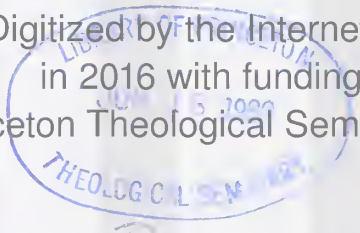

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PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

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I.

THE FRENCH SYNODS OF THE DESERT.

THE Reformed Church of France found itself in a deplorable condition after the recall of the Edict of Nantes by Louis the Fourteenth, a little over two centuries ago. The majestic tree which was the product of the growth of about one hundred and seventy-five years was felled to the ground in an instant. By a single dash of the pen every privilege granted by the law of Henry the Fourth was forfeited. The Protestants not only lost what their ancestors had won as the reward of almost unexampled patience under adversity and heroic courage in the midst of wars, persecutions, and massacres, but were robbed of those inalienable rights which are the heritage of all mankind. The exercise of the Reformed worship was proscribed. Ministers and pastors, without exception, were ordered to leave the kingdom within fifteen days from the date of the publication of the law. Protestant schools were closed. On the other hand, it was expressly commanded that any Protestants that might have expatriated themselves should return to France, and it was forbidden that any Protestant, man or woman, should leave the realm. Thus, while the teachers of religion were expelled, the laity were compelled to remain in France, but were deprived of every means of instruction and of every opportunity of worshipping God according to the dictates of their conscience. There was nothing said in the revocatory edict of constraining the Protestants to embrace Roman Catholicism. On the contrary, the very last paragraph contained an assurance that, until such time as God might be pleased to enlighten their minds, they would be permitted to dwell in the kingdom, pursue their trades,

and enjoy their possessions without hindrance or molestation on account of their religion, upon the sole condition of abstaining from all religious assemblies. But the edict was dishonest from beginning to end; and inasmuch as it started with a mendacious preamble, basing the revocation upon the alleged fact that "the better and greater part" of the Protestants had become Roman Catholics, it is not surprising that it concluded with a delusive promise of immunity, which the court of Louis the Fourteenth had not the slightest intention of keeping. The Dragonnades, which had for some years been industriously employed as a convenient instrument of conversion, were by no means abandoned. The Protestants were not left long in doubt respecting the fate that awaited them, and they took their measures accordingly.

Many fled from France; how many it is impossible to say. Trustworthy statistics are at all times difficult to obtain; particularly so, for some reason or other, in France and where Protestantism is concerned. If the estimates of the number of its adherents in the modern republic differ so widely that we cannot be sure of being right within a quarter of a million, much more is there uncertainty respecting the census of the Protestants in France before the Revocation, and the relative proportion of those who succeeded in making their way out, as compared with those who remained behind. The refugees may have numbered eight hundred thousand, as some have maintained, or only three hundred thousand, as others affirm with greater probability of approximate correctness. In any case, they constituted an astonishingly large body of men, women, and children, willing for conscience' sake to expose themselves to the perils of the journey and the danger of incurring the penalty of the galleys, or imprisonment in monasteries or in dungeons like the "Tour de Constance," at Aigues-Mortes, not to speak of the certain loss of home, friends, and property. But with the possible exception of the inhabitants of some districts affording better opportunities than the rest for their escape,* much the greater part of the Protestants found themselves compelled to renounce all thought of escape, and to endure as best they might the tyranny to which they were subjected.

* The French Government is printing, in its magnificent collection of "Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France," the "Mémoires" of the Intendants on the state of the kingdom. In the first volume of this series, published in 1881, we have, on pages 151–54, the official answer to the questions respecting the Huguenots in the "généralité" of Paris. From this it would appear that of 1933 families which were there before the Revocation, 1202 had left, and only 731, or scarcely more than one third, remained.

It was otherwise with the ministers. A very few accepted the tempting offers held forth to induce them to apostatize, including a pension for life larger by a third than the salaries they had been enjoying as Protestant pastors ; a very few consented to avail themselves of the facilities promised to renegade ministers—facilities which consisted in a dispensation from the three years of study required of candidates for the bar or for the degree of doctor of laws, and from one half of the accustomed fees. All the others, between six and seven hundred in number,* left the realm rather than renounce their faith. The propriety of their course in thus forsaking their flocks has, indeed, been called in question. Their adversaries, naturally taking advantage of every circumstance that might seem to impugn the sincerity of the convictions of the Protestants, and thus to palliate, if not justify, the severities employed in reference to them, did not fail to comment upon the retreat of the ministers as of unfaithful shepherds fleeing upon the approach of the wolf. But certainly any other course than that which they adopted can scarcely be conceived as having been practicable. Their further stay in France was at first prohibited on pain of the galleys. About eight months later, by his Declaration of July 1st, 1686, the king raised the penalty to death. It is evident that up to this date a considerable number of pastors had either continued to lurk in the neighborhood of their old parishes, giving such spiritual instruction and consolation as they were able, or, after leaving France, had secretly returned. This is proved by the circumstance that this same Declaration ordered that any man found guilty of harboring such ministers should be sent to the galleys for life, and any woman should for the same offence have her head shaven and be incarcerated for the residue of her days. Confiscation of property followed as a matter of course. Moreover, a reward of five thousand five hundred *livres*—a very considerable sum for the period—was offered for information that might lead to the capture of a Protestant minister within the dominions of the very Christian king. Under the circumstances to remain in France would seem to mean certain death, and that, too, without the opportunity of first doing such effective work as would justify the rash exposure. The ministers were marked men, whose long residence in the community had ren-

* It has sometimes been said that two thousand Protestant ministers left France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This is a mistake. The list drawn up for the twenty-sixth national synod (of Alençon) in 1637—the last list of the kind—gives the names of six hundred and forty-seven pastors and of eight hundred and seven churches. It is not likely that the number of either was ever greater. Aymon, Tous les Synodes, i. 291–306.

dered their features well known. The surveillance exercised over the Protestants—both those that had abjured and those that still remained constant—was unusually close. There were likely to be few retreats to which they could find occasionally resort. They would be, so they thought, of more practical utility in some neighboring land, whence they might write to their former parishioners letters of advice and exhortation to repentance or to renewed fidelity.

Thus it came to pass that for the last ten or fifteen years of the seventeenth century France was almost wholly destitute of Protestant pastors and teachers. Meanwhile, what had happened to their flocks? Evidently the most resolute of the Protestants had early made up their minds to forsake their country. Emigration had assumed formidable proportions even before the actual promulgation of the fatal decree of Louis the Fourteenth. It is a popular error very current, especially among the descendants of the Huguenots in foreign lands, that all who fled from France for religion's sake left at the time of the Revocation, and in immediate connection with it. The truth is, however, that there were a number of emigrations. Rulhière enumerates at least seven. Two of these were before the revocatory edict—the first in 1666, when the extreme severity of the provisions of the royal declaration of April 2d caused many to despair of the possibility of leading quiet lives in their native land,* and the second in 1681, when the Dragonnades, authorized by the Intendant Marillac, in the province of Poitou, drove out many who up to this time had neglected the signs of coming disaster.† Those who remained in France after these emi-

* The most convenient collection of the anti-Protestant legislation of the reigns of Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth is the volume entitled "Edits, Déclarations et Arrests concernans la Religion P. Réformée," reprinted on the occasion of the Bicentenary of the Revocation, in 1885. It does not, however, contain the Declaration of April 2d, 1666, for the reason that the court becoming alarmed at the magnitude of the losses to the kingdom flowing from the unprecedented emigration and the consequent depopulation of extensive districts of country, the king was induced to repeal it a little less than three years later, February 1st, 1669, and substitute a law in many respects less offensive to the Protestants. The text of the Declaration of 1666 may, however, be read in Drion, Histoire chronologique de l'Eglise Protestante de France, ii. 96–106.

† The other emigrations referred to above include the exodus that began at once after the revocatory edict in 1685, and four that were subsequent and that to some extent marked periods in the fortunes of the oppressed Huguenots. The first of these was in 1698, as a consequence of the disappointment caused by the law of that year. The second followed upon the atrocious law of 1715, almost the last paper to which Louis the Fourteenth affixed his signature, and probably the worst. The third was occasioned by the law of 1724, in which all the distinct edicts and declarations issued during a long course of years, even the most inconsistent and contradictory, were summed up and

grations and after the departure of those who succeeded in making their way beyond the frontiers at once after the Revocation, bowed before the tempest that swept over the land. Instead of being left unmolested, as the mendacious edict had assured them that they should be, they found themselves subjected to annoyances and persecutions, by means of the dragoons and otherwise, from which a single word—a promise to go to mass—was at any moment sufficient to relieve them. That word spoken, that promise given, all was simple enough. Not much religion was required of the "new converts"—"nouveaux convertis"—as they were called, if only they abstained from the practice of the Protestant religion. Some few persons—it will never be known exactly how many—persisted through all the trials to which they were subjected in maintaining their religious honor unsullied, and died, as they had lived, in the open profession of their faith, either conveniently ignored by the authorities or virtually given up as incorrigible. The greater number, however, reluctantly yielded. They regarded themselves as cowards, deplored their own pusillanimity, detested the act to which they were forced, felt an unconquerable aversion to the church of which they were henceforth ostensibly reckoned as members, but nevertheless they consented to go to the mass. In various ways they strove to reconcile their conduct with their consciences. Sometimes they affected to look at it as a mere form, or a display of allegiance, and appended to their consent a phrase purporting to show that they had so done simply "to obey the king." Plainly theirs was an instance, if ever there was one, where, if the lips had taken an oath, the heart, to use the old dramatist's thought, was yet unsworn.

This state of things was not calculated to produce inward peace. The more indifferent and worldly might treat with levity the whole affair, and content themselves with pointing to the constraint used as sufficient excuse for an act which was not hypocritical, because it neither deceived nor was intended to deceive any one, and was not uncandid, because nobody could imagine it sincere. Others, however, could not cheat their own moral natures respecting the immo-

re-enacted. The fourth resulted from the renewed severity in the excution of existing laws, without the enactment of any new law of importance, in 1744 and 1745. Rulhière, Eclaircissemens historiques sur les causes de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, et sur l'État des Protestants en France, ii., 342, 344. It was at this last date that the Protestants of Upper Languedoc sent to the king a formal petition, begging his permission to emigrate with their wives and children to some land "where," said they, "we might be able to render to the Deity the worship which we believe indispensable, and upon which depends our misery or our happiness for all eternity." Charles Coquerel, Histoire des Églises du Dêsert, i. 359, 360.

rality of the entire procedure, and forgave themselves as little as they forgave the authors of their misfortunes. Now that the voice of the living preacher was silenced, the main source of religious instruction was to be found in such stray copies of the Bible and other books of Protestant devotion as had escaped destruction at the hands of the clergy. In the hope of a speedy interference of Heaven in their behalf, the prophetic books of both Testaments, and the Revelation in particular, became favorite subjects of study and meditation. The deliverance of God's people from the heavy yoke of their oppressors was believed to be prefigured in the mysteries of the apocalyptic vision, and many minds beside that of the learned and penetrating Pierre Jurieu, surnamed "the Goliath of the Protestants," busied themselves with the endeavor to ascertain the date of the approaching downfall of the Papacy and its votaries by the aid of the numerical significance of letters and the obscure symbolism of prophecy. In the provinces of Dauphiny and Vivarais, the one on the east and the other on the west of the river Rhône, among the most illiterate of the peasantry that had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, arose about this time a class of enthusiasts claiming to receive direct communications from Heaven—men, and especially women and children, who fell into a trance, and, while unconscious, pretended to utter words supplied to them by the Holy Spirit. It mattered not that the language which they uttered was rude and uncultivated, nor that the exhortations of which they were regarded as being only the medium of communication were at times only commonplace repetitions of Biblical phrases, at others little better than pure jargon. They deeply moved the people, and excited the apprehension of enemies as much as they raised the hopes of friends. Whether the "little prophets" were impostors or self-deceived is a question which it is not easy to answer. Most probably there was the usual admixture of sincerity and fraud, and a career which may have begun in honest but fanatical zeal was later pursued with ardor from the desire of notoriety and influence. At any rate, the French prophets of the Cévennes soon gained a world-wide celebrity. They were even made the actors in a show at one of the London fairs, where puppets were made to imitate their strange convulsions to the delight of the spectators.* A full narrative of this delusion would form an instructive chapter in the history of modern enthusiasm.

* So Anthony, third Earl of Shaftesbury, informs us in his "Letter Concerning Enthusiasm," pp. 26, 27: "I am told for certain that they are at this very time [1707] the subject of a choice Droll or Puppet-show at Bart'lemy Fair. There doubtless their strange voices and involuntary agitations are admirably well acted, by the emotion of wires and inspiration of pipes."

The war of the Camisards, which arose a little later, grew directly from the movement that has just been mentioned. Its scene was the mountainous region of the Cévennes in southern France, in close proximity to the region where "the fanatical prophets," as they were styled by their enemies, first made their appearance. The leaders in the conflict upon the Protestant side were either themselves "prophets," or persons who believed that they were commissioned of God to execute His vengeance upon the ungodly adversaries of the truth. Impatient under the continued tyranny of which they were made the victims, they renounced the popular doctrine of blind and implicit submission to constituted authority, and grasped the sword to avenge the insults offered to the Almighty and their own wrongs. The Abbé du Chailla, whom the Intendant Bâville had appointed Inspector of the Roman Catholic Missions in the Cévennes, an ecclesiastic who, if the accounts that have come down to us do not do him gross injustice, had shown himself, in his treatment of such Protestants as had fallen into his hands, to be a monster of cruelty, rare even in a century by no means wanting in specimens of inhumanity, was the first victim of Huguenot or Camisard revenge. His death, according to our best authority on the general history of this war, was not the signal of the revolt, but the occasion of the outbreak.* There ensued such a conflict as the world has rarely seen—a conflict in which a handful of leaders, some of them scarcely older than boys, none of them officers trained in the military art, and mostly without any experience in actual warfare, held their own, at the head of bands of recruits drawn from the ranks of the peasants and the mountaineers, against the whole body of disciplined troops sent to reduce them to subjection. For two whole years—1702 to 1704—the war was waged with undiminished vigor. In desperation the royal general, Marshal Montrevel, resorted to the barbarous expedient of ordering a wholesale destruction of the towns, villages, and hamlets in the upper Cévennes, which might serve as a refuge for the Camisards, amounting in all, according to one Roman Catholic writer of the period, to four hundred and sixty-six places, with a population of nearly twenty thousand persons.† It was almost an internecine contest, in which if Camisard hamlets were ruthlessly destroyed by the Roman Catholic troops, the inhabitants being turned out to live or die as it might chance, the other side showed no greater compunction in burning churches and monasteries, while life was held equally cheap by Papist and by

* Antoine Court, Histoire des troubles des Cévennes ou de la guerre des Camisards, ii. 3.

† See Court, ii. 36, who regards the population as much greater.

Protestant. Even after the war virtually ended, the principal leaders having either, like Cavalier, made terms with the royalists, or lost their lives in the vicissitudes of the conflict, a desultory struggle was continued for several years. It cannot be said that quiet was fully restored in the Cévennes until about 1710.

The story of the fanatical prophets of Dauphiny and Vivarais and of the war of the Camisards must be borne in mind by any one that would understand the condition of the Protestants—the New Converts, as the official language of the court still persisted in calling them—in the year 1715, when the Churches of the Desert first began to assume form and show faint indications of organic life. Just thirty years had elapsed since the publication of the Edict of Nantes —upon the whole the most dreary and discouraging years in all the checkered existence of French Protestantism, from the days of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples to the present time. For almost an entire generation the systematic preaching of the Word of God had ceased, and the multitudes still Protestant at heart had been reduced to the necessity of entertaining their secret piety by the uncertain means of recollection and tradition. Fortunately, however, the people not only longed for something better, but had occasionally a taste of it. In the absence of settled pastors, a few fervent and adventurous men had sprung up who did not shrink from the perilous task of visiting the dispersed members of once flourishing churches, and administering to them such spiritual strength and nourishment as their circumstances would permit. The work called for great tact and great caution. It was not easy to escape the watchful eyes of government agents, ever on the alert to detect the first symptoms of defection on the part of the New Converts—agents who always found in the clergy of the established church both an active stimulus and substantial support. The minister, travelling from place to place, must throw about his movements an appearance of unconcern that should disarm suspicion, and be taken by turns for a peasant, for a teamster, a pedlar, or a shepherd. It was quite likely that the officials of the entire province, from the intendant down to the captain of the most petty detachment of troops, had been furnished with a description of his personal appearance, his height and gait, the color of his hair and beard, the shape of his nose and mouth, even to the style of the clothes he customarily wore. In fact, the spies of the French Government have furnished us, in a paper of which a copy is before us, the portraiture of over a score of obscure ministers circulating in their humble mission through southern France, which could scarcely have been more minute had the subjects been some great historical personages, whose features it was desirable to per-

petuate for the benefit of posterity.* If the minister succeeded in baffling detection, he would meet in some secluded spot, far enough from the habitations of men to insure some degree of safety, a congregation which might vary in number from fifteen or twenty souls to many hundreds, and occasionally to thousands. To them he preached a sermon, then prayed, using the prayers of Calvin's liturgy, or others of his own composition, administered baptism to the children, and united in marriage couples that had come long distances or waited a long time for the privilege of being married according to the rites of the Reformed Church. It is not matter for surprise that many of these early preachers were ultimately taken, some after a shorter, others after a longer term of service; some caught in the very discharge of their ministerial functions, others betrayed by false brethren at a moment when they thought themselves in a safe retreat. The wonder is rather than any escaped, that all did not share the fate of Claude Brousson, put to death at Montpellier in 1697, or of Fulcran Rey, the promising licentiate barely twenty-four years of age, to whom belongs the honor of having been the first martyr after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, inasmuch he was put to the rack and hung outside of the Porte Beauregard, at Beaucaire, on July 7th, 1686.

