and hopes were entertained, not unreasonably, that Charles, attached to prelacy as he was now known to be, would yet favor some compromise between the Presbyterian and prelatical systems, under which the more moderate, at least, among the adherents of either system, might dwell together in peace. It was to feed these hopes, though without any intention to satisfy them, that the king, soon after his accession, promised that he would appoint an equal number of divines, of each persuasion, to revise the liturgy. Such a conference met at the residence of the Bishop of London, in the Savoy, on the 13th day of April, 1661. The Presbyterians were ably represented in this conference. Of their twenty-one commissioners—principals and assistants—the greater number were eminent preachers of London. Several had sat in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. One of these, Dr. Reynolds, had just been prevailed upon to accept the bishopric of Norwich, but appeared on this occasion as a member of the Presbyterian commission.

The conference lasted three months, and broke up without reaching any satisfactory conclusion. The Presbyterians were required to present their exceptions to the Book of Common Prayer in writing. This they did, only to meet on the part of the prelatists a haughty and an inflexible opposition to all change. The exceptions taken were numerous, and, it must be admitted, very sweeping. The Presbyterian commissioners professed their high esteem for the liturgy, as an excellent and worthy

work for the time in which it was compiled, when the Church of England made her first step out of Popish ignorance and superstition. But they held it very necessary, under the present glorious light of the Gospel, that many things in that formulary should be altered. Among its defects, the following were pointed out: There was no preparatory prayer, in the order of public worship, for assistance and acceptance. The repetitions and responsals of the clerk and people, and the alternate reading of the psalms, were considered unedifying. The Litany was so framed that the petitions, for a great part, were uttered only by the people. The Collects were short, and characterized by abruptness and incoherence. The commissioners asked that the Litany might be cast into "one solemn prayer to be offered by the minister"; and that instead of the Collects, there might be "one methodical and entire form of prayer composed out of many of them." They objected to the use of the old version of the Scriptures, in the lessons, the Gospels and Epistles, and the Psalter:* and asked that "instead thereof, the new translation allowed by authority" might "alone be used." To these and other demands of a very radical nature, compliance with which would have required a reconstruction of the whole liturgy upon a new and an entirely different plan, the Presbyterian commissioners added a number of exceptions more minute, the reasonableness of which has since been practically conceded.

The Savoy Conference furnishes Dr. Shields with a *motif* for his learned and ingenious work, the historical part of which contains a full account of that meeting, and of the occasion for it. This account, however, constitutes but a single chapter in a treatise devoted to a very able consideration of the whole subject of public worship in the Presbyterian Church. Under the title "Liturgia Expurgata; or, the Prayer-Book amended according to the Presbyterian Revision of 1661, and historically and critically reviewed," Dr. Shields discusses The Origin of the Westminster Directory for Public Worship; The Presbyterian Revision of the Book of Common Prayer; The General Assembly's Revision of the Westminster Directory; Ministerial Neglects, and their Remedies, under the Directory; Congregational Neglects, and their Remedies, under the Directory; The Consistency of a Free Liturgy with the Directory; The Warrant for the Presbyterian Book of Common Prayer; The Historical Materials for the Presbyterian Book of Common Prayer; and concludes with a Historical and Critical Analysis of the Amended Presbyterian Prayer-Book. The nine chapters of the treatise are followed by an Appendix, comprising a Chronological List of the Principal Liturgical and Historical Documents connected with the compilation of the Prayer-Book; The Presbyterian Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer in 1661; a General Index to the Historical Sources of the Offices in this book; and a Tabular View of various liturgies. The whole gives the results of wide research, and of mature and exact thought; and we welcome the new edition, which brings this treasury of knowledge on the subject within the reach of every student.

It is to be regretted that a work so valuable should appear as an appendage to a service-book, put forth, upon very insufficient grounds, as the "*Presbyterian* Book of Common Prayer." We have here, substantially, the Book of Common Prayer of the Anglican Church, with sundry changes, and with some additional matter. The first six hundred pages of this volume contain the Table of Lessons, the Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper and of Baptism, and the Psalter—the whole taken bodily from the Anglican ritual. In the Psalter, the old version of the Bishops' Bible is followed. The Table of Proper Lessons is based upon the Church Year, from Advent to Trinity. Not even the Tables for Finding Easter-Day, and the Dominical Letter, are wanting. In the Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer,

* "They desired . . . . . that the psalms used in the daily service should be according to the new translation."—BURNET, History of His Own Time, I., 180.

and in the Communion Service, the phraseology is slightly modified, to adapt these forms to Presbyterian use. But the changes are much less considerable than those that have been made by our brethren of the Reformed Episcopal Church. In some particulars this "Presbyterian Book of Common Prayer" adheres even more closely to the Church of England book than the ritual of the American Episcopal Church has done. The parts added are chiefly the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and a collection of prayers for special occasions.