The churches that arose as the consequence of the labors of these devoted men early assumed the designation of "the churches of the desert," or "wilderness"—"Les églises du désert." The name contained a manifest allusion to the preaching of John the Baptist —"The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord'" (Is. xl. 3; John i. 23)—as well as to the apocalyptic vision of the woman clothed with the sun, who was persecuted by the dragon, and "fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God" (Rev. xii. 6). Nor were the toils and sufferings endured by the children of Israel during the forty years in the wilderness forgotten. Gradually an appellation which had originally been metaphorical passed into current use, and became a permanent name. The very minutes of ecclesiastical bodies accepted the words as having a well-defined meaning, and, finding it danger-

* Thus the great preacher of Nimes figures on the list with this description: "Paul Rabaut, minister, about forty years old; height five feet less two inches or thereabouts; face even, long and thin, somewhat swarthy; hair black; wears a wig; nose long and pointed, slightly aquiline; eyes black, pretty well marked; body leaning a little to the right side; legs very thin, the right one turned inward; it is asserted that one tooth is wanting in the upper jaw." The list belongs, it is true, to a date about forty years subsequent to the period of which we are speaking (1755), but is apparently only one of a series of such papers, with which the emissaries of the court continually furnished the secretaries of state. See Coquerel, Histoire des Églises du Désert, ii. 568–70.

ous to specify too narrowly the place of meeting, lest falling into the hands of the enemy, they might be the occasion of annoyance, if not of persecution, to the community that had harbored Protestant synods, merely stated that they had met "in the Desert." This use of language is found as early as in the minutes of the Synod of Languedoc and the Cévennes, February 7th, 1718; and it survived the publication of the Edict of Toleration of Louis the Sixteenth, being employed so late as in the minutes of the provincial Synod of Vivarais and Velay, May 22d, 1788. It was at this last date, however, only a relic of the past, since with the ratification of the royal edict by the Parliament of Paris all real danger to Protestant ecclesiastical bodies disappeared. As a synonymous expression, the words "the churches under the cross"—"sous la croix"—were often employed; and occasionally the present was referred to as "the time of the captivity"—"le temps de la captivité." *

Thus it was that while the embers of the fanaticism which had given rise to the "inspirations" and "visions" of the "prophets," male and female, of Vivarais and the Cévennes still glowed under the ashes, ready at any time to break out again into a devastating flame, the Gospel began to be preached by an increasing number of persons, especially in that region of country which had been the seat of the bloody struggle of the Camisards. The situation of things was not free of danger. On the one hand, the old delusion had not lost its hold. Many of the Protestants still believed in the genuineness of the pretended new revelations. There were still men and women who claimed to have received supernatural communications. If their visions did not serve as the vehicles for the inculcation of much erroneous doctrine, they were a disorganizing and distracting element in the public assemblies, which were liable at any moment to be interrupted by the confusion occasioned by a pretended seer falling into a trance, and in the midst of his or her convulsive throes uttering incoherent predictions or meaningless exhortations. On the other hand, the lack of concert and unity of action among the preachers themselves began to breed confusion and discord. The exercise of discipline was impossible where there was no central authority, and where each minister in the district which he had chosen for himself enjoyed a freedom from supervision and restraint never contemplated by the standards of the Reformed Church. Evidently to meet so critical a juncture in the history of French Protestantism a man of keen perceptions, of strong will and exceptional powers of organization was needed. Such a man God had

* Minutes of the First National Synod, 1726.

been preparing in the person of Antoine Court, a native of Villeneuve de Berg, in Vivarais, within the bounds of the modern department of Ardèche.

Providence not infrequently makes use of strange and unexpected instruments for the accomplishment of its high ends. It was so in this case. Born in 1696, Antoine Court was barely nineteen years of age at the date when he appeared upon the stage to do a work which won for him the proud and undisputed distinction of being the Restorer of French Protestantism. The precocious lad, who was destined to perform for the faith of his ancestors a service scarcely inferior to that of the great reformers of the sixteenth century, had been, he tells us, dedicated to the Christian ministry even before his birth. If his surroundings were apparently unpropitious to the fulfilment of the vow of his parents—his father died when Antoine was but four or five years old, his mother being left with three small children and scanty means in the midst of a community unfriendly to Protestantism—there was that in the boy himself which was worth more than many external advantages. He was quick and resolute to learn, his memory was retentive, his aspirations all ran parallel with the course to which his parents' hopes had destined him, and he was ready to endure any amount of contumely rather than swerve from a consistent Protestantism. His autobiographical memoirs do not tell us anything of his inner religious life ; of the record of spiritual experiences there is an entire absence. Possibly he did not think that in the sketch, written with an apologetic purpose, there was any call for such a record. But he does inform us that he "detested the mass with all his heart," though, as he admits, prejudice had probably much more to do with his repugnance than had any intelligent convictions. And he tells us how that on one occasion four of his Roman Catholic fellow-scholars pursued him to his home, determined to force him to go to mass, and overtook him before he had time to climb the stairs to his mother's apartment. If they were resolute, so was he. As they drew him down, he clung desperately to each successive step, as if his life depended on the struggle. In the end his assailants had to admit their inability to compel him, and withdrew in shame ; but Antoine had made himself an object of hatred to the Roman Catholics, and not only boys but full-grown men, as they passed him in the streets, would shout derisively, "There goes Calvin's eldest son !"—"Au fils aîné de Calvin !" It came at last to Antoine Court's being compelled to give up his attendance upon the schools and going into business. He would not conform to the practices of the Church of Rome, even for the sake of getting an education. But resolution supplied the

lack of opportunities ; with few books, even books of devotion, he accumulated a considerable store of erudition, and the fragmentary leaves of a tattered Bible enabled him to make himself mighty in the Scriptures. A few women used to meet, with great precautions, to worship God together. His mother was of the number, but fear had prevented her from speaking of the matter to her son. He discovered her secret, and insisted upon going with her. Presently he had the opportunity to attend the gatherings at which some women, who united the functions of prophecy to those of preaching, held forth. Finally, to his inexpressible joy, as he tells us, he enjoyed the privilege of hearing a minister. It was Jacques Bonbonnoux, a former Camisard captain, now turned preacher ; and his sermon was simply one of the celebrated Pierre Dumoulin's discourses, which he had committed to memory. "But hunger for the word made men relish even that kind of preaching." A few months later, and Antoine Court, at the age of seventeen, found himself preaching, not the productions of others, but sermons of his own composition, to the great edification of many hearers.

The boy-preacher had before him a more important work than even to speak to large assemblages of people famishing for the truth. His suspicions had, some time before, been aroused that the pretended revelations then current were not inspired by the Spirit of God, and "that, if they could not be attributed to fraud, it must at least be believed that the greater number of those who were called 'inspired' were dupes of their own zeal and credulity." * The extended examination into which he now entered persuaded him that his surmises were well grounded, and brought him to the settled conviction that the only hope for the rescue of French Protestantism from the double plague of fanaticism and confusion lay in prompt and perfect organization. To effect this work Antoine Court devoted all his energies.

First it was necessary to bring the principal laborers now at work pretty nearly to his way of thinking ; in the next place to gather them in one place for common action. Neither task was without its difficulties. The preachers had been too long breathing the atmosphere of fanaticism not to be somewhat affected thereby. They were too busy men to be brought together from distant parts of the region without an effort. At last, after the preparatory work had been done, the meeting took place. The time was early dawn on a summer's day in 1715 ; the spot a deserted quarry near the

* Mémoires d'Antoine Court (1696–1729), published for the first time in 1885, by Edmond Hugues, page 43.

village of Monoblet, in Lower Languedoc. Nine persons in all constituted this first provincial synod. Of the occasion of its convocation and of its action an account can best be given in Antoine Court's own words :

" Whatever success attended my first endeavors, I perceived that, to extend them and make them more effectual, it was absolutely necessary that I should at once labor for the re-establishment of discipline. I found that the prevailing disorder and the unfortunate affair of the Camisards, in conjunction with fanaticism, had so alienated the minds of the Protestants themselves and brought religion into disrepute, that everybody and everything styled ' preacher ' or ' assembly ' was viewed with a sort of horror ; that, on the other hand, such was the liberty with which men made themselves preachers, that whoever formed the plan of becoming one could carry it out without hindrance ; that men, women—in short, everybody caught up the trade ; that such license must bring very bad people into the Church ; that it was, moreover, little calculated to remove the unfavorable opinions which the Protestants themselves had conceived of the preachers and the assemblies. What, then, I said to myself, is more necessary than to apply some remedy to these disorders, and stop the progress of such great evils ?

" To compass this end, I called together on the 21st of August, 1715, all the preachers that were to be found in the Cévennes and in Lower Languedoc. I invited to this gathering a few of the most enlightened laymen. . . .

" We began by conferring the office of elder upon the laymen who were present, and it was agreed that elders should be established in all the places where preaching and preachers were received ; that they should be charged, first, with watching over the flocks in the absence of the pastors, and over the conduct of the pastors themselves ; secondly, with selecting suitable places for the gathering of assemblies ; thirdly, with convening them with all possible prudence and secrecy ; fourthly, with making collections to help the poor and prisoners ; fifthly, with providing sure places of shelter for the preachers and with furnishing them guides to conduct them from one locality to another.

" I next submitted two resolutions : the first, that, according to St. Paul's command, women should hereafter be forbidden to preach ; the second, that it be ordained to hold to the Sacred Scriptures as the only rule of faith, and that consequently all the pretended revelations which were in vogue among us be rejected, not only because they had no foundation in the Scriptures, but also because of the great abuses which they had produced. These two articles were carried by a plurality of votes. . .

" The laws enacted by this little assembly, of which I took great care to have copies made and scattered abroad, made a great noise and produced excellent effects. It was styled a *synod*, and was followed by many others that bore the same name." *

There is often a strange significance in the comparison of dates. On the 8th of March, 1715, Louis the Fourteenth, being then in the seventy-seventh year of his age and the seventy-second year of his reign, published a Declaration which deserves to be regarded as a fitting capstone to the singular fabric of cruelty and proscription which he had been rearing during the latter half of his life. The

* This extract is from a paper written by Antoine Court about thirty years later (1744), and is somewhat more graphic than the account which he has left us in his Mémoires already referred to. See Charles Coquerel, Histoire des Églises du Désert, i. 27–29.

purpose of the law was savage and inhuman : it made every Protestant who in his last illness should refuse the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, to be liable to the penalties pronounced upon persons relapsed into heresy—their bodies, that is to say, were to be dragged on a hurdle and thrown into the common sewer, and their property forfeited to the state.* What were the reasons alleged for this treatment meted out to a class that had in point of fact never abjured and that had been promised secure and unmolested residence in France by the very paper that revoked the Edict of Nantes? First, that it was difficult, and in many cases impossible to obtain sufficient proof of abjuration ; second, to use the very words of Louis, "That the sojourn which those who were of the so-called Reformed religion, or were born of Protestant parents (parens religionnaires), have made in our kingdom since we abolished all exercise of the said religion therein is a proof more than sufficient that they have embraced the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, without which they would not have been suffered or tolerated therein." † It was the proud king's last reiteration of the success of his persistent efforts to overthrow Protestantism—the sentiment expressed on one of the medals struck in honor of the Revocation, "Haeresis extincta," and the assertion on another medal, also struck in 1685, affirming that two millions of Calvinists had been brought back to the bosom of the Papal Church.‡ A few months later, on the 1st of September, 1715, the "grand monarque" died in his palace at Versailles, nursing in his breast the same illusion. Just ten days before a synod of the despised and downtrodden Protestants had been held in an obscure corner of Languedoc, the first of a continuous series of bodies of the same kind that were to stretch on for more than eighty years, and until the full recognition of the Reformed Church on the part of the state, after the institution of the first Republic. Thus the date of the restoration of the Protestant religion in France coincides almost exactly with the date of the death of the king who had boasted of its annihilation ; and the restoration was effected by the humble exertions, unknown at the time, of a beardless youth who had not reached his twentieth birthday.

The acts of the Synods of the Desert have long been known in part. Some of them were made use of forty years ago by Charles

* According to the provisions of the royal Declaration of April 26th, 1686. Edits, Déclarations et Arrests, p. 283.

† Edits, Déclarations et Arrests, pp. 482–84.

‡ See the beautiful reproduction, by heliogravure, of these and other medals, in a plate of E. Hugues, Les Synodes du Désert, vol. i.

Coquerel in his remarkable history, to which we have already had occasion to refer. Many more have since come to light, thanks to the indefatigable researches of students in various parts of France. It is not impossible that still others remain which will yet be rescued from neglect and oblivion. Those that have come down to us seem in many cases to owe their preservation to some happy accident. Written on a loose sheet, in a fine but legible hand, the minutes of some important synod, early in the eighteenth century, bear marks of the care taken to conceal them from the eyes of prying soldiers or government agents. The tell-tale scrap of paper, scarcely larger than a man's hand, which would have secured the incarceration, possibly the death of him upon whose person it was found, was folded carefully and hidden in the pocket or wallet of the preacher, who was particularly interested in the decisions which it recorded. It was a happy thought of M. Edmond Hugues to connect the Bicentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes with a monumental edition of these minutes, few of which had ever been put in print. The first volume of his work appeared in 1885, covering the years from 1715 to 1750; the second volume in 1886, reaching from 1751 to 1770; the third in 1887, bringing the series down to the last synod in 1796. In these magnificent quartos, in which beauty of typography unites with all the most recent improvements of the art of engraving to give value and attractiveness to the text, we have an apparatus for the study of the growth of a church from its almost insignificant beginnings, through all the successive stages of its development. In intrinsic value the book is certainly quite the equal of the great works of Aymon and Quick on the synods of the Reformed Church of France prior to the Revocation; while in the wealth of illustration lavished upon the subject-matter, neither Aymon nor Quick can enter at all into comparison. Moreover, it is to be noticed that, whereas the two writers just named confine themselves to giving the proceedings of the twenty-nine *national* synods held between 1559 and 1659, M. Hugues's work reproduces, in addition to the eight national synods of the period of the Desert, all the *provincial* synods, so far as they have been preserved, and numbering some hundreds. Besides this, he places in the notes the minutes of all the *colloques*, or meetings of presbyteries, which are extant. The only possible matter of regret is that the work has been printed in a very small edition and in a sumptuous manner, which will preclude it from obtaining a wide circulation either in France or abroad.

A fact that strikes the reader of these documents at the very start as interesting, and impresses itself more and more upon his mind as

he proceeds, is that the Church of France in the period of the Desert was devoted to the idea of a well-ordered government. There was a dignity and decorum about all its proceedings not at all inferior to the dignity and decorum that had characterized the ecclesiastical convocations of the less troublous times under the Edict of Nantes. In this, as in many other respects, the church, Phenix-like, had sprung full fledged from its own ashes. The "synod" might consist of a little handful of ministers and elders gathered in some out-of-the-way place—a cave, a retired country-house, an open spot in the wood, or a bleak hill-side—but wherever it was, the rules of order were strictly observed. It had its moderator and assistant moderator, its secretary, and its assistant secretary. The rights of the chair were strictly enforced. The speakers were heard in turn, and no interruptions were allowed. Speakers were limited as to the number of times they might take the floor. The ministers who were absent or late, the churches that failed to send an elder or elders to the meeting, were expressly censured by name. Whatever might be the case in time of prosperity, the new founders or restorers of the Protestant Church of France recognized the truth that nothing will do so well in a time of persecution as a strong government. They magnified the office of the church judicatories, and they secured at once the respect which decision and firmness always command. Having started on their career of patient, persistent effort for the recovery of the ground formerly held by the Reformation, the synods never flinched or betrayed a sign of weakness or fear. It was a difficult work at all times; particularly difficult whenever persecution became, as it did periodically, more severe. Many pastors fell by the way, victims of the intolerance of their fellow-citizens; those who remained took no account of their losses, but pressed forward. In the minutes of the synods there is absolutely no bewailing of misfortunes, no lamenting over losses. The sufferings of the churches are rarely referred to save as the marks of the Divine displeasure justly burning against the people because of sin. Every now and then the name of a minister, perhaps a minister who has been frequently mentioned as moderator or secretary, drops out of the minutes and appears no more. From other sources we learn the cause. He was captured by troops at such a place, was hurriedly examined, perhaps put to the torture, sentenced, hung. His brethren in the synod never mention the execution, unless it be incidentally when making provision for a slender pension for his necessitous widow and small children, or when appointing some one to take up the work he was compelled to lay down. In this there was nothing of insensibility.

However much they might deplore the loss in private, the members of the synod felt they had quite another task before them. The blow had fallen upon their late comrade that might have fallen upon them. They were all men appointed to die. Their turn might come next ; whether it did or not, their time would be better employed in labor for the good cause, than in bemoaning the mishap of a Christian minister who, at the execution, had declared himself most blessed in the near prospect of his crown and reward.

When Court gathered the first provincial synod near Monoblet, there was scarcely an ordained minister in France, there was not one in Languedoc. The preachers were at most "proposants"—candidates licensed to preach the Gospel, but by whom licensed was not always so clear. According to the standards of the Reformed Church of France, they had no authority to administer either the sacrament of the Lord's Supper or the sacrament of Baptism, which, nevertheless, they sometimes undertook to do. The Church must have ordained pastors, but how should she obtain them ? Two men stood forth pre-eminent, admitted on all sides to be fit for the sacred office. These were Pierre Corteiz, next to Antoine Court the most meritorious character in the history of the restoration of French Protestantism, and Court himself. Both could not be spared at once. Corteiz, being much the older man, was the first to be sent to obtain ordination in Switzerland. He went first to Geneva, thence to Zurich, where he was examined and received the imposition of hands. It had been agreed that Court should follow. But on Corteiz's return the synod interposed its authority. The season was too far advanced for Court to enter upon a long journey of the kind proposed ; one ordained minister had been secured, he could ordain another ; it was useless to go to a distance to get what one had at hand ; it would be to expose a preacher, upon whom the hopes of the churches seemed particularly to rest, to dangers which were great in themselves, and which might have the most alarming consequences, consequences so much the more to be avoided, as neither the good of the Church nor necessity required the risk. Such, as Court himself tells us, were the arguments employed. Reluctantly he yielded his consent. He was publicly examined by the synod, and then while he knelt before Corteiz, the latter, laying a Bible on his head, conferred upon him, in the name of Jesus Christ and by the authority of the synod, the power to exercise the full functions of the ministry. Court's fear was never realized "that his ministry might be rendered less fruitful by the difference which the people might draw between a call received in a foreign university

and that of a synod in which there was but a single pastor." * The lawfulness of his ordination was never called in question.