One may naturally ask, on opening this volume, How and when did Presbyterians come into possession of that "invaluable liturgy," heretofore regarded as the peculiar treasure of another branch of the holy Catholic Church? The historical treatise appended to the prayer-book before us fails to make this clear. Advocates of liberty to use, in the Presbyterian Church, discretionary forms in the conduct of public worship, have sought to show that the use of such forms was designed by the Calvinistic Reformers, and was authorized in the Church of Scotland, as in all the continental Churches. It has been claimed that we have a rich inheritance of liturgical material, and a prescriptive right to avail ourselves of it; and that nothing in the spirit or the law of our ecclesiastical system forbids this. But the Book of Common Prayer can hardly be classed among the Presbyterian formularies. The objections urged by Presbyterians, from the time of the troubles in Frankfort to the time of the Savoy Conference, against the Anglican liturgy, were many and great, and were not to be met by mere verbal emendations. Our author tells us, indeed, that the Book of Common Prayer "was, at one time, in use in many Presbyterian parishes" of Scotland. "And even," he adds, "the first proposals to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland were so favorably entertained by the General Assembly, that under its sanction a Prayer-Book, substantially agreeing with that of the Church of England, was prepared, though never actually used." It should be borne in mind, however, that the General Assembly in question, which met at Aberdeen in the year 1616, was not a true court of the Church of Scotland. It was one of the Assemblies called by King James, packed with his nominees, moderated by bishops, all the acts of which were afterward declared, by a lawful Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1640, to be null and void. It does not appear that the Presbyterians of Scotland ever came any nearer than this to the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer.

How near the English Presbyterian divines at the Savoy Conference came to such adoption, can be judged from their Exceptions to the Book of Common Prayer, some of which have been adduced above. The changes they proposed would have brought the Prayer-Book into close conformity with the Westminster Assembly's Directory of Worship. Upon this model, indeed, Richard Baxter, who was one of the Commissioners, framed the "Reformed Liturgy," which they presented at the Conference as embodying their views. Many of their exceptions related to minor points, such as the omission of the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, the frequent repetition of the Glòria Patri, the omission of the preface to the Ten Commandments, etc., etc. Some of the improvements suggested have been made in later revisions of the Book of Common Prayer. But the editor of the "Presbyterian Book of Common Prayer" has exercised a large discretion in applying the exceptions of the Savoy Commissioners. Their more extreme demands—as the re-casting of the Litany and Collects into continuous prayers, the use of King James' version in the Psalter, the disuse of responses and alternate readings by the people, the non-observance of Lent, the introduction of a "preparatory prayer" at the beginning of public worship—are passed over. If the principle of expurgation had been rigidly carried out, we should have had a service-book representing the minds, not, indeed, of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, but of certain eminent Presbyterian ministers, a few of whom had been members of that Assembly, and may or may not have taken part in framing its Directory for Worship (pp. 52, 59). Shall we not hope that Dr. Shields will, in a future edition of his work, complete what he has begun, and favor us, in addition to the

admirable Historical Treatise, which gives great value to the present publication, with a revision of the Prayer-Book that shall embody *all* the exceptions of the Savoy Commissioners?

It may be true, as our author insists, that "the Prayer-Book thus revised, with our American Directory in place of the English Rubric, is the only Presbyterian liturgy that is either desirable or practicable." But we think it more certain that any formulary of worship, however worded, must, to be helpful to Presbyterian ministers and congregations at the present day, be conformed to the simple and natural order of divine service which prevails in our churches, and which is traced in our Directory for Worship. This is not the order of Calvin's liturgy, nor is it that of the Book of Common Prayer, modelled, in some respects, upon Calvin's liturgy. It begins not with Confession of sins, but with Invocation of the Divine blessing. It assigns to the minister the utterance of prayer, and to the people the utterance of praise in psalmody. A complete departure from this order, which is the prevailing order in all non-Episcopal congregations in Great Britain and America, would seem to us neither desirable nor practicable. A service-book, constructed chiefly or wholly out of materials to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, but conformed in method to the present usage of Presbyterian churches, would be valuable. Such a book, unquestionably, was contemplated by the Presbyterian Commissioners to the Savoy Conference.

CHARLES W. BAIRD.

THE CHRIST. Seven Lectures by ERNEST NAVILLE (corresponding member of the Institute of France), author of "The Problem of Evil," "The Heavenly Father," etc. Translated from the French, by the Rev. T. J. DESPRES. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

These lectures give a fresh and interesting treatment of the great question, "Who is this Son of Man?" which has become the centre of the position between the advocates of the merely natural and the believers in the supernatural. The standpoint of the author is indicated in these sentences: "I shall not attack either the Pope of Rome, or the Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Holy Synod of Russia, or the Anglican Bishops, or the Lutheran Consistories, or—in short, I shall not enter into any polemics, ecclesiastical or confessional. Elsewhere you may learn more than enough about that which divides Christians; it will perhaps please you, if only for the novelty of the thing, to listen to nothing in this place but about that which should unite them." The lectures are, Christ as Teacher, Comforter, Redeemer, Legislator, and Lord, and a supplementary chapter is devoted to answers to questions, which had been handed to the lecturer during the delivery of the course in Geneva. They are calm, candid, lucid, convincing, and should not be overlooked by those who are dealing with the great subjects with which they are concerned.

WM. M. TAYLOR.

THE LAST SUPPER OF OUR LORD, AND HIS WORDS OF CONSOLATION TO THE DISCIPLES. By J. MARSHALL LANG, D.D., Minister of the Barony Parish, Glasgow. New York: Macmillan & Co. 12mo. 1881. $1.25.

All attendants upon the sessions of the late General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance in Philadelphia during the last days of September, 1880, will remember the noble appearance and manly eloquence of Dr. Marshall Lang. Very few of the delegates made upon the whole body so enviable an impression. A member of the Established Church of Scotland, a successor of Norman McLeod, the greatest man of that Church during the last generation, the model pastor of the most important parish in the second city of the British Empire, Dr. Lang enjoys the love, confidence, and admiration of all classes of sincerely evangelical Christians. Among the divisions of opinions and bitter jealousies which rend all the ecclesiastical bodies of Scotland, this position of Dr. Lang gives him almost unrivalled distinction and advantage for doing good and promoting the edification of the body of Christ.