The position of the Church in regard to the persons who could administer the sacraments was an interesting one. In the earliest stage, when there was a great scarcity of ordained ministers, the synods and colloquies were undoubtedly disposed to extend the privilege as far as possible. They did, indeed, deny altogether the right to the "proposant," or simple preacher, to baptize or administer the Lord's Supper of his own motion ; but they recognized the power of a regularly constituted eldership to authorize him to do so. In full consistency with this action, the Colloquy of the Cévennes, December 13th, 1720, disciplined the licentiate Jean Vesson, basing its sentence partly upon the fact that he had "administered the sacrament of Holy Baptism to children, without having any right to do so, not having ordination or approbation of the elders elected and chosen by the faithful."

As the number of pastors increased, the synods grew even more strict, and it became the rule that under no circumstances should the "proposant" or licentiate undertake anything beyond preaching the Gospel.

In nothing do the minutes of the synods of the Desert show more strikingly the wisdom of the founders and leading spirits of the Church than in the scrupulous care taken to secure a ministry pious, exemplary in conduct, able, and learned. Not even the great pressure brought to bear upon them in the early years of the century could induce them to swerve from the line of prudence in this regard. Ministers found guilty of conduct immoral or scandalous were instantly deposed. No such persons could be restored until they had given long and convincing proof of penitence. Even then they must not return to the scene of their former labors, but must remove to some other and generally distant part of France † Incompetent men, however well-meaning, were stopped in the midst of their course of preparation or of service, thanked for their labors or their good intentions, and recommended to enter into some other calling.‡ At every step the closest supervision was exercised, and even down to the time of the Revolution the appointment of a commission to report upon the morals and studies of the candidates for the ministry was one of the standing orders of the provincial synods. As a general thing, promising youths were brought to the notice of the synod by some pastor. On his recommendation the

* Mémoires d'Antoine Court, pp. 149–153.

† See, for example the cases of Jean Bétrine and Étienne Defferre.

‡ So Grail, in 1730, Bornac, in 1744, Bénézet and Allud, in 1749.

young man was placed upon the list of students, and received an annual sum for his support (unless his family were able to provide for him) while receiving preparatory instruction at the hands of the pastor who had recommended him or some other.* Next, upon examination, he was by vote of the synod admitted to the number of "proposants" or licentiates. He could now make proof of his abilities by helping the pastors in their general work, and particularly by preaching in places which the pastors were unable to visit. At first the licentiates were not expected to compose their own discourses. We have seen that the first sermon that Antoine Court ever heard was one written by the famous Dumoulin, and preached by Bonbonnoux. The Synod of Lower Languedoc, September 30th, 1719, prescribed that the "proposants" should use printed sermons, "or if they made them of their own capacity, they should have them examined by persons chosen by the synod, or else they should take no text." The Synod of Vivarais, June 21st, 1725, in like manner enacted: "It shall be left to the liberty of the preachers to preach sermons of good authors which they shall have learned by heart. If there be any who prefer to compose them for themselves, they shall not be permitted after composing them to deliver them in public until the discourses shall have first been examined by the commissioners named for this purpose." The minuteness of the care exercised over the candidates may be judged by the somewhat whimsical prohibition, intended apparently to check ostentation and conceit, to the effect that no licentiate should keep a horse of his own use (Synod of Vivarais, September 14th, 1726, and Synod of the Lower Cévennes, April 9th, 1747).

The "proposant" who proved acceptable to the churches, generally applied, after a few years, to the synod within whose bounds he labored for a leave of absence, that he might go to Lausanne and perfect his theological education under the care of the "illustrious friends" of the French Protestants in that city. If the synod approved and there was a vacancy in the seminary, leave was granted, and a sum of money was voted to defray the candidate's travelling expenses.

The idea of establishing on the friendly soil of Switzerland a sem-

* A synodical meeting in which Languedoc and Vivarais were represented, October 25th, 1731, decided upon the establishment in each of the five synods then existing or projected of a school designated as an *école ambulante*, because it would seem to have been intended that it should shift its quarters from time to time, accompanying the pastor to whose care it was confided. Each school was to be limited to four pupils. The proposal seems to have originated with Antoine Court. How he himself had conducted a somewhat similar school may be seen in a graphic extract translated in an article in the first number of the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, p. 90.

inary for the express purpose of educating for the ministry such devoted young Frenchmen as might be willing to enter upon the perilous work of the regeneration of their native land, seems first to have occurred to Antoine Court, and it was he who carried it in operation. It is doubtful, indeed, whether Protestantism is more indebted to him for having planned and effected the restoration of its church organization and discipline than for his indefatigable labors, extending through about thirty years, to secure a proper theological education for its rising ministry. It was in the summer of 1729 that Court reached the conclusion that the time had come for him to begin his activity outside of France. To use his own words: "The number of pastors had greatly increased that year, and the number of candidates was daily becoming greater. Meantime the efforts to capture me were daily multiplying, so that, humanly speaking, it was impossible that I should be able to escape so many searches, however great the precautions I took, precautions which led me, from the time so high a price had been set upon my head, to avoid almost entirely sleeping in houses. I believed that the moment had come for me to retire from the field." * Arriving in Switzerland, Court seems to have busied himself with writing to or visiting the persons most likely to further his project of endowing a seminary, and he was so successful that the necessary funds were obtained, and the seminary opened about 1730. Why the students were not sent to the theological school founded by Calvin at Geneva, and why, if a new school was needed, it was not founded in Geneva, will be clear enough to any one who will consider the proximity of that city to French soil, the irritation which the presence of French theological students in training for a course of life which French law made a capital crime would produce in the minds of the French resident and of the court of Versailles, and the timidity now characteristic of the little republic. Thus it was that the city of Geneva lost the opportunity of adding to its ancient glories the new distinction gained by the unpretending foreign seminary of Lausanne, of becoming the saviour of the Protestant churches of France in the eighteenth century.†

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* Mémoire d'Antoine Court, pp. 209, 210. This autobiographical sketch ends with the author's departure from France.

† "Ce fut en effet," truthfully observes Charles Coquerel, "l'académie étrangère de Lausanne qui sauva cette fois les églises protestantes du pays." Histoire des Eglises du Désert, i. 204. It may not be uninteresting to notice that the seminary founded by Antoine Court continued its useful career at Lausanne throughout the eighteenth century, and when suppressed by Napoleon, in 1809, it was only to be transferred, as it were, to Montauban, and to become in this way the most important theological institution for Protestants in France. *Ibid.*, i. 205.

The length of the term for which the synods permitted their candidates to study abroad was a variable one. The Synod of Lower Languedoc (February 21st, 1730, Art. VI.) was disposed to limit it to precisely eighteen months; but the national synod of the same year (Art. I.) preferred to leave the matter to the prudence of the friends in foreign parts. It would appear, however, that two years was generally the limit. By that time the churches were pretty sure to require the services of the preacher as a full pastor, and an imperative call was sent to him. At first, while the number of pastors in each province was very small, the synods favored the candidate's examination and ordination at Lausanne by the theological professors under whom he had studied. The first national synod, in 1726 (Art. XV.), indeed, ordered that all candidates be examined and receive the imposition of hands only by a *national* synod, until such time as the provincial synods should possess a sufficient number of regularly ordained pastors to take part in the service. But the third national synod, 1730, by its third article permitted all the provincial synods to receive [ordain] their ministers, provided there should be present not less than three pastors, and in case there should not be that number in the body, to invite one or two pastors from the nearest synods to come and help them. Its fourth article declared that the French Protestants "recognized, and would recognize as true ministers all those of our body who have been and shall be ordained in foreign countries." Later in the century, however, some of the larger synods, and particularly the Synod of Lower Languedoc, the largest of all, insisted that all students should come home to be ordained by the body by which and at whose expense they had been sent to Lausanne.

What the examinations were, whether at Lausanne or in France, which the candidates had to pass before ordination we know from the record in the case of four young men who were examined at Lausanne in the autumn of 1759. The circumstance that one of the four was François Rochette, who, after a brief but useful career, was taken and executed at Toulouse, February 19th, 1762—the last Protestant minister that died as a martyr—lends particular interest to this examination. The young men were first required to deliver a sermon composed and committed to memory by them upon a text assigned a week in advance. They were questioned orally on theology and on ethics. They prepared in writing, without recourse to any helps, three papers ("taches" or "analyses"): the first, "upon a question in positive theology," discussed "the motives which the death of Jesus Christ affords men to be virtuous;" the second, "upon a question of controversy," treated of the invocation of

saints ; and the third, "on a question of morals," expounded the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer. Finally they were subjected to "an oral examination on the Gospel, consisting in an explanation of the parable of the tares or a discourse of nearly a half an hour's length on this subject, made after the same amount of time to think it over." *

If the examinations of those who purposed entering upon the pastoral office were careful and thorough, the pastors themselves did not shrink from a close investigation of their life from year to year. To this matter the veteran Corteiz refers in speaking of a colloquy that met in the Cévennes, January 26th, 1730: "After having remedied, so far as depends on us, the evil that afflicted these elders, and after having set forth in general terms the things that are necessary to remedy the evils which occur from time to time, we entered upon what is always customary in the colloquies which I call together—that is to say, the examination of the life and morals, first of the pastors and then of the elders. Mr. Court and I were the first to leave the room. We repeated to the elders, who were in number thirty-one, those words of Solomon, 'A man that flattereth his neighbor spreadeth a net for his feet,' and those of David, 'Let the righteous smite me ; it shall be a kindness ; and let him reprove me ; it shall be an excellent oil.' This method is a good one to induce offenders to receive censure with a good grace." †

So far as the laity were concerned, much of the legislation of the synods of the Desert grew directly out of the extraordinary conditions of Protestantism, arising from the persecution, more or less severe, that raged during the whole of this period. The Roman Catholic Church touched the Protestant population at many points. It was not so much that the people were compelled by a direct exertion of force to make a profession of Roman Catholicism. The Dragonnades could not be kept up everywhere and for all time. If parents were fined for neglecting to send their children to the schools taught by monks and nuns, where attendance involved of necessity an attendance upon the mass also, many Protestant parents in some way or another escaped notice, and the unfortunates who did not were often helped by the charitable contributions of their brethren in the faith. The great trouble was that Protestantism

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* See a letter of Court and his son, Court de Gébelin, October 9th. 1759, and the certificate of the examiners, October 25th, 1759, in E. Hugues, Les Synodes du Désert, ii. 199–201. The signatures appended to the latter document are those of "Court, ancien pasteur et représentant ;" "A. Polier de Bottens, grand pasteur ;" "Besson, pasteur ;" and "A. Court fils, lecteur en morale et logique."

† Letter of Pierre Corteiz, in E. Hugues, Les Synodes du Désert, i. 90.

being by a legal fiction supposed to be altogether extinct, its adherents had no standing in the sight of the law. One could neither be born as a Protestant, nor be baptized as a Protestant, nor be married as a Protestant, nor be buried as a Protestant. With every civil act a profession of Roman Catholicism was closely bound up. There could be no wedlock recognized by the State, unless the marriage was performed by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, and to obtain his intervention it was necessary both to exhibit the evidence of baptism and to partake of the communion. Without such a ceremony the offspring of the union were branded as bastards, and were incapable of succeeding to the property of their parents. Certificates of baptism and of marriage "in the Desert"—that is, by Protestant pastors, went for nothing; in fact, they were to the parents, in the one case, and to the husband and wife, in the other, *primâ facie* evidence that they had rendered themselves amenable to the laws prohibiting all "assemblies" for Protestant worship.

A single glance will convince any one of the difficulty of the task of persuading the laity to renounce the easy-going policy of conformity into which the vast majority had fallen during the dark period of a quarter of a century following the Revocation. Yet to that task the synods unhesitatingly applied themselves, and by slow degrees, using firmness tempered with moderation and prudence, they made steady, if not rapid progress in checking the evil. Reason was appealed to, motives of Christian duty were set forth, the resources of the ecclesiastical discipline were drawn upon with due consideration of human frailty. And the result was that the lax practice which had been almost universal when Louis the Fourteenth died became less and less frequent, until, when Louis the Sixteenth, in 1787, published his edict of toleration, and provided therein for the registry of the marriages and baptisms celebrated "in the Desert," there were tens of thousands in different parts of the kingdom instantly to avail themselves of the privilege for which they had long been waiting.

The synods were equally firm in dealing with another vexatious matter—the draping of the houses of Protestants on the annual festival of *Corpus Christi*, or *La Fête Dieu*. The festival, it is well known, had been instituted in honor of the host, or wafer, in the Romish mass, and was intended to attest belief in the dogma that that wafer had really been transubstantiated and had become "very God." When in a town or village every house inhabited by Roman Catholics was gay with bright hangings, the absence of decorations on the front of the house of a Protestant became painfully conspicuous. On the other hand, how could a Protestant adorn his dwelling

for the festival without signifying to the world, by the very act, that he believed the doctrine against which, as much as against any other, the Reformation was a protest? Of course there were plenty of weak-kneed Protestants who promptly acquiesced in the custom, and some of these maintained that they were "compelled" to do so. But the synods made no account of such excuses. One of them (the Synod of the Upper Cévennes, in 1751) took the pains to show that no compulsion could justify an ungodly act, short of "a violence which it is not possible to resist" (Art. V.). The synods again and again protested against the "cowardice" of those "who, to avoid certain penalties, drape the front of their houses, sweep the streets, or strew them with branches on the Day of the Sacrament of the Romish Church; which is giving to the creature external and religious marks of homage which belong to the Creator alone" (Synod of Béarn, July 17th, 1758). The national synod of 1758, to show its aversion for the doctrine of transubstantiation, appointed a *fast* to be held on the day of the Romish feast (Art. IV.). This, however, was probably as far as any ecclesiastical body of the churches of the Desert ever went in the manifestation of hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. Of malevolence toward the hierarchy of that Church there is not a mark in the minutes of any colloquy or synod from the beginning to the end of the century. While it was notorious that all the vexations and persecutions which culminated in the recall of the Edict of Nantes were directly due to the periodical entreaties of the clergy of France in their "assemblies," held every five years—while it was equally notorious that the great obstacle in the way of the renewed recognition of the civil rights of the Protestants lay in the nearly unanimous opposition of the same clergy, and that the parish priests seemed to regard themselves as set apart, by virtue of their orders, to the congenial work of hunting out and bringing to the gallows all Protestant pastors in France, it was more than strange that in the synodical meetings of the latter there is not a word dropped to the disadvantage of the Romish priesthood. If the attitude of the synods of the Desert in regard to the ecclesiastics of the Established Church is a rare example of Christian charity and forbearance, their attitude in regard to the monarchs who were persecuting them is an equally signal illustration of loyalty. The most brutal severity never provoked them to retaliation, or even to harsh words respecting either the government at Versailles or its agents in the provinces. Indeed, it is difficult for a citizen of a republic, and for one who lives in the nineteenth century, to repress the feeling that the loyalty of the Protestants was too great, that their expressions of unconditional obedience came dangerously near to servility. We are amazed when we re-

member the countless atrocities, the galleys, the executions, the sufferings in the Tour de Constance and elsewhere, which characterized the period from 1715 to 1774—the reign of Louis the Fifteenth —to read not in a public utterance, but in a private letter from one pastor to another the words, "We have lost a good king. . . . This good prince had his weaknesses, even his vices. What man has not? The hard and cruel man alone ought to be detested; and Louis the Fifteenth was mildness, humanity, beneficence itself." *

Of doctrinal discussions there are but scanty traces in the records of the synods of the Desert. The influence of the standards adopted during what the French Protestants loved to regard as the golden age of their history restrained them from any pronounced departures from the creed of their fathers. The national synod of 1756, after expressing its high opinion of the usefulness of the Lausanne seminary, added to the thanks it tendered to the directors a very pointed request, "that they would more and more watch over the conduct of the students and *always give them orthodox professors.*" The last clause, at first sight unimportant, had its significance. Five years before the Synod of Lower Languedoc had declined to send any further licentiates to the seminary. The ministers were unwilling to have their students taught in a school where an assistant professor or tutor, the pastor Bournet, held what they believed to be erroneous views respecting the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ. Antoine Court, informed of the cause of the synod's action, caused the offending instructor to be removed, and the temporary disaffection of the French pastors toward the seminary ceased.

The churches were, however, averse to the strict Calvinism of an earlier day. This was evidenced by the growing preference for the works of the well-known Swiss theologian, J. F. Osterwald, and particularly for his catechism for the use of the young. The national synod of 1744, by its eleventh article, decided that in all the provinces the abridgment of this catechism should be used, "as the most clear and methodical;" while the twelfth article directed the churches to purchase Osterwald's book of "Reflections," and to use it in their devotional exercises. The Synod of Lower Languedoc, in 1771 (Art. XIII.), enjoined upon the elders to see to it that no other catechism than that of Osterwald should be allowed to be introduced into the public instructions, and referred to the action of the national synod of 1744. Only a year or two before an interesting controversy arose within the bounds of the Synod of Saintonge, Angoumois, and Bordelais. Étienne Gibert,† pastor of Bordeaux,

* Pomaret to Olivier Desmond, 1774; Les Synodes du Désert, iii. 83, 84.

† Étienne Gibert was a younger brother of Jean Louis Gibert, also a pastor of the

dissatisfied with the catechism of Osterwald, as well as with that of Saurin, which also enjoyed some currency among the French Protestants, had, without consulting the elders of his church, printed an edition of the *Heidelberg* catechism. This he attempted to use in the instruction of the young, but he was met by the determined opposition of the consistory, to whom, presumably, the strong Calvinism of the Palatine creed was displeasing. A warm discussion, with a good deal of hard feeling, was the consequence. The case was taken by appeal to the provincial synod. This body, at its meeting in September, 1770, condemned M. Gibert's course in thus introducing a new catechism without the knowledge of the elders, "although it is approved among the Protestant communions in general." The synod farther decided that

"the consistory was in the right, in view of the complaints of several of its members and of a large number of the faithful, when it directed the said Sieur Gibert, as it did by its different resolutions, and particularly by those of the 13th of August last, to express himself as well publicly as privately respecting the matters of grace, the spiritual inability of man, and the necessity of good works, in the terms set forth in the aforesaid resolutions which are in our hands; inasmuch as this manner of expressing one's views does not seem to the synod to impair orthodoxy in these matters, while it would have prevented the said complaints, and put an end to the unhappy divisions which have already ensued and which might yet arise." *

The references that have been given must have led the reader to notice the remarkable fact that the history of the churches of the Desert is to be studied rather in the minutes of the *provincial*, than in those of the *national* synods. It was quite otherwise during the times previous to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Then the national synods alone were of prime importance. After the Revocation only eight national synods were held, the latest being that of 1763. Far from seeking, as had been at first proposed, to call a national synod every year, the churches of the Desert early laid down the principle, distinctly stated in the "Discipline" drawn up in 1739 by Barthélemy Claris, in pursuance of the instructions of the provincial synod of Lower Languedoc, that "the national synod shall assemble only in case of very great urgency." † The reasons for this were to be found in the fewness of the ministers, the long distances they and the elders must travel in order to meet, the poverty of the churches, which made it a burden to defray the expense

Desert, who, in 1764, brought over a colony of Huguenots to Charleston, S. C. Ramsay, History of South Carolina, i. 19, 20.

* Not satisfied with this action, the synod having heard M. Gibert read a long treatise of fifty-six pages treating of the matters in dispute, expressed the greatest anxiety that it should not be published. Les Synodes du Désert, ii. 497–99.

† "Le synode national ne sera assemblé que dans une très-grande necessité." *Ibid.*, i. 367.

of bringing them together, and, especially, the very considerable risk incurred by the delegates upon a journey which would almost certainly become known by the government. But if the national synods lost, the provincial synods gained in importance. This was true, above all, of the Synod of Lower Languedoc. In 1719 it had but two ordained ministers. In 1789 it had forty ordained ministers and sixty-eight churches, divided into the five colloquies of Nîmes, Uzès, Sommières, Massillargues, and Montpellier. It is not surprising that so large and well equipped a body should have exerted an almost controlling influence in many ecclesiastical matters. Meantime the missionary spirit had been strong. Districts but poorly provided with ministers of the Gospel robbed themselves in order that they might "lend" some one or more of them to other districts even less favored. Thus it was at the price of great self-denial and sacrifice that the Protestants of the Cévennes revived religion among the descendants of those who had once been Protestants in Upper Languedoc. Thence the movement advanced southward into Foix, and westward into Guyenne and Béarn. So were Saintonge and Angoumois, Aunis and the city of La Rochelle, Poitou, Normandy, Picardy, and other provinces reclaimed. The progress was steady. By the time of the national synod of 1756 the number of ecclesiastical provinces had increased to ten, with forty-eight pastors and seventeen licentiates, or simple preachers. In 1763 there were fourteen synods, with sixty-two pastors and thirty-five licentiates. When the Edict of Toleration was signed, in 1787, there were, if we may judge from the known increase in certain synods, about one hundred and twenty-five Protestant pastors in all France. The increase in the professedly Protestant laity was doubtless still greater in proportion. In some districts of southern France the Protestant families seemed to be about as numerous as before the Revocation. It was a glorious work of resuscitation, and, under God, it had been performed by devoted men, few in number but strong in their determination to win back the ground which the Reformation had lost, through no fault of its own, but as the result of merciless persecution. To men like Paul Rabaut, who took for the motto on his seal, "Né à patir et mourir"—"Born to suffer and die"—to men who like him could playfully and fearlessly write, "I am worth more than I was awhile ago; a sum of six thousand livres was the price set on my head, now it is ten thousand; and instead of the halter, I am now threatened with the wheel"—to such men was it chiefly owing that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes proved so great a failure.

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II.

SOME REASONS IN FAVOR OF RETOUCHING THE REVISED ENGLISH VERSION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

IT has been said by some earnest apologists of the Revised Version that the work must be accepted or rejected as it is; that no re-revision can be thought of; that better qualified men could not be found for the work than those who have been engaged in it, nor greater diligence and faithfulness expected from any body of workers to whom a re-examination of the Revised Version might be entrusted. This may be true; and yet it does not amount to a demonstration that the Revised Version must be adopted *as it is, or not at all.*

Let us look first at some reasons for retouching this work, and then inquire whether, if the reasons are found to be valid, some way cannot be discovered by which it may be accomplished.

The prime importance, in a work of this kind, of *consistency with itself* will be readily acknowledged by all. If instances can be pointed out in which the work of the revisers has not been consistent with itself, they need not be many to constitute a valid reason for such a retouching of the Revised Version as we advocate. We will look first at the Old Testament.

In the third verse of the first Psalm the godly man is compared to "a tree planted by the streams of water, that bringeth forth *its* fruit in *its* season." Here the revisers have done well to substitute *its* for the *his* of the Authorized Version, as referring to an inanimate object, and from the manner in which this change is spoken of in their Preface, it would seem to have been deliberately adopted. And yet in Jer. xvii. 8, a parallel passage, where the man who trusts in the Lord is compared to "a tree planted by the waters," and where the Authorized Version goes on to say, "that spreadeth out *her* roots by the river," and "*her* leaf shall be green," the Revised Version reads, "that spreadeth out *his* roots by the river," and "*his* leaf shall be green," as if to bring the passage into accord with Ps. i. 3 as it stood in the old version. We must either suppose this,

or that accidental majorities at different meetings of the committee, perhaps separated by a long interval, came to different and inconsistent conclusions.

The words אלה and אלון are in the Authorized Version usually both rendered *oak*. This rendering the revisers have retained, contenting themselves, where אלה occurs, with adding in the margin, "Or, *terebinth*." But in Isa. vi. 13 and Hos. iv. 13 *both terms occur*, showing plainly that they designate different species of trees. In the first of these passages the Authorized Version rendered אלה, *teil-tree*, and in the second, *elm*. Such hap-hazard work as this the revisers could not do otherwise than correct, and this they have done by rendering it in both cases, *terebinth*. But to be consistent (as well as accurate), they should have so rendered it wherever the term occurs.

In Isa. xviii. 2, Revised Version, the Hebrew word גֹּמֶא is rendered *papyrus*, in accord with the best lexicographers and commentators. But in Exod. ii. 3 the old rendering, *bulrushes*, is retained, the revisers contenting themselves with putting in the margin, "That is, *papyrus*." But *bulrushes* does not signify *papyrus*. The bulrush is not a suitable material for constructing boats, while the papyrus plant is. The marginal note amounts therefore simply to an acknowledgment that the text of the translation *ought to be changed*.

So in Gen. xi. 3 and Exod. ii. 3 the revisers have retained *slime* in the text, and say in the margin, "That is, *bitumen*;" but slime in English has no such meaning as *bitumen*. Here again the marginal note is a virtual acknowledgment that its reading ought to have been inserted in the text. Members of the committee may have hesitated to do this, because the word *bitumen* does not occur in the old version. But neither does *papyrus* nor *terebinth*. Nevertheless, they are correct, and for consistency's sake should appear in an English version wherever the corresponding Hebrew terms occur.

נֵבֶל is the name of a musical instrument, and doubtless designates the same instrument wherever it occurs. And yet in Isa. v. 12 it is rendered *lute*, in Amos v. 23 and vi. 5, *viol*, and in 2 Chron. xx. 28 and in the Psalms, *psaltery*. The Authorized Version had the two renderings *psaltery* and *viol*. The Revised Version, by changing the rendering in Isa. v. 12, has made three instead of two.

In their preface to the Old Testament, the revisers state that they had thought best to retain in general the usage of the Authorized Version in rendering the name *Jehovah* by the terms LORD and GOD, having employed the name *Jehovah* "only in a few passages, *in which the introduction of a proper name seemed to be required*."

But if it is appropriate anywhere to retain this sacred name in a version, surely it should be kept when employed by a heathen in designating the God of Israel, as in Exod. v. 1, 2, where (in verse 2) Pharaoh says, "Who is Jehovah, that I should hearken unto his voice? . . . I know not Jehovah;" also where Jehovah is mentioned in contrast with a false god, as in 1 Kings xviii. 21, where Elijah on Mount Carmel says to the assembled people, "If Jehovah be God, follow him, but if Baal, then follow him," and of course also in the response of the people, verse 39, "Jehovah, he is God, Jehovah, he is God;" also where God himself challenges this as his peculiar name, as in Isa. xlii. 8, where he makes the solemn declaration, "I am Jehovah, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise unto graven images." But in all these places the Revised Version has "the LORD."

The confusion in the rendering of the names of measures in the Authorized Version is retained in the Revised Version. The names *homer*, *ephah*, and *hin* are, I believe, consistently retained wherever they occur in the Hebrew, and rightly, for modern languages have no equivalent terms. *Cor* also (another name for the *homer*) is generally retained. But in 1 Kings iv. 22; v. 11, and several other places, it is rendered by the indefinite term *measure*, while the same indefinite term stands in Gen. xviii. 6, 1 Sam. xxv. 18, and other places for the *seah*, a measure equal to *one thirtieth part of a cor*.

These may suffice for examples from the Old Testament. In the New Testament the confusion in respect to the names of measures is still greater. There (both in the Authorized Version and the Revised Version) the same indefinite term *measure* is used to render *chœnix*, *seah*, *bath*, and *cor*, the *seah* being about six times as much as the *chœnix*, the *bath* equal to three *seahs*, and the *cor* to ten *baths*. Surely confusion like this should be avoided.

The use of the word *farthing* to represent *ασσάριον* and also *κοδράντης*, which was the fourth part of an *ἀσσάριον*, is similar to the above, and was in the Authorized Version an error, which the revisers were bound to correct. Neither can the apology be admitted that the terms are used only in a figurative sense; for Mark (xii. 42) specifies that two *λεπτά* make one *κοδράντης*; and where Luke (xii. 6) says that five sparrows are sold for two *ἀσσάρια*, he is speaking of a definite amount and of well-known coins.

In John xxi. 12 the Revised Version substitutes "break your fast" for "dine," and in verse 15 "broken their fast" for "dined" of the Authorized Version (doubtless because the meal referred to appears to have been taken early in the day); but in Luke xi. 37, where the same Greek word occurs, the rendering "dine" is pre-

served, and in verse 38 the corresponding noun is "dinner," a marginal note being appended stating that the Greek in both cases is *breakfast*. Now it is well known that ἄριστον and δεῖπνον represent the two principal meals of the Greeks, the former being taken before the middle of the day and the latter at night. They must therefore be rendered in English either *breakfast* and *dinner*, or *dinner* and *supper*. If in Luke xi. 37, 38, as the marginal note of the Revised Version informs us, the Greek words signify *breakfast*, they should have been so rendered in the text, as also in Matt. xxii. 4 and Luke xiv. 12 (on which passages there is no marginal note), and the correlation δεῖπνον should have been everywhere rendered *dinner*. But this the revisers have nowhere done. If ἄριστον is *breakfast*, and δεῖπνον *supper*, then the Greek language, with all its wealth, has no word for *dine* or *dinner*.

The Revised Version of the New Testament exhibits in not a few instances excessive literalness in rendering Greek words and forms. It was a matter of course that such a mode of rendering could not be carried through consistently. A few examples may suffice.

In Luke xx. 34 the rendering of υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου is changed from "children of this world" to "sons of this world," of whom it is said that they *neither marry nor are given in marriage*, "marry" referring especially to sons, and "are given in marriage" to daughters. So in Gal. iii. 8 "children of Abraham" is changed to "sons of Abraham," where all *believers* are spoken of, male and female. Similar remarks might be made of other passages, where such phrases occur as "children of the Highest," "children of light," "children of the prophets and of the covenant," in all which the Revised Version has "sons," while at the same time it retains (very properly) the rendering "children of Israel" for υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ.

In Heb. xiii. 2 φιλοξενία (the normal Greek term for hospitality) is rendered in the Revised Version "to show love to strangers," while in Rom. xii. 13 the rendering "hospitality" has been preserved, consistently with which they might here have rendered "to exercise hospitality."

In their zeal for an absolutely uniform rendering of αἰώνιος, the revisers have rejected the familiar phrases, "everlasting consolation," "everlasting covenant," "everlasting destruction," and "everlasting gospel," and given us "eternal comfort" (2 Thess. ii. 16), "eternal covenant" (Heb. xiii. 20), "eternal destruction" (2 Thess. i. 9), and "eternal gospel" (Rev. xiv. 6), while the Revised Version of the Old Testament retains "everlasting" as the rendering of the corresponding Hebrew term in such phrases as "everlasting burnings" (Isa. xxxiii. 14), "everlasting joy" (Isa. xxxv.

10), "everlasting covenant" (Isa. lv. 3), "everlasting dishonor" (Jer. xx. 11), "everlasting love" (Jer. xxxi. 3), "everlasting kingdom" (Dan. iv. 3; vii. 27), etc. I shall have something to say farther on about the necessity of a collation of the Revised Version of the Old Testament with that of the New.

Striking instances of excessive literalness (involving a lack of consistency with itself in the work of the Revised Version) are furnished by the attempt, so manifest throughout, to give exact equivalents in English to the Aorist and Perfect tenses of the Greek verb, according to classical analogy and in disregard of the gradual change which the language was undergoing in New Testament times.*

I am confident that a Greek professor of his own language, knowing thoroughly English idiom, could not be found who would say that ὁ ἀγαθὸς in Rom. v. 7 means anything more than the English phrase, "a good man," or ὁ κλαυθμὸς in Matt. vii. 12, etc., anything more, or more emphatic than "weeping" (or "wailing"). As well might the revisers have gone on to say, "gnashing of *the* teeth," because the text has βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. I would not go so far as some of their critics have gone in charging this crowding in of the definite article to pedantry; but I think it does fairly lie open to the charge of an incautious following of leaders.

A strong reason for revising the revision of the New Testament is found in the excessive deference paid to certain ancient manuscripts, and those notoriously inaccurate manuscripts, to the neglect of evidence coming from quotations and versions still older. This is a heavy charge; but if there were no other instance, that of the reading adopted in Acts iv. 25 (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαβὶδ) would sustain it. No evidence short of St. Luke's autograph would satisfy me that he ever wrote such a medley, and in this opinion I am sure that I should be sustained by the best Greek scholars. Even Drs. Westcott and Hort, whose influence predominated in the adoption of Greek readings by the New Testament committee, acknowledge in the Appendix to their critical edition of the Greek New Testament that it is *probably an error.*

The adoption of the reading ἴστε instead of ὥστε in Jas. i. 19 is (like the above) in disregard of the authority of the Syriac Version, an authority two or three centuries older than the uncial Greek manuscripts on which Drs. Westcott and Hort so implicitly rely.†

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* On this point I cannot do better than refer to the preface of a little work which I published in 1883 (Draper, Andover), entitled "Suggested Modifications of the Revised Version of the New Testament," pp. vii., viii.

† Of course I do not mean that the Syriac MSS. in our possession are older than the Sinaitic or the Vatican, but simply that the testimony is in another and an independent

For other instances in which the testimony of the most ancient versions, and particularly of the Syriac, has been disregarded, see Mark ix. 49 ; 1 Cor. xv. 55 ; 2 Cor. iii. 3 ; xii. 7 and 19, and 1 Tim. vi. 7.

Let us now look briefly at the imperative necessity of a collation of the revised versions of the Old and New Testaments. That the two should be prepared on the same plan, and so as not to exhibit differences not existing in the original texts, would seem a matter of course, and I am at a loss to account for no provision having been made for conference between the Old and New Testament companies of Revisers.

The eye of a reader of the Revised Version of the Old Testament is struck by seeing the phrase " spirit of the Lord " printed with a small initial s. In 2 Kings ii. 15, where the " sons of the prophets" are urging Elisha to permit them to go and seek for Elijah, they say, " lest peradventure the spirit of the Lord hath taken him up and cast him upon some mountain or into some valley." Here in our ordinary Bibles the word Spirit is printed with an initial capital S. We do not need to inquire into the reasons which led to its being printed in the Revised Version with a small s. But when the reader comes to a precisely parallel passage in the New Testament, and reads (Acts viii. 39), " the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip ; and the eunuch saw him no more," he has a right to ask why " Spirit " should be printed in the one case with a small initial letter and in the other with a capital.

So when the reader of the New Testament finds the quotations from the prophets printed in parallelisms (*e.g.*, Acts ii. 17–21, compare Joel ii. 28–32), and turning to the corresponding passages in the Old Testament finds them printed solid, like prose, he may reasonably ask, Why this difference of form ? It is true, there are passages in the prophets which are composed in plain prose. There are others, however, in which the parallelism is as marked as in Job or in the Psalms, and still others where it is less marked, and where, if the same course had been pursued in printing the prophetical books as in printing the Book of Job (viz., part appearing as prose, and the rest as poetry), it might have been doubtful in which form certain passages ought to appear. Still, who does not see the desirableness of having the quotations in the New Testament appear in the same form in which the original passages are printed ?