The present book is one of a series entitled "The Household Library of Exposition," which is intended for popular instruction and edification on some of the most

important passages of Christian history, or themes of Christian doctrine, by several of the most eminent ministers of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland and England. Of those already prepared, the following may be mentioned: "The Life of David, as reflected in His Psalms," by the Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D., Manchester; "Isaac, Jacob and Joseph," by the Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D., Glasgow. There are in preparation among others, "The Twelve and the Seventy," by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, LL.D., Blackburn; "Christ's Doctrine of Happiness," by the Rev. Prof. Bruce, D.D., Glasgow; "The Miracles of Our Lord," by the Rev. Prof. Laidlaw, D.D., Edinburgh. Spurgeon says: "The design of the 'Household Library of Exposition' has our heartiest sympathy." Certainly the present volume of the series is worthy of all praise. It is filled with able, reverent, and spiritual expositions of some of the most sacred words and actions of our Lord, and of one of the most momentous passages in the history of His Church. A. A. HODGE.

THE CHURCH PRAISE BOOK. A Selection of Hymns and Tunes for Christian Worship. By M. WOOLSEY STRYKER & HUBERT P. MAIN. Biglow & Main, Publishers: New York and Chicago.

This work, like so many before it, advances claims to recognition, because of its suitableness for public worship. It has the advantage, indeed, of having the combined judgment of minister and musician in its editing, but how far that judgment has been successful must be determined partly by the character of the work in view of its declared aim and purpose, partly by the actual use of the book. It is styled a "compact hand-book for the united praise of the entire congregation." As it is a "critical selection," and not a "library of song," a difference of opinion will be inevitable, in view of the fact that the first lines of a large number of hymns are missed from its table, and those, too, of hymns familiar to the heart of the people—such as, "Alas, and did my Saviour bleed," "At evening time let there be light," "Blow ye the trumpet, blow," "O God, our help in ages past," "Lord, in the morning thou shalt hear," and others equally well-known. Withal, it is but just to say, that excellent taste is manifest in the selections made. In the forty divisions (not including the subdivisions under the name "Christ") there are really variety and scope sufficient to meet all the needs of worship. As proof of this, we would refer, by way of example, to the collection under the heading "Faith," or the equally good selections included under the title "Submission." Especially are the latter marked by a tenderness, power, and breadth that must satisfy the heartiest devotion. We only need refer to the copious index of hymn writers, to indicate the comprehensive yet careful work of the editors in this regard. The glory of the book, however, is its music. Though it seem extravagant praise, yet we doubt if its array of "tunes"—viewed with reference to strength, purity, dignity, and devoutness—has its equal in any of the works now in use. The best has been sought for on every side—across the sea as well as here. The evident purpose to elevate the tone of church music—to give it a more truthful, enduring character—deserves the warmest approval. There is such a thing as truth in music, and the great names that appear in the list of composers affixed to this work are the best pledges of the substantial, trustworthy character of its tunes. These are, in some instances, indeed, difficult—perhaps too much so for an ordinary congregation without training. But better have the training and master the difficulties, in order to sing music that shall more truthfully express the feelings of the heart—that is more consonant with the thought and purpose of the hour. As a sample of adaptation of music to sentiment, we would refer to the divisions entitled "Evening," "Judgment," and "Heaven." The pervading quiet—the awful solemnity—the glad joy belonging to each respectively, are admirably reflected in the music. Many selections are suited equally well to both Sabbath school and church service—a feature which makes the work attractive to the home-circle, where both children and parents unite in singing the "Songs of Zion." It gives us pleasure to find so much in this book worthy of commendation. May it

have the attention it deserves. Indices of topics and Scripture texts are certainly desirable and helpful, and would increase the handiness of the book. Last, but not least, is the table of "Authorial Data," to be noted as giving valuable information.

JAMES S. RIGGS.

WHAT IS PRESBYTERIAN LAW, AS DEFINED BY CHURCH COURTS? By Rev. J. ASPINWALL HODGE. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This is a most valuable work in the form of a catechism; adapted for instruction to youth and age, ministers, elders, and people, alike. It is the result of careful study, ample observation, and mature experience, by an eminent pastor, who has had the best opportunities to collect from every source the right interpretation of our Presbyterian Constitution. Polity, Discipline, and Directory, as defined in principle and application by the General Assembly, and exhibited in authentic history besides, are brought into full view; with exhaustive detail of practice and clear definition of elementary principle, which have never been equalled, probably, by any other manual for Presbyterian use.