But still more important than the form is the substance of the

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ine, and shows what was the Greek text in the hands of the Syriac translators probably not fifty years from the death of the Apostle John.

translation. There are not a few passages from the Old Testament quoted in the New where there is nothing in the shape of the Hebrew and Greek texts to demand a different rendering in English, and still others where a difference of one or two words in the rendering would satisfy the slight difference of the originals. A glance at these passages in the Revised Version shows that no such collation has been made as the circumstances demand.

In Isa. vii. 14, Revised Version, we read, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son," with a marginal note on "a" or *the*. In Matt. i. 23 this passage is quoted. But here we read, "Behold, *the* virgin shall *be with child*, and shall *bring forth* a son." The Greek of Matthew is in this clause a fair rendering of the Hebrew of Isaiah, and might be expressed in English by the same words. The definite article is the same in both; the first verb is in the Old Testament often rendered *to be with child*, as in Isa. xxvi. 17, 18, Revised Version, and the second is expressed indifferently in both the Old and New Testaments by *to bear* or *to bring forth*; compare "bring forth" (Gen. iii. 16), "is born" (Matt. ii. 2), "bearest not" (Gal. iv. 27), etc. I quote in all these cases from the Revised Version. We need not undertake to decide whether in this important passage we should read "*a* virgin" or "*the* virgin," but since the Hebrew and Greek texts have the article alike, surely the English rendering of it should be the same in both passages.

In Matt. iii. 3 occurs a quotation from Isa. xl. 3, with some variations, but having the phrase, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord" identical. In the Revised Version of the New Testament it is changed to, "Make ye ready the way of the Lord," although in the same version we have *prepare* as the rendering of the same Greek verb (ἑτοιμάζω) in Matt. xx. 23; xxv. 34, 41; Luke xxiii. 56; xxiv. 1; John xiv. 2, 3, and other passages.

Again, in Matt. xiii. 14, 15, we have a quotation from Isa. vi. 10, not exact, but having the words, "lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears" identical. Here the Revised Version in Matthew has substituted *perceive* for *see*, although only two verses farther on the same verb is rendered *see*, as also in Matt. ii. 2, 9, 10, 16, and multitudes of other cases.

In Joel ii. 28 we have the glorious promise, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh," and here the Revised Version agrees with the Authorized Version, except that it gives the word spirit with a small initial s. But the revised New Testament in Acts ii. 17, 18 substitutes "pour forth" for "pour out," although in many passages it renders the same verb, "pour out."

The passage in Ps. xiv. 3, "There is none that doeth good, no,

not one," is quoted in Rom. iii. 12. A somewhat more exact rendering of both the Hebrew and the Greek texts would have been, "There is none that doeth good; there is not even one." The revisers of 1611 regarded "no, not one" as an equivalent, and perhaps more forcible, rendering of the last clause, and gave it in both the Old Testament and the New. But in Romans the Revised Version of 1881 gives us, "no, not so much as one," where the revisers seem not to have noticed that they were employing two negatives in English for one in the Greek.

The Hebrew term *Sheol* has been employed (sometimes) in the Revised Version of the Old Testament as the name of the unseen world, and *Hades* (throughout) in that of the New Testament. Now, whatever differing ideas may have been entertained in different ages respecting the unseen world, still it remains true that ᾅδης is the only Greek term corresponding to שְׁאוֹל, and so was employed to render it in the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, and by the inspired writers of the New. The term *Hades* was first adopted in our English literature, and therefore had the prior claim to be used throughout the Old and New Testaments as the rendering of the corresponding Hebrew and Greek terms; and it is to be regretted that in Ps. xvi. 10 we must read,

> "For thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol;
> Neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption,"

and in Acts ii. 27, of the same Bible, where the words are quoted verbatim,

> "Because thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades,
> Neither wilt thou give thy Holy One to see corruption."

Here we have in a single verse the same particle rendered *For* and *Because*, the same preposition rendered *to* and *in*, the corresponding Hebrew and Greek proper names expressed by *Sheol* and *Hades*, and the same verb rendered *suffer* and *give;* also *thine* and *thy*, and *Holy One* with and without initial capitals.

These examples may suffice. They could easily be multiplied. There are also other points, not touched in this article, which would confirm the same result if fully presented. Such are the different treatment of proper names in the Old and New Testaments, the different degrees of concession to modern usages in such matters as the substitution of *who* or *that* for *which* when referring to persons, and the widely different degrees of strictness with which the revisers of the Old and of the New Testament adhered to the rule, "*To introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness.*" But I am willing to submit

the case without farther argument, confident of the verdict of the great majority of my readers : THE REVISION OUGHT TO BE REVISED.

As a method by which this desirable result might be reached, I suggest the following plan : Let the Old and New Testament companies be constituted one company in two sections, with power to fill their own vacancies either separately or jointly, as the majority may decide. Then let a sub-committee of at least three men be appointed to have immediate charge of the work, and to give *their whole time* to it until it is completed. "Such a committee would be able to render available all the aid offered from without, to watch over the thorough consistency and harmony of the different parts of the version, and to report to the general committees the changes needed to secure these objects. Devoting their whole time and energy to it, they would be far more likely to keep in mind the great variety of points, often minute, which demand attention in the progress of such a work, than ten times as many men of equal ability who are earnestly devoting six sevenths of their time to other duties." *

One more suggestion, and I have done. Let the English Version of the Holy Scriptures be frankly recognized, like the whole body of English literature, as the common heritage and possession of all the English-speaking peoples. To this end let the British and American companies of Revisers (the one representing Great Britain, with its leadership and prestige, and the other Greater Britain, in the widest sense of the phrase, with its large and rapidly increasing majority of those to whom the English language is vernacular) be placed upon precisely the same footing, and a common result reached by the votes of both bodies. The formalities necessary for such an arrangement can easily be reached if those with whom they rest are first satisfied that the arrangement is on the whole desirable. If this reasonable concession *cannot be secured*, then (however much we should deprecate the alternative) let rival editions of the revision be published, and in a friendly way, without contention, compete for the suffrages of all the English-speaking populations of the globe.

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* Suggested Modifications of the Revised Version, p. 4.

III.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE CONGREGATION.

A TRAVELLER entering a Jewish town nineteen hundred years ago could not help seeing a building differing in form and structure from the dwellings of the people, for it either stood on the highest available ground, or it had a tall pole rising from its roof to show its position and its purpose. At the door was a "scraper," so that filth might be put from the feet of those who entered. A notice-board was on the wall, on which occasionally one might see the names of some who had been doing wrongly. Entering the door one's eye fell on a collection-box, into which donations could be put, and looking forward it rested on a small platform with chairs and a desk, at which one could conveniently stand up and read. The building was large or small according to the population of the town, and was built sometimes probably by subscription, sometimes by assessment, and sometimes by a generous and religious friend of the people ; sometimes even by a Gentile who lived among them, and came to like them and their ways. It was the Jewish "meeting-house," the synagogue in which on the Sabbath-day and sometimes during the week the people met to worship and hear God's Word read and explained.

The synagogue was a prophecy. Coming into existence in connection with the sojourn of the people in a strange land, it developed —by a kind of evolution in human life and ways of which the Providence of God often makes use—into a popular institution. In the United States to-day, a region unknown to the world when the synagogue grew up, there are a hundred thousand "meeting-houses," not one of which is without some element traceable to the synagogue. Even the vessel of ceremonial cleansing water and the lights which—in imitation of the temple—were kept burning in the synagogue have their counterpart to-day in the places of worship of that church which clings to altar, priest, and sacrifice, as if Christ had not fulfilled and so put away the preparatory types and shadows of the law, and Himself taken their place.

The assembly of people coming together in the synagogue to worship was known as the "congregation." The idea of supplica-

tion being connected closely with the building, it naturally came to be called the place of prayer ; and the worshippers, from being called together, became to Greek writers the *ecclesia*, the Church, a word which in so many ways is mixed up with the history of the race since the temple fell and the Hebrews were scattered.

Few side questions in Christian literature are more interesting than the bearing of the synagogue on the formation of the Christian congregation, with its body of ruling elders, its leader specially charged with conducting the services, its prayers, its praises, its expositions of Bible truth, its deacons, even its sexton, and its reverence for the "pulpit Bible." Vitringa and others have labored over the history and influence of the synagogue, and with good results, if only we keep in mind that—as in every deteriorating system—new usages creep in and are not to be confounded with the original elements. The curses against Christians, for example, could have had no sanction from our Lord, could not have existed in His time, and are no more authorized by Him than the prayers for the dead—noticed in the Book of Maccabees—and dwelt upon by the advocates of corrupt Christianity.

Presbyterians have no reason to turn away from the contemplation of the synagogue, for just as the prophet in the Hebrew history took the place of the priest and prepared for the preaching of the Christian dispensation, so the synagogue, in Palestine and in every "city of the Gentiles" where even ten adult Hebrews were found, prepared the way for the congregation, with its ruling elders, its court of discipline, its Scripture-reading and exposition, and its care of the poor. Nor will any intelligent reader of these disquisitions be troubled by the use of the word "liturgy." He will remember (though others often ignore it) that "liturgy" is only the Greek word for "service," and that if a man were to-day describing in Greek the "ministry" or "service" of the most loyal Presbyterian, the word *leitourgia* would be employed as by Luke (i. 23) and the apostle of the Gentiles (Phil. ii. 17).

The venerable institution that thus comes to us is entitled to careful study, if we would make the most of it for the good of the people and for the Divine glory. Whatever views Christian people may entertain as to the General Council, or the Association, or the Synod, or the Assembly, there is no diversity of view about the congregation and its relation to the spiritual health of the community—the subject to which we now crave the attention of the reader. A congregation is to be the means of bringing truth to bear on the people for their conversion and sanctification, and of witnessing for the truth of God among men. What are the ele-

ments that enter into it to make it efficient? The efficiency of many a congregation is seriously hindered by its genesis, if we may apply that word to origin, constituent elements, and organization. A group of individuals, for other than spiritual reasons, goes out of an existing congregation, applies to the most convenient body for organization, and proceeds more with the spirit of an ambitious secular corporation than of a religious community. The inspiration may be in the social ambition or social discontent of a number of leaders, or of a single leader, or a denominational zeal from outside is exercised to detach and set up a new Church, the *raison d'être* for which is mainly to have a representation in the place, and swell the ranks of the advancing army. This is the only sense in which some companies of Christians are of the Church militant. The choice of officers is determined by considerations such as led to organization. Spirituality of feeling or consecration of life is secondary. The extent to which influence, money, and connection can "carry us along" is the primary thought. It does not need to be shown that a process like this grieves the Spirit of God, drives away His blessing, chills the sympathies of God's people in the neighborhood, brings Christian life down in the minds of onlookers, and tempts the Church into following precedents that savor of a secular rather than of a religious society. God, who overrules human folly, may in time bring great good out of a community so organized; but it has unhealthy elements which have to be eliminated through new and better influences. If the eye of the body politic is not single, the body will not be full of light. It would sometimes be a saving in money and in other denominational talents if a Presbytery said to a body of applicants for reception and organization, "Brethren, we do not think your impulses of the sort God calls for in moving forward His cause, and we decline to receive you." Such a course would sometimes be a testimony to regard for the Divine honor rising above denominational self-love.

There is that in the mode of settlement of a pastor which tells on the moral power of a congregation for good or for evil. Has he been the object of the choice of all the people? Did they choose him freely? or had things come into that condition that they must take somebody, and he turned up? Or is he the *protégé* of a section —perhaps the giving section—of the congregation? Is it conceded that he was called spontaneously by them? or did he so manage that they could not well do otherwise? Here is a man doing missionary work, and making a good record. "Come and preach to us as a candidate," says a letter to him. "You are very kind in intention," he replies, "but were I to do so it would look as if I were

doing this work only because I could get no better, and that is not the case." Suppose they say, "Now, that is the sort of man we want," and they give him the call without any "candidating." He has, other things being equal, an immense advantage over a minister who put himself on trial and in competition before them. A minister called to a pulpit on his general record, and without his having raised a beckoning finger to the people, has a good position among the people around. The non-churchgoing will "like to hear a man like that," and be prepossessed in his favor. The estimate of him may be without definite basis, but it rests on ideas of self-respect, manliness, independence, and readiness to work for work's sake, which Christian instincts connect with a "good minister of Jesus Christ."

In recent years we have heard and read a great deal about "environments." The word covers much that bears on a minister's influence for good. The management, for example, of the financial affairs of a congregation tells directly on its standing, and consequently its usefulness. This matter is all too often set in a light that misleads. The Christian man in business is not relieved from regard to laws and rules of business by the fact that he is a man of faith. If he proceeds on any such assumption, he will early find himself in embarrassments. And precisely so it is with a Christian community. When it has to do with property, it has a business side, and on that side to put faith in the room of foresight, prudence, economy, or liberality is to invite failure. Is the minister chosen because he can, it is thought, get the congregation out of debt? Is the congregation so burdened with debt, waiting for some one to be "raised up in the providence of God" to pay it off, that the minister has no encouragement from the people to preach a missionary sermon or mention a "collection"? Did the people, disregarding the plane of their own living, begin an ambitious structure, implying a large outlay? Does the known debt on it deter people from taking a pew? "I cannot afford it," says the poor man, more or less truly. "I don't want to go in," says the richer man; "if I do they will be down on me for the debt." Does the bulk of the pecuniary resources come from a clique, so that the rest of the worshippers relieve their minds of responsibility? Then two sets of evils come. There is an understanding that the givers should choose the minister, and that is bad, for it ignores the Christian standing and obligation of the rest. And there is the further temptation to say when the minister is settled, "Well, the rich set chose him; he is their man; let them take care of him." All this is bad for the innocent minister. All the members of a healthy Church have a voice in

the Church's choice and responsibility, or privilege rather, in the Church's maintenance. New Testament Presbyterianism is on the line of the national Government, "of the people, for the people, by the people." Common sense is to be used in the management of Church affairs as of the Christian's affairs, and to be consecrated in the exercise. The law of the United States puts much in the power of trustees; but the people choose them. Let them choose rightly. Let them not say of A. B., "He is not a religious man, but he is well off. We could not make him an elder, but we can put him into the Board of Trustees." Men who are to manage the affairs of a religious body need more than social standing or business shrewdness. They need the wisdom that cometh from above. Only religious men will feel this need and seek Divine direction. And the Church-building ought to be the product largely of the zeal and efforts of the resident worshippers. Human nature is such that it likes to utilize that into which it has put its means. On the other hand, a Church-building practically dropped in the neighborhood by some distant owner of supposed ample means—an individual or a society—is all too often left for the donor to take care of. It is like a monument in the cemetery—they who erected it are expected to look after it.

On all such matters as these there is a twofold obligation often forgotten. Ministers are to teach their people on these matters. "The Scriptures principally teach what we are to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." A Church-building has gone up, and is two thirds paid for. "Now," says a shrewd member, "we have done our part. We can carry the remaining one third easily, and let the next generation take that for its share." The thing looks plausible, and the selfishness of which we all have a share rather favors it. "No," says the minister, "we cannot do that. We must dedicate this house to God as a clear gift. We must leave as good an inheritance as we can to the next generation, but debt is not a part of it. The next generation, if it is faithful, will have its own work to do. Let us set it a good example." The result is a little more "effort," to use an abused word. The work is done. No one is exhausted by it. The conscience of every one approves of it, and the people say—and this is good for them, too—"Yes, the minister is right. The Church should owe no man anything for its building."

There is, in the second place, responsibility on the Presbytery. The synagogue was one thing; the council, the *sunedrion*, was another, with local oversight. In too many cases a Presbytery installs a minister, and, *as a Presbytery*, takes no more cognizance of him or

his work until he comes with his "resignation." "Why, what is the matter?" asks a presbyter of his neighbor. "I believe there is trouble in the Church; it has been going on for a long time." But the body which installed him had no cognizance of it. He had no moral support from his peers. No New Testament authority was brought to bear on him or on the people to repress the trouble and maintain moral and spiritual health. This is not an infrequent occurrence, and it is given as an illustration of the inactivity—the defective sense of that responsibility we urge on Presbyteries. Call the session a Presbytery, as do German Presbyterians, and our Presbytery a synod if you like, but there is a body over the congregation, minister and people, with oversight and responsibility. Fidelity on its part would often avert evils, and habituate the people to ask its counsel and be guided by its wisdom. What is the use of us as Presbyteries? Are we a mere "bureau of registration" of calls, settlements, and dismissals? or are we a body for counsel, direction, and good government, having such oversight that a minister in difficulties can go to his peers and count upon justice, and a congregation in doubts can go to its council and secure wise direction?

Our form of Church Government provides two sets of co-operators with the preaching Elder. One of these we know as the ruling Elders, meeting in "session." The efficiency of many a congregation would be promoted by the extension of their activities. To regulate collections, admit and dismiss members, and arrange details of Church life are important official duties. They should be supplemented, however, by personal contact with the people in the intercourse of life, and in their homes. How many when sick "send for the Elders of the Church"? In too many cases they assume that the minister's instincts will guide him to the sick-bed; but as for the Elders, they too rarely count on their help in spiritual life. Yet an elder, doing his common duty as a business man, a farmer, a lawyer, who will speak faithful and kind words to those of his own class, will often exercise a power beyond the minister's. When the Elder is making his honest appeal, it is less easy for the enemy of souls to whisper into the hearer's ear, "He is only earning his salary," than when the minister exhorts. Let John Smith come into the Church and get seats for his family, and let Mr. Brown call as an Elder of the Church, telling why, making their acquaintance, and giving hints as to the best ways of utilizing the Church, and the whole of the Smith family will be in a better mood for hearing and worshipping the next Lord's day, for they will have an actual sense of the Church as a living organism, and of the communion of Christians as real and not merely nominal.