It is not the first ecclesiastical catechism we have had; but it is by far the best for the present day, even if its predecessors were not out of print. The catechism of Dr. McLeod in New York, so much admired and commended by Dr. John M. Mason, Drs. Miller, Romeyn, and others, did great service for a generation of the past, in establishing the Scriptural order and polity of our system. Dr. Thomas Smyth, of Charleston, S. C., condensed, in the simple and attractive form of a catechism, the most valuable portions of his voluminous writings on Church Polity. And then we have a similar catechism by Dr. Samuel J. Baird, author of the "Old School" Digest, able, sound, and comprehensive. But this new catechism by Dr. Hodge brings elementary tuition and progressive direction; the genesis, the growth, the outcome, the diversities, and the latest results of ecclesiastical administration, all together. No *vade-mecum* could more advantageously enter, at this time, the family, the school, the Bible-class; the Session, the Presbytery, and the General Assembly. No wise ecclesiastic will read this catechetical book without saying, we think, that it is indispensable for intelligent guidance, nowadays, in the transactions of order, according to the letter and spirit of our Constitution. It is a key to the Assembly's Digest; to be carried in the pocket, like a pocket compass, for the safety of our bearings, until we get access to that larger volume itself. And more than the Digest can be, it is unity of explanation, and solution of contradictory decisions in our fallible judications. Without superseding our indispensable Digest, the convenience of this manual, in size and price, with a full Index included, will be more immediately and generally available; and its reference to the Digest will retain that Book as an ulterior authority, while being also itself a digest of rare value for the last eight years of Assembly Records since the Digest was compiled. The reader will be gratified to find Dr. Hodge coinciding with Dr. Moore of the Digest, in filling up the chasm of Presbyterian progress and attainment, for over thirty years of separation between the two branches, Old School and New. The nullification of deliverances and decisions, on both sides, during that era of development, by the terms of Reunion, was unparalleled retroaction on the part of a banner-bearing church. And the wonder is, that the comparative weakness of our united force, ever since that conjunction of repeal, has not been greater than we have suffered—awaiting still the restoration of many a precedent, in both bodies, which both agreed to suppress. The skilful hands of Dr. Moore and Dr. Hodge have now been joined, in the virtual reinstatement of those important but obsolete decisions, to govern the opinion of our church tribunals, and hasten the needed re-enactments in our statute-book. And this, all the more, that we can see now but little difference in the adjudication, respectively, of those two wings when separated; and that their precedents ought to have been harmonized, not abrogated.

Another excellence, and one which is quite peculiar to this new catechism, is the

comparative ecclesiology with which it is illustrated. It is an exceedingly instructive correlation of principles and practice throughout the Protestant churches, North and South; Baptist, Lutheran, Congregational, Methodist, Episcopalian, and Episcopalian Reformed. And equally instructive is the antagonism shown between Protestant and Papist; and occasionally the antithesis between churches of the evangelical family themselves. Thus the analogy of ecclesiasticism is admirably set forth. Varieties of feature are faithfully presented. And the minuteness of detail, in the application of principles to practice, enrich this manual, and furnish safe direction, in every kind of procedure, and on every question of divided opinion which is apt to embarrass even the most intelligent officer or member. The style is lucid, the statements are accurate, candid, and fair. We might differ on some points (very few) from the formulas of statement by the author; but they are of minor importance. And we cannot forbear to commend his work without qualification. There is no limit to the usefulness of this little volume, at the present time, if it could be circulated, as it deserves, into every household of the Presbyterian name. The church history it combines would alone be invaluable as a means of retaining the unity we gained twelve years ago, already threatened by the tendency to provincial disintegration. A. T. McGILL.

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS PROGRESS. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1881. 16mo, pp. 603.

It is constantly asserted by the enemies of Christianity, and feared by many weak friends, that the power of Christianity is waning, and that faith is failing in the earth. The question whether Christianity or its antagonists are gaining, is vital. If the battle is going against us, it is our own fault, and universal and thorough repentance is the first necessity. If the cause of the Lord is advancing all along its extended line, the fact should be acknowledged to the glory of the Lord and for the encouragement of those who fight on His side.

It is gratifying, therefore, to find, as we do is this book, an author who grasps this subject with a sure hand and reduces to scientific order the factors that are essential to forming a just opinion. The following summary of the table of contents illustrates the scope of the work.—THE QUESTION OPENED: (rehearsing the views of pessimists, "apostles of complaint and despondency." A favorable solution indicated in regard to the following general heads): I. FAITH; II. MORALS; III. SPIRITUAL VITALITY (comprising nine chapters); IV. STATISTICAL EXHIBITS. *Ch. i. Statistical Science*—(its application to religious statistics). *Ch. ii. Religious progress and status: Protestantism and Romanism. In Europe. In Papal America. Ch. iii. In the United States. Ch. iv. Foreign Missions. Ch. v. The world-wide view.* APPENDIX. ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS. *xxxix Tables. In the United States, i–xvii. The British Islands, xviii–xxiii. British North America, xxiv.* ECUMENICAL STATISTICS, *xxv–xxxix.* DIAGRAMS, *iv.*

The work is comprehensive and accurate, and is done in a most readable style. The perusal is thoroughly heartening to any one who loves the honor of Christ or the souls of men. He will rise from the reading feeling that he has had a demonstration. Clergymen will find here many valuable items that they have met before and regretted that they did not preserve. The book deserves to be kept as a manual for reference, which is facilitated by a good index.

Evangelical readers of the volume will be grateful for the cheering illustration it gives of our Lord's parables of the seed and of the leaven. The kingdom of heaven, as the seed, springs up and grows *we know not how.* It is like the leaven, that *was hid* in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened. Pessimism is as inconsistent with the facts of contemporaneous history as with faith in the divine premises. S. T. LOWRIE.

BOOKS FOR POPULAR EDIFICATION.—*Living Christianity.* By *Prof. L. J. Halsey.* (Presbyterian Board of Publication). The object of the volume is to restate the essential doctrines of the common salvation in such form as will commend them to the cordial acceptance of God's children in all evangelical denominations. The author has, we think, accomplished his purpose. He writes with ease and clearness, and his book may be warmly commended as a popular and timely presentation of the saving truths of the Gospel, fitted alike to interest and to instruct all ordinary readers.—*The Gospel of Christ.* By *Dr. A. W. Thorold.* (Randolph & Co.) The reader learns from the title-page what is nowhere stated or implied in the book itself, that its author is the "Lord Bishop of Rochester." The neatly-printed volume contains a series of suggestive essays on Life, Grace, Forgiveness, Discipline, Sacrifice, and Glory. These subjects are treated in a practical way, shunning the technical terms of theology, as well as denominational peculiarities, and yet so full of solid truth, expressed with freshness and force and literary grace, as to make a very fitting manual to put into the hands of cultivated persons. In a style so correct and pure, we are surprised to find the expression (p. 118), "who feels to owe," meaning, who feels that he owes. An agreeable feature is the author's power of putting weighty points in a short and sharp form. Thus of the need of prayer: "What we want, we ask for; and what we ask for, we get; no more." Again, "Be not afraid of occasional mistakes: the man who, in the way of his duty, has ceased to be capable of them, has probably lost the courage to be useful.' The book, too, is full of Scripture, not heaped together at random, but selected, explained, and applied.—*Johannes der Täufer.* Von *Ernst Breest.* (Leipzig: J. Lehmann). This is called a Biblical Study, and well deserves its name, being a careful exposition of all the Scripture statements respecting the forerunner of our Lord. While the treatment is careful, and the spirit wholesome, we fail to see any advantage in this over previous monographs upon the same subject. Indeed, it is quite inferior in grasp and insight to the work of Von Rohden, issued more than forty years ago.—*Reden an Theologie Studirende.* Von *Eduard Reuss.* (Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn). This is a series of academical addresses, delivered in the course of the years 1856–1878. Printed at first only as delivered, in a fugitive form, the veteran author at last collected them into the present volume. They are a pleasant memorial of the gifts and attainments which have given him so much repute in sacred criticism and interpretation. One could desire a warmer tone and a somewhat more definite implication of evangelical truth, but apart from this the addresses are full of vigor, point, cordiality, and impressiveness. The last one pronounced in the jubilee year of the professor is a touching review of his experiences in the half century. At the end of it, referring to the *Zeitgeist*, which has become so threatening, he expresses a serene conviction that whatever may become of the rock of Peter, nevertheless the Rock of which Isaiah and Paul speak will hold its place and see the raging waves of opposition break into foam at its feet, Meanwhile, the duty of standing on the defensive is incumbent on the coming generation, and he exhorts his young friends not to bury or squander what is intrusted to them, but to make increase with it under the conviction that *All are necessary*, while he and other like veterans leave the stage with the humble admission, *No one is indispensable.*—*The Incarnate Saviour.* By *Rev. W. R. Nicoll.* (New York: Carter & Bros.) This is a new Life of Christ, not in the way of critical discussion and archæological detail, of which of late years there has been enough to last for a century, but as an attempt to show how the chief events in the Saviour's career bear on the doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement. This is done with discrimination and force. The book, though suited for popular reading, is by no means commonplace, but well-considered and weighty, the author's individuality impressing itself distinctly even upon the well-worn materials which he handles.—*Palestine Explored.* By *Rev. Jas. Neill.* (New York: Randolph & Co.) The author was for three years (1871–1874) incumbent of Christ

Church, at Jerusalem, and he has availed himself of the facilities of his official residence and of various journeys in Palestine, to collect information upon the natural features of the country and the manners of the people, so far as they throw light upon the figurative language of the Bible. His book, therefore, is a valuable addition to the materials already in hand for the illustration of Biblical words and phrases. Sometimes he is fanciful, but in the main his observations are just and useful. To the correctness of his description of the method of measuring grain in the market-place, in illustration of our Saviour's words (Luke vi. 38), the present writer can bear witness from personal observation. T. W. CHAMBERS.

V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

EMPIRICAL PSYCHOLOGY; or, THE SCIENCE OF MIND FROM EXPERIENCE. By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., LL.D. Revised with the co-operation of JULIUS H. SEELYE, D.D., LL.D.

Dr. Hickok is a veteran author. Yet, though his eye is dimmed, his natural force is not abated. But his impaired vision has been supplemented in this revision by the keen eye and skilful hand of President Seelye.

In this revised edition of "Hickok's Mental Science," the form and style have been modified and improved, so that both are now admirably adapted to study in or out of college. As a text-book it is comprehensive, compact, and clear.

It is designed, also, to be introductory to a higher philosophy, which shall comprehend universal human experience in a completed system. The design is at once large and laudable. By this treatise, we are conducted to the open door of such a philosophy.

At first, the author employed a single test—common consciousness—as the ultimate criterion (perhaps sufficient). In this edition a twofold test is employed—common consciousness and scientific experiment—making the result doubly secure.

Dr. Hickok, after his great familiarity with this subject, the better appreciates its difficulties, viz.: in properly conceiving the mental being (the mind); in observing the mental phenomena (the facts); in classifying the facts; and in expressing all this in language (language which is so apt to have material rather than mental form). These are carefully considered in "The Introduction."

In treating of "Anthropology," as the author properly does at the outset, he traces, briefly but most suggestively, important differences resulting from race, from sex, from temperament, from bodily weakness, and from remarkable interactions of body and mind. This interesting chapter of twenty pages brings us to the author's *method*, which is concisely: (1) To collect the facts; (2) To classify correctly; (3) To sytematize the classes. This method must commend itself to every unbiased judgment.