Socialists and Anarchists now make a stir, and in all likelihood will for some time irritate and alarm society. These United States, with their wide range, different States, and individual liberty offer them a tempting field. The neglected condition of the poor, however real or imaginary, is their strong point. The Church has to bear her share, and it is a large one, in weakening this point. We have no parochial divisions. We have no Established Church, which, as in England, may be like a branch of the civil service, putting a minister into every parish, to whom, with more or less success, the parochial poor can betake themselves. That this arrangement effects all that is sometimes claimed for it is unhappily made incredible by the condition, say, of London, where "the Church" has, it is alleged, furnished an inadequate share of the Church accommodation, and where an alarming multitude has no *bona fide* connection with any Church.

But the fact that the Church here has no State-provided machinery of this sort makes it more incumbent to secure the best available machinery. A body of deacons chosen, of course, by the people, having in charge the care of the poor of the congregation, on the one hand securing the needful relief for them, and, on the other, personally dispensing it in the spirit of gentle Christian men—this would be a living and a forcible plea for the Church as a Divine institution, and a partial reply to the sweeping charges recklessly flung at not only all Christians, but at most of those who have secured common comforts, as being indifferent to the miseries of the class which Socialism affects to take under its protection.

In commending the place and work of the deacon, we do not use the word in its New England sense. The New England deacon is to all intents and purposes a Scottish or, better still, a New Testament ruling Elder. We mean by deacons a group of church-members set apart from the rest for the care of the poor. They may be younger men than are commonly called into the session. To have them meet with the session, without voting, make their reports there, and learn by observation how the work is done—as is the case in some congregations—is no mean preparation for the higher place of ruling Elder. It is for such Church officers as we have described to co-operate with the pastor in breathing the right spirit into the Church. A congregation can take to itself an air not very defined, and nowhere noted down in its books, but not the less real on that account, more or less favorable to true spiritual advance. It may be a bureau for mild, not irreligious entertainment. It may be a social ladder with well-defined steps for the feet of those who are known as "climbers." It may be a competitor more or

less successful in the work of "drawing" numbers, and may treat success therein as the chief end of its existence. Or—and this we deem the true ideal of a Christian congregation—it may be a group of Christian families associated together for solemn, decent worship of Almighty God, for learning and teaching one another the saving truth, and for witnessing for it before their fellow-men, and provided with an edifice adapted for these high ends.

We have spoken of "families" and of "teaching one another," and the ideas represented by these words we deem essential to the healthy life of a congregation. Families, as such, should be together. Departures from this rule of nature are rarely taken without loss along the lines of family and religious life. When individualism is pushed so far that the parents go to one congregation, "the girls" strike out for another, and the sons, if they go anywhere, patronize a third, there will be in a few years little home religion under the roof which covers their place of living, or rather boarding. And so, too, the Sabbath-schools, classes, young men's societies, and all the internal organizations of the Church should be in effect the people of the congregation aiding one another in learning, in Christian living and Christian working. Whoever has voyaged in an ocean steamer knows that there are other pieces of machinery than that which propels the ship. One can be set to work to drop and lift the anchor. Another can be employed to heave up the cinders. A third can work for the ventilation of the passages and rooms. A fourth can keep the food required for hundreds of passengers in the needed cool temperature. But one plan runs through all; one will centrals all; and the subordinate appliances do not run the ship nor interfere with the running. And on the same general principle should work all the subordinate agencies of a living and advancing congregation as God's instrument, like the ship, carrying many human beings through the changes and vicissitudes of life below to the shores of the better land.

Of the distinctive work of the minister we have not here attempted to write. It is an old but a wide subject, and requires an article by itself. To be preacher, overseer, and friend; to lift up Christ and to go down with sympathy and good sense to the lowest condition of the lowliest of His people; to declare, explain, defend, and recommend the truth of the All-Holy One to sinful men, so that they shall be interested and drawn under its influence, and so that the Holy Spirit will employ it for quickening into life and feeding their souls—this is the loftiest work on which a human soul can concentrate its energies. Parents toil, and enlist the co-operation of their sons that they may be lifted to the places of lawyer, physi-

cian, merchant, and the like. Where are there places so noble and lofty as that whose occupants can say, "We are ambassadors for Christ"? Trials, difficulties, hard labors must come to such officers as surely as inconveniences come to soldiers on a battle-field; but brave soldiers deem these drawbacks a little thing compared with duty and with victory. So let it be with ministers; then spiritual, living congregations will love them living, and bless their memories when they have gone to minister in the upper sanctuary.

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IV.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO SCIENCE.

*"Bien que cela sonne comme un paradoxe, la science moderne doit son origine au Christianisme."**

WE are continually hearing in certain quarters at the present day of the unspeakable debt which Christian Theology owes to Physical Science. Science has been lopping off excrescences here, removing huge errors there, dissolving false principles and furnishing right interpretations all round, and, in general, exercising such a powerful reforming influence on the unshapely body of Theology as will likely by and by make her a passable subject, almost presentable in modern society. On the other hand, in the present pride and ingratitude of youthful Science, we hear but little of the debt which she herself owes to Christianity; and what is worse, in the more bigoted circles of unbelief—and no bigotry can be more bitter than that of the coarser forms of unbelief—the very idea would probably be scouted as ridiculous that Science could owe anything whatever to Christianity. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" Yet we are old-fashioned enough to believe that Science does owe a large debt to Christianity; a debt much larger than Christianity owes to Science; a debt so large that Science has not yet repaid it, and perhaps never can repay it. And it is most interesting and satisfactory to notice that this indebtedness is at times candidly admitted even by non-Christian scientists. For example, the sentence which forms the text of the present article is a sentence from the pen of an acknowledged scientist, who unhappily appears to be far enough from being a believer in the Christianity of the New Testament. It is Du Bois-Reymond, and not some benighted theologian, who says, "Although it may sound like a paradox, modern Science owes its origin to Christianity."

As Christians we ought frankly to admit the great and real debt which Christian Theology owes to Physical Science. Our love of

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* Du Bois-Reymond, *La Revue Scientifique*, 19 Janvier, 1878.

the truth and our sense of gratitude alike should compel us to do so ; and that Christian acts but a sorry and unworthy part who fails in this duty. Why should not Science help to perfect our religious system of truth, like philosophy, or the study of geography or history, or the growing knowledge of ancient languages, or the wonderful discoveries of archæology, especially in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon? And if we acknowledge the fact in the latter case, why should we not do so with equal cordiality in the former? Why should Christians hesitate to accept truths revealed in Nature any more than truths revealed in the Bible, since the one is just as really and directly a revelation of God as the other? The one supreme aim which we must ever keep before our minds as Christians is the discovery of the truth, the very thoughts of God ; and as truth-seekers we are bound to accept the truth from whatever quarter it may come, whether from the Bible or from Nature, from Archæology or Physical Science, and whether it may tell for or against our cherished dogmas.

Science has contributed a great deal to systematic Christianity in the way of helping to bring Christian thinkers back to the right method of searching after and attaining to truth. There can be no doubt that the theological method of the Middle Ages was the hard, self-confident method of *a priori* deduction. But this method was not the outgrowth of Christianity itself. It was the result of Scholasticism, that morbid and monstrous development of Aristotelianism, which was just as hurtful to sound Theology as to sound Science, and for which Theology was no more to blame than Science. But the truly scientific method proceeds by the induction of facts. It asks, What are the facts? Have we all the facts? What is the meaning of the facts? Then, when the facts are all before it, it proceeds to deduce its conclusions and establish the great underlying laws and principles. Now Science has helped to bring back Theology to the method of Induction. It has put a new instinct into theologians, teaching them consciously or unconsciously to follow the method of induction rather than that of overgrown deduction. It has led them to ask what are the facts? And thus it has brought them back more rigidly to the exact facts and statements of the Bible as made known by an accurate exegesis. It has taught them that it is only when all the facts are fully before the mind that the time has come for sound theologizing with a view to discover the grand truths and principles which are the very thoughts of God. It has further trained them to take care that the conclusions deduced shall not overlap the facts, so as to contain more than the facts warrant.

But Science has also contributed to Theology or Systematic Christianity in the way of correcting not a few mistakes which had become encrusted on it as earth may be encrusted on the precious stone. These were mistakes which it properly belonged to Physical Science to correct, mistakes about matters which God had revealed in the volume of Nature, and which accordingly could not be accurately known until that volume had been studied aright. These scientific corrections are such as the following : that the sun is the centre of the solar system and not the earth ; that it is the earth which moves and not the sun ; and that God created the world by a gradually progressive process or evolution extending throughout indefinite ages, and not in the space of six ordinary days. In general, we may say that Science has helped Theology to the conclusion that the Bible is meant to be a revelation of religious truth and not of scientific truth, the revelation of which is to be found in Nature.

Physical Science has also helped Theology not a little by contributing to a fuller, wider, more realistic view of the infinitude of God. It helps us better to realize His power when it reveals to us the enormous masses of the planets and the stars, and their inconceivable velocities. It gives us a deeper insight into His wisdom when it reveals to us the laws which regulate the motions of the heavenly bodies, the growth and the structure of plants, the organism of the animal, and especially of the human frame. It helps us better to grasp the reality of His omnipresence when Science reveals to us that the same material substances, forces, and laws as exist around us on the earth are also found to exist in the distant stars. It gives us a fuller sense of His absolute dominion when we see law reigning everywhere, down to the minutest atom, so that the astronomer can calculate the exact time of an eclipse a century or even a thousand years before it takes place. In such ways as the above Science has substantially contributed to the help of Christian Theology.

Perhaps we should also mention here that Science has done not a little to draw the attention of theologians more vividly to the fact that the revelation of religious truth in the Bible has been a gradual development or evolution. Physical Science has arrived at the conclusion that creation has proceeded by a gradual advance through long ages, possibly, some think, by a God-directed and God-impelled evolution. Now this discovery assuredly tends to annihilate the dictum of Reimarus and others, that if God had really given us a revelation of religious truth, it would have been in a systematic form, perfect at once, like a creed, a confession, or a catechism. It has certainly done something to make it more obvious that reve-

lation has not proceeded by arbitrary, unconnected leaps, but is a continuous river of light and life, flowing through the ages with a constantly increasing fulness of development. We behold the beginnings of the heaven-descended stream in Genesis. Throughout the centuries we see God forming the channel and directing the course of the growing river by ten thousand providences. We trace Him ever pouring fuller light and life directly from Himself into the mystical current, so that the growth goes on almost imperceptibly ; while at special times we see Him launching into it sudden and visible supplies of the supernatural, so as to make a new start, akin to the introduction of a new species in Nature. In other words, Science has helped us to grasp more clearly that revelation is a God-directed evolution, a river flowing down the ages in one historical, organic continuity, ever advancing in its fulness until it reaches its goal in Christ, the Christian religion, and the Christian Church.

Our present subject, however, is not the contribution of Science to Christian Theology, but the contribution of Christian Theology to Science. And here let it be noted that we use the expression "Christian Theology" as equivalent to systematic Christianity, or the true Science of the facts of Christianity. In this sense the expression denotes the correct and systematic knowledge of Christian truth as it really *is*, as distinguished from any old *a priori* system, and, above all, as distinguished from any system of infallible, cast-iron ecclesiasticism. It must be noted that this is the meaning we attach to "Christian Theology," just as scientists mean by "Physical Science" the correct and systematic knowledge of the facts of the physical universe, and not the old and discarded scientific systems which have gone to form the rubbish of the ages. We admit that Romish ecclesiasticism has at times proved a powerful enemy to Science, as it has done to true religion ; and we do not deny that hard *a priori* systems of Theology have occasionally tended in the same direction even in Protestantism. What we undertake to show is that Christian Theology, the Christian system of truth, or, in short, Christianity, has made most valuable contributions to the help of Physical Science.

This seems at first sight suggested by the fact that *it is the Christian nations which stand and have always stood in the front rank of scientific advance.* We do not look for true and living Science in China or India, under the influence of Confucianism, or Buddhism, or Brahmanism ; and if we were to look for such Science there we should not find it. It is only among Christian nations, and nations which have imbibed the grand truths of Christianity, that we find living and productive Science. We need only remind the reader

that it is countries such as Britain, Germany, and America, which have stood or stand first in Christianity, that also stand first in the march of Science. Nor is the fact that the Arabians in the Middle Ages made some advance in Science any exception to the general truth just stated. These Arabians were Mohammedans, and as such had borrowed the doctrines of the unity, personality, and government of God from the Christian Scriptures, and thus far they held the grand fundamental truth of our religion. We are convinced that this religious belief was the inspiration and impelling power of their new life and Science, so that their case so far falls in with our general statement ;* and we are inclined to maintain that it was because they stopped short of Christianity that their scientific advance proved abortive and transitory.

But the close connection of Christianity with Science may also appear if we look at the *most distinguished scientific discoverers of the past and the present. They have been, as a rule, men who were believers in Christianity, or, at least, in Christian Theism.* Naville even goes the length of saying, "There is not a single one of the founders or great originators [of Physical Science] who has not been placed under the influence of the idea of a mighty and wise Creator, and who has not received from that lofty contemplation the rays of light which have directed his steps."† It may seem to be going rather far to affirm this dogmatically ; but it is much nearer the truth than the sweeping boast sometimes made, that all the foremost scientific men of the age are unbelievers or materialists. The great scientific discoverers of the past were men who believed in the God of Christianity. This is true of such men as Copernicus and Kepler, Galileo, Newton, and Herschel, Descartes and Pascal and Leibnitz, Linnæus and Cuvier and Davy. The same thing is true to a great extent of the famous scientific discoverers of our own age, who either are still alive or have passed away within the last fifty years. We need only refer to such names as Liebig, Ampère, and Faraday, Owen and Agassiz, Brewster and Clerk-Maxwell, Thomson and Tait, Doma and Dawson, Lionel Beale and Pasteur. But perhaps we cannot do better than hear what such an unexceptionable authority as Dr. Maudsley has to say on the subject. He affirms, "There is hardly one, if indeed there be even one, eminent scien-

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* "That Mohammedanism exhibits most of that furtherance of natural study which we assign to the monotheistic principle falls in, without doubt, with the circumstance that the Monotheism of Mohammed was the most absolute, and comparatively the freest from mythical adulterations." (Lange, *History of Materialism*, Vol. I., p. 184, Authorized Translation, second edition.)

† *Modern Physics*, p. 221, 1884.

tific inquirer who has denied the existence of God, while there is notably more than one who has evinced a childlike simplicity of faith.''* In other words, the distinguished discoverers in the domain of Science have been almost entirely men holding at least those grand theistic beliefs which lie at the very foundation of Christianity. Now, at first sight, all this looks as if there was some real causal connection between the spirit of Christianity and Science.

But even if there be scientific discoverers who make no profession of Christian Theism, it by no means follows that Christianity has had no influence on their investigations and discoveries. The very opposite is almost certain to be the fact. They have grown up in the midst of a Christian environment, breathing a Christian air, and in spite of themselves they have contracted a Christian way of looking at things. They have absorbed certain germinal principles, and acquired certain habits and instincts from their Christian surroundings, just as they have acquired their speech and manners, their morality and general character ; and whether they will or not, these principles and habits of mind exercise a very subtle and powerful influence upon their Science.

One very important preliminary way in which Christianity has contributed to the aid of Science was *in beginning and fighting out the battle of freedom of conscience and of thought* against the iron tyranny of Rome. Writers like Draper, in his so-called *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, would gladly make their credulous readers believe that it was Science which fought out the battle of intellectual freedom, and that it had to fight it out against Religion. But this is a grievous mistake. The battle was not fought against Religion, but against the infallible ecclesiasticism of Rome ; and it was not fought out by Science, but by Religion, by Protestant Christianity. It was Protestant Christianity, the Renaissance of true Religion, that began the great battle against Rome for freedom, and first had the courage and the power effectively to beard the lion in his den. Indeed, it is highly questionable whether Science had in her the faith, the moral principle and power absolutely necessary for such a tremendous conflict. At any rate, Draper excuses and palliates in a very significant way, if he does not positively defend, Galileo's lamentable recantation of his scientific beliefs before the Inquisition. His words are, '' Knowing well that truth has no need of martyrs, he assented to the required recantation, and gave the promise demanded '' †—a statement which seems to imply that Draper himself does not believe very firmly in martyrdom for

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* *Body and Mind*, p. 335.

† *Conflict between Religion and Science*, p. 171.

Science, or think that Science of herself is well calculated to support a race of martyrs. In any case it was Protestant Christianity which carried on the deadly war and purchased the pearls of intellectual freedom at the expense of furious and unrelenting persecution, of fines and banishment, of imprisonment and tortures unutterable, of many a bloody field and many a fiery martyrdom. Not to speak of the impulse which the Reformation gave to the whole circle of thought, there can be no doubt that Protestantism was the chief power in fighting out the battle of mental freedom ; and in this respect it has greatly aided Science by securing a free and safe field for her manifold research.

We come now more directly to inquire how or in what ways Christianity of the thoughtful and systematic type positively contributes to the help of Science. We do not mean to dwell upon the *moral help* derived from the influence of Christianity, not because we overlook or undervalue this line of argument, but because the general fact is obvious. It is manifest that the loyalty to the truth which genuine Christianity fosters, and the spirit of honest, thoroughgoing work which it inculcates, must have a healthful and stimulating effect on scientific investigation. When Faraday enumerates the qualifications of the true scientist, as a man "willing to listen to every suggestion, but determined to judge for himself ; not biassed by appearances, with no favorite hypotheses, of no school, and in doctrine having no master ; not a respecter of persons but of things, with truth for his primary object, and with industry superadded," * what has he done but enumerate a few of the well-known qualities of the genuine Christian ? From the very nature of things, true Christianity must contribute to that "patient industry," that "self-renunciation of which the world never hears," that "single eye," that "humility," that "upright determination to accept the truth, no matter how it may present itself," which Professor Tyndall declares to be absolutely necessary for a genuine scientific investigator.† There can be no doubt that the healthful influence of Christianity in this direction has been powerfully felt even by men who are not professedly Christian themselves, but have lived in a Christian atmosphere until they have become charged with the Christian spirit.