The fundamental facts noted are threefold; (1) the consciousness of the Self or ego; (2) The distinguishing of the self from the not-self, or of the subject from the object (as well as of object from object); (3) The distinguishing of the self from its activities (the thinker from the thinking).

The method, then, is threefold. The fundamental facts are threefold.

The author pauses in the next chapter to make certain discriminations and to define certain important terms, such as inertia and spontaneity—sentient spontaneity and spontaneous thinking—sensation, consciousness, etc.

Consciousness is "the light of all our seeing"; or, it is "the knowing of a somewhat that is all together"; *i. e.*, where subject and object—the knower and the known—appear together, ready for discrimination. But we need not repeat.

He then proceeds to the great task, viz., the observation and description of the

mind's agency; and this is threefold: Knowing, Feeling, Willing. The first he styles the Intellect; the second, the Susceptibility; the third, the Will.

The Intellect (or mental agency in knowing) is threefold, including the Sense; the Understanding; the Reason, *i. e.*, knowing in each of these directions; knowing in or through the Understanding; knowing in or through the Reason.

The Susceptibility (or mental agency in feeling) is threefold, and corresponds to the knowing: the Sentient; the Psychical; the Rational.

The Will (or mental agency in executing or choosing) is also threefold: the executive energy in the Sense; the executive energy in the Soul; the executive energy in the Spirit. It is only the last which is a spiritual will, rational and free. Here we reach the notion of a completed or rational will—"a will in liberty," and so, responsible.

It is already evident that Dr. Hickok regards man, not as a dichotomy, but as a trichotomy, as Paul expresses it (1 Thess. v. 23), "Spirit and soul and body." We cannot follow him through his vindication of this view, vigorous and interesting as he makes it.

It is also evident that this arrangement for a text-book is, to say the least, most orderly and helpful. The discussion in the several divisions and subdivisions is duly proportioned and well sustained.

In the light of consciousness are revealed all the facts of experience from without and within by external and internal sense. But "there is a capability different from experience, which can examine and test the experience, etc., (p. 63). By such scientific experiment the mind discerns the definite limitations within which the facts are to be laid for just discrimination. This mental agency is properly the Intellect, which etymologically signifies *the agency* that *lays the facts of experience within proper limitations* (p. 63).

Here we are shown at large how, by experience external and internal, men gather facts; and then, by review and re-arrangement of these, rise from common experience to empirical science. Thus is shown the human intellect operating first through the sense, but passing beyond this to the understanding; in a word, from Experience to Science. To this animals never rise, while man is steadily advancing from mere sentiency to scientific attainment.

In this field of investigation, the author indicates the agency of the human understanding in the different directions of human Science, including also the principles and processes of Empirical Logic.

But this does by no means complete the view. Human intelligence not only gathers facts in experience, and arranges them in scientific order as antecedent and consequent, deducing uniformity,—"that it must ever be thus *because* it always has been thus" (p. 119); but, by a higher faculty it affirms a *causality* without which the effect (the consequent) could not be—a causality which *produces* the effect—a causality which, though unseen, is none the less known—in a word, a higher faculty (the rational) which looks beyond the phenomenal to that which produces the phenomenal. This higher faculty affirms a free and responsible finite cause of finite moral actions.

But more than this, it affirms an eternal, self-existent personal cause of universal nature. Thus the universe is comprehended, not by an evolutionary process, but by a divine and free organization, according to a holy and eternal plan. "Such recognition of a God at once occasions its own peculiar emotions" p. 169).

This faculty supervises not only human sentiency and human science, but also human morals in their relations both toward God and man. The rational Spirit recognizes rights and duties, and so alternatives for free and responsible action, holding itself and others mutually responsible, and, as moral agents under moral government, responsible to a supreme and holy moral government, and a supreme and holy moral Governor. Correspondent emotions follow. Such emotions cannot

be enkindled by any perceptions of sense, nor by the apprehension of mere truth or beauty or ethical right. "They make the man, in his very constitution, a *religious* being" (p. 170).

Along this line of discussion, Art, Science, Ethics, Religion, all challenge and receive attention—attention at once vigorous and sympathetic.

Having ably and successfully traced the human intellect in its threefold agency, and the human susceptibility in its threefold manifestation, it remains for our author to trace the Will in its threefold executive energy corresponding to the threefold Intellect and Susceptibility.

In its supreme exercise in the rational spirit, we find the reason, conscience, and will constituting a person, self-determining, moral, responsible. It becomes religious when it recognizes God; subjecting the powers of spirit, soul, and body to his righteous law, it becomes a righteous will; consecrating itself to God in devout service, it is a holy will.

A choice penetrating the spirit, and determining the self away from or toward God, consciously cherished in the heart, though not disclosed to public view, is styled an "Immanent Preference." This, conscience accuses or else excuses as bad or good, constituting real moral character; and Solomon describes it in this proverb "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." "*This*," says our author, "*is a real electing purpose.*"

This "Immanent Preference," striving for the attainment of its object—good or bad—becomes a "Governing Purpose." As such, it prompts and guides subordinate executive acts for such attainment. If it be for life and life's great aim, it is the Supreme Governing Purpose.

There may be influences affecting this governing purpose, for good or evil. But if the governing purpose remain unchanged, the moral character remains unchanged, whatever "Desultory Volitions" or transient choices may play upon the surface of a human life.