A genuine Christianity gives a *living, personal interest to scientific research*, and therefore a powerful and abiding impulse. To the Christian, scientific research is the study of the works, the wisdom,

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* Bence Jones's *Life of Faraday*, Vol. I., p. 225.

† *Fragments of Science*, Vol. I., p. 343.

and the power of his Father in heaven. The Christian's Bible tells him that his Father has given us two volumes of revelation. The first is the volume of Nature; the second is Holy Scripture. It is the grand lesson of the first chapter of Genesis, that the universe is not the outcome of chance or of mere iron necessity, but is the free work of our heavenly Father. In other words, the Bible teaches us that Nature is just as really a revelation of God's thoughts and will as it is itself. When we are studying Nature, we are studying God's revelation of Himself just as truly as when we are studying the Bible, although the former may be a lower stratum of that revelation than the latter. Accordingly while other scientists study Nature as a cold, lifeless, soulless system of matter and force, and their blind mechanical laws, the Christian scientist addresses himself to the study of Nature with the belief that it is the revelation of his God and Father, the crystallization and embodiment of His thoughts and will. And who does not see how much living, loving interest and impulse this must give to his scientific investigations? Hence in such a man as Kepler we see that his devout Christianity was the mainspring of his scientific research, and we find him, at the close of one of his great works, breaking out quite naturally in such words as these: "O Thou who by the light of Nature promotest in us the yearning desire of the light of grace, that Thou mayest thereby transfer us into the light of glory, I thank Thee, Creator Lord, that Thou hast given me delight in Thy creation, and exultation in the works of Thy hands." *

The grand fundamental doctrine of Christianity which has more especially borne with great effect on the progress of Science is its *doctrine in regard to God.* It believes in one God, possessed of true personality and freedom, of perfect intelligence and goodness, omnipresence and omnipotence, the Creator and the Governor of the universe. We do not need to prove that this view of God is not borrowed by Christianity from modern Science; for it existed in the Bible and in the hearts of Christians when modern Science was in its infancy, only beginning to lisp and walk. We can therefore inquire with perfect consistency what influence such Theism has had on Science; and in doing so we shall find that Christianity on its theistic side, by coming into direct contact with Nature through its belief in God as the Creator and Governor of the universe, has exercised a powerful influence on Science. So obvious is this truth in its general aspect, that it has been distinctly recognized by men who are by no means orthodox Christians, or even ex-

* *Harmonices Mundi*, Lib. V., cap. 9.

plicit adherents of Christianity. For example, we find Du Bois-Reymond expressly saying, "That idea of God, transmitted throughout the ages, from generation to generation, has ended by reacting on Science itself; and, by accustoming the human mind to the conception of a *unique* reason of things, has kindled in it the desire of knowing that reason." *

It seems to us that the *Christian doctrine of the One God is almost necessary in order to lay a basis for true Science and make it possible.* Such Science does not consist in merely gathering up empirically a multitude of separate facts, and in laboriously and "exhaustively classifying them." It is only when the facts are gathered that the higher Science begins. True Science consists in discovering the underlying laws and principles; and if there be no real basis of unity, no general underlying, unifying laws and principles, then Science is quite impossible. "Were this a Chaotic Universe, the powers of the mind employed in Science would be useless to us. Did chance wholly take the place of order, and did all phenomena come out of an *Infinite Lottery*, to use Condorcet's expression, there could be no reason to expect the like result in like circumstances." But "happily the universe in which we dwell is not the result of chance, and where chance seems to work, it is our own deficient faculties which prevent us from recognizing the operation of Law and of Design." † Even materialistic no less than theistic Science requires as its foundation "the axiom of the intelligibleness of the world" ‡—that is, there must be some underlying texture of intelligence and causation running through things to make Science possible.

Now it is difficult to see how general, intelligent principles and laws must exist and reign without the One God at the basis of them. If there be absolutely no God, or if there be a multitude of gods, it is hard to see why there must be unity and order. Without God, or without the divine Unity, why should the elements of matter not be antagonistic and at everlasting war with each other, and therefore be utterly unable to form harmonious and permanent combinations? In like manner, why should not the forces in Nature be mutually antagonistic, and constantly working for disorder? Why should not the matter and forces existing in Sirius be altogether and totally different from those in the Sun, and those in Arcturus different from those in Sirius, and those in Aldebaran different from all the three? Why should not the laws which reign in the different

* *La Revue Scientifique*, 19 Janvier, 1878, p. 676.

† Jevons, *Principles of Science*, p. 2.

‡ Lange, *History of Materialism*, Vol. III., p. 69.

stars be throughout absolutely unlike? Indeed, why should not the supposition which J. S. Mill propounds as quite feasible be really the fact, that in some of "the firmaments into which sidereal astronomy now divides the universe events may succeed one another at random, without any fixed law"?* Why should he not be right when he says again, "In distant parts of the stellar regions it would be folly to affirm confidently that this general law [of causation] prevails"? † If there be no God, or if there be many gods, it is difficult to see why Mill should not almost certainly be right. "Apart from the supposition of a Supreme Intelligence, the chances in favor of disorder against order, of chaos against cosmos, must be pronounced all but infinite." ‡ Clearly, however, were such the case, true Science, and especially cosmical Science, would be impossible. But the existence of only one God at the basis of the universe removes this difficulty; and the intelligent belief in Christian Theism puts into our hand the grand guiding clew to all truest, broadest, deepest Science. Making all due allowance for variety arising from the freedom of God, it suggests to us that there are sure to be universal principles and laws at the root of things, to which all the facts are to be co-ordinated, and which bind them together in a systematic unity. It is in this spirit that Kant says, "The sole condition, so far as my knowledge extends, under which this unity [in the universe] can be my guide in the investigation of Nature is the assumption that a Supreme Intelligence has ordered all things according to the wisest ends. Consequently, *the hypothesis of a wise Author of the universe is necessary for my guidance in the investigation of Nature.*" § Even Lange, in his *History of Materialism*, himself distinctly materialistic, says, "Only when we have a liberal theory of the harmonious guidance of the whole universe of things by one God does the cause and effect connection between things become not only conceivable, but is, in fact, a necessary consequence of the theory; and so a way is opened on which Science may freely enter." ‖ In short, the Christian doctrine of God lays a basis for the higher Science, the Science of the broadest principles, makes it clearly possible, and at the least is certainly conducive to it, even in the judgment of those who are strongly materialistic in their tendency.

Proceeding along the line just entered on, we affirm that the Christian doctrine of God has largely contributed to guide Science

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* *System of Logic*, Vol. II., p. 111 (second edition). † *Ib.*, Vol. II., p. 118.
‡ Flint, *Theism*, p. 137. § *Critique of Pure Reason*, Meiklejohn's translation, p. 500.
‖ *History of Materialism*, Vol. I., p. 173.

to its belief in *the unity of the universe.* Science rightly maintains that one of its approximate demonstrations is that the universe is one. It has found by the spectrum analysis the same material elements with which we are familiar on the earth existing in the sun and the stars. It has proved that the force of gravity which acts on the earth acts not only in the planets, the comets, and the sun, but in the stars and the nebulæ. It has found also that the same laws prevail throughout the visible universe, so far as within its sweep. The action of gravity, for example, and the transmission of light are guided by the same laws in the planets and comets, in the sun, in the fixed stars, and the remotest nebulæ. From all this Science draws its conclusion as to the oneness of the universe. But to this conclusion Science has been powerfully impelled and guided, consciously or unconsciously, by the Christian doctrine of One God. This doctrine naturally suggested to the investigator that as there is only one God, therefore it is likely that the sum of physical worlds should form a real universe, and not a chance conglomeration of disconnected materials and forces. It thus pointed out the direction in which the truth lay, inclined the minds of investigators toward it, and made them more ready to discover it, and to accept it when discovered. Thus Kant felt and taught: "The highest formal unity is the unity of all things—a unity in accordance with an aim or purpose; and the speculative interest of reason renders it necessary to regard all order in the world as if it originated from the intention and design of a Supreme Reason. This principle unfolds to the view of reason in the field of experience new and enlarged prospects, and invites it to connect the phenomena of the world according to teleological law, and in this way to attain to the *highest possible degree of systematic unity.*"* We believe that the Duke of Argyll is substantially correct when he says: "One thing is certain: that whatever Science may have done or may be doing to confirm man's idea of the Unity of Nature, Science, in the modern acceptation of the term, did not give rise to it. The idea had arisen long before Science in this sense was born. Theology, no doubt, had more to do with it. The idea of the Unity of Nature must be at least as old as the idea of one God." † While polytheism and mere materialism naturally tend to lead away from the doctrine of the systematic oneness of the universe, Christian Theism points to this grand scientific truth, and has substantially contributed to its discovery and reception.

Another of the great ascertained doctrines of Science is the *Per-*

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* *Critique of Pure Reason*, p. 420.

† *Unity of Nature*, p. 2.

sistence of Matter and of Force, or, to express it more technically, the Conservation of Matter and of Energy. By this, of course, is meant the truth that matter and energy are alike indestructible by any power or ingenuity on the part of man ; but it also implies the converse truth that no new or additional matter or energy can be called into being by any human effort. We may analyze or dissolve matter into its constituent elements ; we may combine these elements in new forms in the highest degree unlike the original ; but throughout the whole process the aggregate remains the same, not one atom more or less. The same thing holds good in regard to energy. We may transmute a given amount of energy from one form into another ; from mechanical force into heat ; from heat into electricity ; from electricity into magnetism, and so on, pursuing it around the whole possible circle ; but in all this nothing of energy is either annihilated or created. The Persistence of Matter and Energy is a scientific truth, the aggregate amount of both in the universe remaining the same in spite of any effort on the part of man. But the fact is one to which Christian Theism explicitly pointed, and to which it naturally guided all intelligent investigators. It declares that God, and God alone, is the Creator of all things. It teaches that man can do nothing in the way of either creating or annihilating matter and energy ; that God alone can create them and annihilate them. In other words, Christian Theism points and inclines the scientific student in the direction of the so-called Persistence of Matter and Force to such a degree that a Christian scientist could scarcely avoid the conclusion.

Another grand principle of Physical Science is the *reign of definite law* throughout the universe. Matter and force have fixed laws according to which they act, and which can be expressed in formulæ more or less exact. Now it is quite certain that Christian Theism has had no small influence in pointing and impelling to this conclusion. It firmly grasped the idea of God as a king, a lawgiver, a governor, raised far above arbitrary caprice and impulse. Above all, we get a most powerful demonstration of the law-principle in the necessary nature of God in the life and death of Christ, for that life and death most impressively proclaim that so paramount is the law-element in God, that law must be fulfilled, and that to death itself, even in the person of His own Son. Now the natural deduction from such a Theism is that law must reign everywhere throughout the universe. Nor does the Christian's belief in the miracles of the Bible in any way invalidate the general fact that God is a God who governs by uniform laws. Rather the idea of miracle implies the reign of uniform law. Miracle in a sense is a relative term, rela

tive to the uniformity which springs from law. In this respect it is something like sin, which miracles were worked to counteract. Sin is related to law, and implies law. If there was no moral law there could be no sin; for "sin is the transgression of the law," and "where no law is, there is no transgression." In something of the same way, miracle stands related to that uniformity which results from the reign of known physical law, and distinctly implies it. If there was no such uniformity there could be no miracle. If everything took place by arbitrary chance, how could any event be known to be a miracle? If diseases of the most deadly sort were sometimes healed in a moment; if water sometimes changed itself into wine, and loaves of bread took to multiplying themselves indefinitely; if men sometimes rose from the dead, and heavy substances, such as human bodies, sometimes ascended in the air; if, in short, there was no reign of uniform law in the universe, miracles would be practically impossible, or, at least, useless; for no one could be sure that the supposed miracle was not merely the ordinary play of chance. In any case, miracles directly imply the reign of uniform law. Accordingly we hold to our assertion, that the Christian belief in God as the universal Governor has had a large influence in directing Science to the great truth of the reign of universal law. It clearly had such an influence on the mind of Newton. We find him writing thus at the close of his *Principia:* "God rules all things, not as the soul of the world, but as the Lord of the universe. And on account of His sovereignty He is wont to be called the Lord God omnipotent; for God is a relative term, and is related to servants;" and again, "A God without sovereignty, providence, final causes is nothing else than fate and Nature."* Clearly Newton's view of God helped him to his conviction of the reign of law in the universe.

In close connection with the above, we add that Christian Theism naturally suggests the *ideal of order.* Its belief in God as King and Governor, and as the God of law, naturally, indeed necessarily, leads to the idea of order in the universe. Still more clearly must we see this to be the case when we find the New Testament explicitly teaching that God is "not a God of confusion, but of peace," who will have everything "in its own order." Now this fact of order is not only a great scientific truth in itself, but we affirm that Christian Theism has contributed mightily to that research which has succeeded in discovering and establishing the fact, even in regions where confusion seemed to reign. For example,

* *Scholium Generale* at the close of the *Principia.*

every one knows what a tangled skein was the geocentric or Ptolemaic system of astronomy, with its complexity of cycles and epicycles. Every one has also heard how Alphonso X., King of Castile, struck with the inextricable confusion, bluntly exclaimed, "If God had called me to His council at creation, things would have been arranged in better order." If Alphonso had been a more enlightened Theist, he would rather have been led to say, "Such apparent confusion cannot exist in God's universe; therefore the astronomers hitherto must have certainly been wrong." At any rate, it was Christian Theism, the belief in a God of order, that set Copernicus upon the right track, and led to the splendid discovery of the true or heliocentric theory of the solar system. This he tells us himself at the beginning of his great work, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Cœlestium:* "When I continued pondering long with myself about the uncertainty of the mathematical traditions concerning the calculation of the motions of the heavenly bodies, I began to be dissatisfied that the philosophers [that is, the scientists] had discovered no more certain explanation of the movements of the machine of the universe, which was constructed for us by the best and *most orderly Artificer* of all things." * Again, after giving a diagram of the solar system, with the sun in the centre—such a diagram as all school children are now familiar with—he adds, "For who in this most beautiful temple would place this lamp [the sun] in any other or better place than that from which it may at the same time illuminate the whole? Accordingly we find in this arrangement an admirable order of the universe, and a sure and harmonious connection of the motion and magnitude of the heavenly bodies, such as cannot be found in any other way." † That is, the history of the grand discovery of Copernicus was this: he first pondered over the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, and was deeply dissatisfied with its confusion and intricacy. He believed in God, the Creator, as a Being of the most perfect order, not likely to have created a system so devoid of order. This belief impelled him to look out for a more orderly system, becoming such a God of order, and the pursuit ended in one of the noblest scientific discoveries—the true theory of the solar system. According to Draper, "Astronomers justly affirm that the book of Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus*, changed the face of their science." If so, according to Copernicus himself this change received its grand impulse from the belief in "a most orderly Creator;" in other words, is due to enlightened Christian Theism.

* "Ab optimo et regularissimo omnium Opifice." (*De Revolutionibus*, Preface to Pope Paul III.)

† *De Revolutionibus*, p. 10 (1543).

Another far-reaching conclusion of Science is the *adaptation of means to end* in nature, however we may explain the fact. We see this truth most vividly and irresistibly set before us more especially in the department of Physiology ; and few have done more to illustrate it than Darwin, whatever we may think of his method of explanation. This principle of adaptation, previously known as the doctrine of Final Causes, briefly stated is this : Organs which exist, exist for something, and not in vain or by mere blind chance. Accordingly when any special organ is discovered or is under consideration, the investigator naturally says, This exists for some purpose or other ; the search for the purpose is entered on, and thus a clew is got hold of which leads on to a new discovery. When Harvey, for example, fixed his attention on the valves in the veins and arteries, being a Theist he naturally concluded that they existed for some purpose and with some design, and thus the doctrine of the adaptation of means to end led to the discovery of the circulation of the blood. " I remember," says Boyle,

" that when I asked our famous Harvey what were the things that induced him to think of a circulation of the blood, he answered me, that when he took notice that the valves in the veins of so many parts of the body were so placed that they gave a free passage to the blood toward the heart, but opposed the passage of the venal blood the contrary way, he was incited to imagine that *so provident a cause as Nature had not placed so many valves without design ;* and no design seemed more probable than that the blood should be sent through the arteries and return through the veins, whose valves did not oppose its course that way." (Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*, Vol. III., p. 401, 1837.)

Here, then, we have a specimen case in which the principle of the adaptation of means to end, or the idea of design, led to a great discovery. But this teleological principle is one to which Christian Theism most necessarily leads, is, indeed, one of its fundamental elements. The God in whom Christianity believes is a God of perfect intelligence and wisdom, who must manifest wise and intelligent design in His work, and therefore the adaptation of means to end. Accordingly scientists who were Christian theists must, from the very beginning, have expected the adaptation of means to end in the universe. In many cases confessedly and without doubt they were guided by their teleological principle to make new discoveries ; and hence it follows that these new discoveries were due to the influence and guidance of their Christian Theism.