The moral character is changed only as the governing purpose and the immanent preference of the man himself are changed. Thus, the very "Grades of Will" (p. 208) have a threefold distinction,—Immanent Preference; Governing Purpose; Desultory Volition.

Advancing toward this ultimate analysis in empirical science, our author discusses the higher sentiments, social, ethical, religious, and the highest—"*the truly Christian sentiments.*" In these are found Christian love and evangelical faith and godly sorrow for sin, as product and proof of a new life—a new life in which the immanent preference is changed, and the governing purpose is changed, and the will is renewed, and the regenerate spirit has become a new creature in Christ Jesus.

From such an Empirical Psychology, as is fully shown in the final division of this book, the door is open to a spiritual and Christian and complete philosophy. Dr. Hickok is one of the heroic and philanthropic thinkers who has entered within the door; and, after patient and profound investigation, has generously distributed the riches of his research in his "Rational Psychology," and "Rational Cosmology," and "Creator and Creation," and "Humanity Immortal," and other well known works.

The work before us we commend for its noble spirit and tendency as well as for its clearness, comprehensiveness, and ability. R. B. WELCH.

THE METAPHYSICS OF THE SCHOOL. By THOMAS HARPER, S.J. 1879, 1881. Vols. I. and II. Macmillan & Co.

This is an elaborate attempt to adapt the orthodox scholastic philosophy to the wants of English readers. It is also an attempt to arrange and formulate the accepted philosophy of the Latin Church. The author, as a priest and as a member of the Society of Jesus, must be congratulated on the success with which he has carried out the work; for in the volumes before us he displays a rare familiarity with

the best thought of the Middle Ages and a habit of careful analysis all too uncommon in the present century.

In the first volume he begins his discussion of what one may call the Thomistic Ontology. He does not fall into the vulgar error of confounding metaphysics either with psychology or with mental science in general. With Aristotle he seems to hold that the Μετα τα φυσικα is a treatise on Ontology; and hence, in the discussion of the subject, he presents appropriately the doctrine of Being. In an elaborate introduction, Father Harper dwells upon the importance, significance, and excellence of the scholastic philosophy. He shows that the terminology of the schoolmen was simple as compared with that of modern science, and more or less successfully defends scholasticism against the objections of modern writers like Bacon, Hobbes, and Brucker. Positively he maintains the authority and present importance of the works of St. Thomas Aquinas and the post-Tridentine Metaphysics of Suarez. Without stopping to discuss the soundness of such a view, one may express surprise at the association of the names of the Angelic doctor and the Jesuit theologian. The almost simultaneous appearance of the Bull *Aeterni Patris* and the first volume of the "Metaphysics of the School" cannot but lend to the latter considerable ecclesiastical significance.

The method of the book is scholastic. One is constantly reminded of Lombard's Sentences and the *Summa*. The scope of metaphysics is shown to be Being and its attributes, and the assumption that Being can be known necessitates the conclusion that metaphysics is a Science. Being *per se* is viewed as to its essence and with reference to its possibility and existence. The attributes of Being are discussed under the heads of: 1. Attributes of Being in *genera*; 2. Unity; 3. Truth; 4. Goodness. This discussion betrays certain qualities in Father Harper not to be found conspicuously present in either St. Thomas or Suarez—an abstruse and awkward style, facility in scientific illustration and absence of original thought. It undoubtedly requires coolness and boldness to pursue ontology as a science, in the face of modern nescience, with a cool contempt for Hegel, and a placid dissatisfaction at the works of Kant. Father Harper's task is easy, in so far as the mere elaboration of metaphysical distinctions is concerned; but the question, Is metaphysics possible as a science? requires far more critical treatment than the schoolmen dreamed of, or than Father Harper has given.

The second volume opens with a discussion of the analytical and experimental principles of being. This includes a discussion of no very great value, a discussion of the important synthetic *a priori* judgments of Kant, which Father Harper seems unable to appreciate, as his criticism is far aside from the point raised by the *Critique*. His position is curious. He denies the possibility of synthetic judgments, *a priori*, maintaining that the ultimate and universal principles are analytic judgments. The remainder and greater part of the volume is devoted to the treatment of "Causes of Being." This will probably attract more attention than any other part of the work. Adopting the four-fold division of Aristotle, the author treats of the various theories of matter and of the qualities of matter, under the head of material cause. He returns to the scholastic view of primordial matter, defending it against modern theories. The book closes with some chapters on the various forms of the universe as included under the general term Formal Cause. His next-coming volume will contain a treatment of the Efficient Cause.

This hasty summary of Father Harper's work is sufficient to give a general idea only of the care with which the Ontology of the school has been studied and elaborated. It is more than probable that the Catholic student of philosophy will prefer the Summa of St. Thomas to the work of Father Harper, and that the English reader of scholastic philosophy will fail to find a Jesuit father the most trustworthy exponent of the Dominican Doctor.

ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER.

THE FOREIGNER IN CHINA. By L. N. WHEELER, D.D.; with an Introduction by Prof. W. C. SAWYER, Ph.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1881. pp. 268.

The acknowledged ignorance of most Americans respecting the Chinese Government and people is as unaccountable as it is general. One would think that a nation so old, so peculiar, and including such a vast population, would for these reasons alone excite the interest of those who desire to know something of the world in which we live. And when the present and prospective relations of this nation with our own are considered, it is certainly strange that so few are acquainted with even the geography and outline history of so prominent a factor in the future of the race. One reason for this ignorance, no doubt, is that we have had so few well-written and reliable books respecting China, of such a size that they attract the notice of ordinary readers, or of such material that these readers are interested in their table of contents. Were this volume of Dr. Wheeler less extended in range and pleasing in style, it would be welcomed by many because of his pains to render it entirely worthy of confidence; and when, in addition, we find it a real epitome of all most persons need to know about the Chinese, there can hardly be a question that it will have wide circulation. It is, in fact, a handbook of information upon any facts concerning which information is sought. The language is clear and direct, the order simple and natural, and the whole eminently satisfactory. Especially is the latter portion of the book instructive, as it is devoted to the present condition of the nation, and to those influences which have contributed to this condition. Among these, Protestant missions have their proper place, as well as the now inevitable commercial and general intercourse of the people with those of other lands.

It is not possible to determine in particulars what bearing the Chinese nation will have upon the progress of man, but none can fail to see that it must be very powerful. Every such book as this helps us to a more just and unprejudiced estimate of our own duty to such a people, and of their providential relation to ourselves; and time and effort are wisely expended in the attempt to prepare Americans, as individuals and as a nation, for advance along the line which the finger of God seems distinctly to indicate.

It was an important afterthought which placed the recent treaties signed at Peking, between the United States and China, in the appendix; and the Introduction by Prof. Sawyer adds much to the interest of the book. JAMES EELLS.

THE following works are worthy of mention:

The Tragedies of Sophocles; a new translation with a biographical essay, and an appendix of rhymed choral odes and lyrical dialogues. By *E. H. Plumptre, D.D.* 12mo, pp. xcv., 502. (New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1882.) *The Tragedies of Æschylus;* a new translation, etc. By *E. H. Plumptre, D.D.* 12mo, pp. lxviii., 378. (New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1882). These translations were first published in 1865 and 1868 respectively, and then in revised and considerably improved editions in 1871 and 1873. It does not appear either from announcements on the title-page or from dated prefaces to what extent, if any, this work of revision and enrichment has been continued, and we have no access at present to the preceding editions, on examination of which we might note for ourselves the successive stages of the author's work. Dr. Plumptre, by recent appointment Dean of Wells, long connected with King's College, London, had before the appearance of these translations made himself a reputation not only as a classical and biblical scholar, but by poetical gifts of his own, which constituted an important qualification for his work as translator of the two great dramatists. The concurrent judgment of scholars at once recognized his success not only as relatively but as absolutely great. While one or two individual plays of one dramatist or the other may have been rendered with equal fidelity and felicity, no translation of the entire works of

either, so far as we know, claims the place conceded to Dr. Plumptre's. The introductory essays are unusually satisfactory, and the notes, which are commonly material rather than textual, are valuable helps whether to the scholar or the ordinary reader. A fine English style, a true poetic sympathy with the theme and with the dramatist's conception of it, and an appearance of ease and power which forbids the feeling that the author is either struggling with or evading his high task, commend these volumes to all readers of cultivated taste who would know to what Æschylus and Sophocles owe their high repute.—*The Verbalist:* a manual devoted to brief discussions on the right and the wrong use of words, etc. By *Alfred Ayres.* 18mo, pp. 220. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882). In these days when style is influenced so much more by the easy reading of newspapers and magazines than by the careful study either of standard authors or of critical works on our language and its proper use, there is great need of just such information, caution and correction as Mr. Ayres attempts to supply in the convenient manual before us. The favor with which his "Orthoepist" was received encourages his second endeavor. His criticisms appear to us now and then overdone, and the special spite with which he pursues some of the objects of his critical aversion is in our view a blemish upon his work. But in the main his little volume is to be commended for diligent practical use. A fine English style, accurate and chaste, is greatly undervalued by a large proportion of those among us who should be and must be models. (We hear the *Tu quoque,* and propose to keep the *Verbalist* near at hand).—*Ralph Waldo Emerson:* Philosopher and Poet. By *Alfred H. Guernsey.* [Appleton's new Handy-Volume Series, No. 70]. 16mo, pp. 327. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1881). Mr. Guernsey gives us a volume that will be very convenient and useful to such as would know somewhat more of the life and works of one who, if not representative of a large class, is unquestionably in his strongly marked individuality one of the men of the time. His important works are described and analyzed, and perhaps half the volume consists of illustrative selections. C. A. AIKEN.

THE FOLLOWING WORKS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED:

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION, PHILADELPHIA.

SCATTERED. Letting Down the Bars Series, No. 2. By Mrs. A. K. DUNNING. 8vo, pp. 272.

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., CHICAGO.

THE LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS, and other Legends from the Indian Muse. By BENJAMIN HATHAWAY. 12mo, pp. 317.

ROBERT CARTER & BROS., NEW YORK.

THE WORLD'S FOUNDATIONS; or, Geology for Beginners. By AGNES GIBERNE. 12mo, pp. 326.

COVENANT NAMES AND PRIVILEGES. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON. 12mo, pp. 374.

BITS FROM BLINKBONNY: or, Bell o' the Manse. A Tale of Scottish Village Life, between 1841 and 1851. By JOHN STRATHESK. 12mo, pp. 346.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO.

AMERICAN STATESMEN. John Quincy Adams. By JOHN T. MORSE, Jr. 12mo, pp. 316. $1.25.

Date Due

FACULTY			
FACULTY			