We say that many discoveries were due confessedly and without doubt to the teleology of Christian Theism, and it may be well to support this statement by a reference or two. Thus Kant says, " If we presuppose in relation to the figure of the earth, or that of mountains and seas, wise designs on the part of the Author of the uni-

verse, we cannot fail to make, by the light of this supposition, a great number of interesting discoveries." Then, referring to the investigations of the anatomist, he goes on to say, "Thus medical physiology, by the aid of a principle presented to it by pure reason, extends its very limited empirical knowledge of the purposes of the different parts of an organized body so far that it may be asserted with the utmost confidence, and with the approbation of all reflecting men, that every organ or bodily part of an animal has its use, and answers to a certain design." * No one, however, furnishes a better illustration of the truth than Cuvier. It is undeniable that he was guided in his inquiries by the principle of Final Causes, the teleological principle now before us. It was the grand instrument by which he was enabled to discover "a far larger portion of important anatomical and biological truth than it ever before fell to the lot of one man to contribute to the Science" to which he devoted himself. He speaks of the "harmony of Nature irresistibly regulated by Providence;" and he says, "Natural History has a rational principle which is peculiar to itself, and *which it employs with advantage on many occasions;* that is, the Principle of the Conditions of Existence, commonly called Final Causes." † Even the materialistic Cabanis, to whom we owe the notorious phrase that "thought is a secretion of the brain," expressly acknowledges the usefulness of the teleological principle. "I recognize," he says, "that it is very difficult for even the most cautious man never to have recourse to the Philosophy of Final Causes in his explanations." ‡ We add only another testimony. "The development," says Whewell, "of this conviction—of a purpose in the parts of the animals—of a function to which each portion of the organization is subservient, contributed greatly to the advance of Physiology; for it constantly urged men forward in their researches respecting each organ till some definite view of its purpose was obtained." § Again, still speaking of the Science of Physiology, he says, "The Doctrine of Final Causes has been not only consistent with the successive steps of discovery, but has been *the great instrument of every step of discovery from Galen to Cuvier.*" ‖ Of this we have just had a notable illustration in Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood; a discovery to which Harvey explicitly tells us himself he was led by the theistic idea of "design." In short, it is undeniable that in

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* *Critique of Pure Reason*, pp. 420 f.

† *Le Règne Animal*, Vol. I., p. 6 (Paris, 1817).

‡ *Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme*, Vol. II., p. 292 (third edition).

§ *History of the Inductive Sciences*, Vol. III., p. 389 (1837).

‖ *Indications of the Creator*, p. 33 (second edition).

the department of Physiology, Christian Theology, by means of its doctrine of Final Causes, has been the fruitful mother of discovery. Materialistic evolutionists may think they can now explain the appearance of design in the universe without the aid of God at all; but nothing can change the history of the past.

While Christianity has thus contributed in an enormous degree to the discoveries of Science in the department of Physiology generally, it has done so very specially in the study of man himself. We might here refer in detail to the influence which it has exercised on the study of the human mind and body, both of which are alike fearfully and wonderfully made. We content ourselves, however, with a reference to the fact that in this department Christianity has aided Science by guiding it to the grand truth of *the unity of the human race.* It is one species, with all the ordinary characteristics of an independent species. To this conclusion the investigations of Science have long since led; but it is one to which Christian scientists were distinctly pointed by the teaching of the Bible. It is the doctrine of the Old Testament as set before us in Genesis. It is the doctrine of the New Testament; for not only is it in accordance with the inmost genius of Christianity as the universal religion, but we are explicitly taught that "God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Its teaching is so clear that it could not fail to have a positive effect on all anthropologists who came directly or indirectly under its influence, so as to guide them to the great doctrine of the unity of the human race. This is distinctly acknowledged by Humboldt: "Christianity has materially contributed to call forth the idea of the unity of the human race."* "The idea," says Max Müller, "of mankind as one family, as the children of God, is an idea of Christian growth; and the Science of mankind and the languages of mankind is a Science which, without Christianity, would never have sprung into life."† To some this statement may seem too strong; but there can be no doubt of the fact that Christianity has in various important ways contributed to the "Science of Mankind."

We now advance a step further, and take a glance at the *Science of History.* Perhaps some may still hesitate to admit that any true Science or Philosophy of History is possible; nevertheless to most thinkers there cannot be much doubt about the matter, whatever our special theory may be. If we hold by a thoroughgoing evolution, like Herbert Spencer, our Science of History will be that it is the outcome of a blind, necessary, physical development, guided by

* *Cosmos*, Vol. II., p. 567 (Bohn). † *Science of Language*, Vol. I., p. 141 (1880).

the survival of the fittest. If we are Christian Theists, we shall hold that the underlying, unifying principle is some grand divine idea or purpose. In either case we shall hold that there is a Science or Philosophy of History, and this is the fact immediately before us at present.

Now there can be little doubt that Christianity has contributed most powerfully to the conviction that History is not the mere play of chance, but that it has a great divine idea at the basis of it, making a scientific theory of it possible. Of course, as we might expect, Christianity points to a Christian explanation of History, and we may decline to accept its explanation ; still the fact that we have to emphasize at present is the conviction that there is a Science of History, and that Christianity led the way to this conviction. We see an interesting illustration of the statement just made in the experience of the great German-Swiss historian, Johannes von Müller. When he began his laborious studies with a view to his life-work, he was a positive disbeliever in Christianity. But as the mass of separate facts increased before him, and he saw no purpose or scientific connection in them, his mind was thrown into perplexity by the apparent confusion. By and by, however, he was led to look into the New Testament as a book which lay within the field of his necessary reading, and the light burst upon him at once ; he saw that Christ was the key to the whole, the true Science or Philosophy of History. He thus narrates his experience in a letter to a Christian friend :

" After settling down at Cassel I began to read all the ancient authors according to the order of time at which they lived ; and when any noteworthy fact struck me I made an extract of it. I know not why it came into my mind two months ago to take a glance at the New Testament before my studies had reached the age in which it was written. How shall I express to you what I found therein ? I had not read it for many years, and before I took it into my hand I was prejudiced against it. The light which blinded Paul on his way to Damascus was not more wonderful or startling for him than it was for me when I suddenly discovered the fulfilment of all hopes, the highest perfection of Philosophy, the explanation of all revolutions, the key to all apparent contradictions of the physical and moral world, life and immortality. I saw the most wonderful ends achieved through the simplest means. I recognized the relations of all the revolutions of Asia and Europe to that unhappy people to whom the promises had been committed as we commit important papers to a person who can neither read nor falsify them. The whole world appeared so ordered as to favor the religion of the Redeemer. I had not read any book on the subject ; but up to this date, in all my studies of the earlier ages, there was always something wanting ; and only since I have known our Lord does everything appear clear to my eyes. With Him there is nothing I cannot solve." (Quoted in Luthardt's *Grundwahrheiten des Christenthums*, p. 249, fourth edition.)

History appeared to Müller without scientific unity or aim until Christ was flashed upon his mind as the explanation of it ; and so

clearly did our Lord appear to him to be the true Science of History, that the perception of the fact changed him into a Christian from being a positive disbeliever.

As another most instructive illustration of the truth now before us we may refer to the case of Herder, one of the greatest contributors to the origination and elaboration of the Science or Philosophy of History. He tells us explicitly that it was his Christian Theism that first suggested the idea to his mind. He says :

"In my very early years the thought came often to me whether, since everything in the world has its Philosophy and its Science, there ought not to be a Philosophy and Science of that which concerns us most nearly, the History of Mankind. Everything reminded me of this—religion most of all. The God who has ordained everything in Nature according to measure, number, and weight ; who, according to these, has determined the nature of things, their form, their union, their progress, their continuance, so that from the greatest things to the grain of dust only one wisdom, goodness, and power rules ; He who also in human bodies, and in the powers of the human soul, has conceived all so wonderfully and so divinely that, if we try to reflect on the All-Wise, we lose ourselves in an abyss of His thoughts ; how, said I to myself, can this God have departed from His wisdom in the destiny and direction of our race, and here be without a plan ?" (Quoted in Professor Flint's *Philosophy of History*, pp. 375 f.)

Herder's Christian Theism suggested the thought of a real Philosophy or Science of History, which afterward found its elaboration in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, "one of the greatest books of which historical Science can boast." Christianity guided both Müller and Herder to the belief in a Science or scientific explanation of History. Indeed, it is difficult to see how any Christian can study the Old Testament and the New without having the truth borne in irresistibly upon his mind that there is a Science of History, and that Christ is that Science. In any case, Christianity has led to the belief in a Science of History, and, as Professor Flint puts it, not only makes a "Philosophy of History possible, but necessary."

There are two doctrines which Christianity places in the forefront of its teaching as all-important—namely, *the existence of God and of the human soul.* Toward these two great doctrines Physical Science has long been laboriously feeling and working its way up from the lower side, through mere physical approaches. It has not been able directly to reach them, and, from the nature of the case, it never can directly reach them by purely physical methods and experiments. Nevertheless in our day we find scientific thinkers who approach Science only from the physical side, making their way up step by step toward these doctrines, and seeing them before as the almost necessary but unattainable goal. This is true with regard to the doctrine of God. Herbert Spencer sees in the background and at

the basis of all things the vast unknowable as the ultimate and necessary result of all philosophic and scientific research. "This inscrutable existence which Science, in the last resort, is compelled to recognize as unreached by its deepest analyses of matter, motion, thought, and feeling stands toward our general conception of things in substantially the same relation as does the Creative Power asserted by Theology." He describes this Unknowable as the Ultimate Reality, infinite and eternal, transcending all phenomena, a necessary datum of every thought, and of all things the most certain.* But, after all, what is this Mystery toward which Science is laboriously feeling and working up from the under or physical side but the shadow of God, which it sees in the transcendent heights above it? That Ultimate reality is just a dim vision of the old truth which Christianity has held for ages, the doctrine of an infinite God, immanent in the universe, yet independent of it. Indeed, Spencer himself, in a manner, frankly admits the fact. "In Religion," he says, "let us recognize the high merit that, from the beginning, it has dimly discerned the ultimate verity, and has never ceased to insist upon it." † Here also Christianity has led the way before the philosopher and the scientist.

The other grand doctrine toward which Science has been groping, and to which it is being driven by its investigations, is the reality of the human soul. It was not altogether unnatural on the part of non-Christian scientists at first to expect, as a consequence of the discovery of the Correlation of Forces, that they should be able to explain thought and feeling by mere mechanical motion. But even after demonstrating the fact that molecular motion in the brain does accompany thought, feeling, and will, they are nevertheless driven to the conclusion that they have not yet reached a complete explanation. "The passage," says Professor Tyndall, "from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness *is inconceivable as a result of mechanics.*" ‡ "Between molecular mechanics and consciousness is interposed a fissure over which the ladder of physical reasoning is incompetent to carry us." § And Du Bois-Reymond is no less emphatic: "Not only in the present state of our knowledge is thought not explicable by means of its material conditions, but, from the nature of things, it never will be." ‖ Now what is really the gist of all this but the fact that Science is being driven to the conclusion that mere physical force does not explain

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* See *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1884, "Retrogressive Religion."

† *First Principles*, p. 99.

‡ *Fragments of Science*, Vol. II., p. 87.

§ *Ib.*, Vol. II., p. 391.

‖ *La Revue Scientifique*, 10 Octobre, 1874, p. 341.

the phenomena of thought and feeling; that there is something behind deeper than matter, some mysterious reality, whether you call it Mind or by some other name? Science is slowly and laboriously toiling up toward the doctrine of the reality of the human soul, which Christianity has clearly and fully taught from the beginning. In fine, we see modern Science steadily working its way, as far as it can, up toward the doctrines of the existence of God and of the human soul as ultimate facts; but, as every one knows, these are just two of the fundamental and oldest doctrines of Christianity.

The contradictory of Christian Theism is Atheism, or, to give it its more modern and positive name, Materialism. It may bring out more vividly the beneficial effect which Christian Theism has had on Science if, before closing, we contrast with it for a moment the *narrowing effect of mere Materialism.* This effect arises from the very nature of the case. It is the spirit of Materialism to look only at the little piece of matter before its eyes, at the narrow problems which are placed before it in detail. It never gets high enough to see things from the upper side. It never reaches the Mount of God, whence it can obtain a broad view of the universe, and discover those far-reaching laws and principles to which things and events are all co-ordinated. No doubt it may grasp these laws after they have been scientificially ascertained, but as a fact it has not conduced to the discovery of the highest and broadest truth. This has been noticed and acknowledged as a matter of history not merely by Christian thinkers, but even by writers who are strongly materialistic. For example, we find Lange repeatedly bearing his testimony to this weakness of Materialism. Speaking of the progress of discovery among the ancient Greeks, he says: "When we behold knowledge thus accumulating from all sides, we must ask the question, How far did ancient Materialism contribute to the attainment of this knowledge and these views? And the answer to this question will at first sight appear very curious. *For not only does scarcely a single one of the great discoverers*—with the solitary exception of Demokritos—*distinctly belong to the Materialistic School,* but we find among the most honorable names a long series of men belonging to an utterly opposite, idealistic, formalistic, and even enthusiastic tendency."* And once more: "Materialism lacks relations to the highest functions of the free human spirit. It is, apart from its theoretical inadequacy, unstimulating, *barren for Science and Art.*" † Surely all this points to the conclusion that it is not Materialism, but Christianity which leads us to the proper or theocentric point of

* *History of Materialism*, Vol. I., p. 120. † *Ib.*, Vol. III., p. 340.

view of the universe, where alone the broadest discoveries can be made.

We have thus briefly endeavored to establish the conclusion that Christianity has rendered most substantial help and made many contributions to Physical Science, and that Science has been largely indebted to Christianity for some of its grandest principles and not a few of its discoveries. We have seen that Christianity helps Science by its moral influence, by fighting out for it the battle of intellectual freedom, and by giving a living, personal influence to the study of Nature. By its doctrine in regard to God it lays a sound foundation for Science, making it possible ; and it points to the unity of the universe and the Persistence of Matter and Energy. It not less clearly impels Science toward the belief in law and order, and through the latter it led to the discovery of the Copernican theory of the Solar System. It suggests the adaptation of means to end, or design, and thereby has led to innumerable discoveries, more especially in Physiology. It has led the way to the belief in the unity of the human race, and in a real Philosophy or Science of History ; and it teaches explicitly the existence of God and of the soul toward which, as we have seen, Science is working up from the under side.

This indebtedness of Science to Christianity has at times been noticed and *admitted not only by Christian writers, but by writers who are not professedly Christian.* Of Christian authors we may instance Naville and Whewell. Naville divides scientists into three classes : " The first consists of those who have a firm belief in the unity, wisdom, and power of the Creator ;" and he adds, " All the founders and great initiators without exception belong to this category." * Whewell's testimony is substantially the same : " We conceive it will be found, on examining those to whom we owe our knowledge of the laws of Nature, and especially of the wider and more comprehensive laws, that such persons have been strongly and habitually impressed with the persuasion of a Divine Purpose and Power, which had regulated the events which they had attended to, and ordained the laws which they had detected. To those who have pursued Science without reaching the rank of discoverers, the above description does not apply." † But the same fact, as we have said, is acknowledged even by writers of materialistic tendency. Lange not only speaks of " that furtherance of natural study which we assign to the monotheistic principle," ‡ but says, " We have seen how in antiquity Materialism remained sterile. The Idealistic School,

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* *Modern Physics*, p. 222. Cf. also p. 175 ; and *The Christ*, p. 49.

† *Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 307. ‡ *History of Materialism*, Vol. I., p. 184.

on the contrary, especially the Platonists and Pythagoreans [the Theists] gave antiquity the richest fruits of scientific knowledge." * And once more : " If we survey the whole course of history, it seems to me to be scarcely doubtful that we may in great part attribute to the quiet but continual operation of Christian ideas not merely our moral, but even our intellectual progress." † Du Bois-Reymond bears testimony to the same general effect. Speaking of the Semitic race, he says : " That race has not only taken a direct part in the creation of Modern Science through the discoveries made by the Arabian branch of it ; it has also contributed to it indirectly by giving to the world the monotheistic religions. *Although it may sound like a paradox, Modern Science owes its origin to Christianity.*" ‡

Along with these most capable thinkers, we believe that Christianity has rendered to Science most substantial help and many contributions, and that Science still owes a large debt to Christianity, which it will take many discoveries to repay.

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Edinburgh.

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* *History of Materialism*, Vol. II., p. 337.

† *Ib.*, Vol. III., p. 275.

‡ *La Revue Scientifique*, 19 Janvier, 1878.

V.

THE RELIGIOUS POETRY OF BABYLONIA.*

IT is no new thing to find the literature of an ancient people imbued with its religion. A sharp distinction between religious and secular is of comparatively late growth, and represents a mind emancipated from superstition, but not fully possessed by spiritual belief. The distinction is not primitive. We should expect, then, to find, as we do find, that religious conceptions play a large part in the literary productions which the decipherment of the cuneiform texts has made accessible to us. Even the self-glorifying records of Assyrian kings are full of devout expressions, and almost all the writings in the wedge-character that can be called literary, in the narrower sense—to the exclusion of purely historical, scientific, personal, and business documents—are deeply colored by religion, and afford interesting materials, as yet but partly mastered, for a history of religion and theology in Babylonia and Assyria. The present article does not attempt to construct such a history, even in outline, nor propose any novel and original views. The purpose is simply to describe a few characteristics of the most considerable body of literature thus far published from the Mesopotamian records of clay and stone, in view of some qualities which give it special interest.

We speak of the religious poetry of Babylonia rather than Assyria; for although the peoples which made these countries famous were of one family and had a common language and a common stock of religious traditions, in productive literary activity, as well as in the character of their religious life, they were different from one another. Assyrian literature produced, so far as we know,

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* F. LENORMANT: *Die Magie u. Wahrsagekunst der Chaldäer*, Jena, 1878. H. ZIMMERN: *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885. A. H. SAYCE: *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures), London, 1887. E. SCHRADER: *Die Höllenfahrt der Istar*, Giessen, 1874. P. HAUPT: *Die Akkadische Sprache*, Berlin, 1883. F. HOMMEL: *Die Semitischen Völker u. Sprachen*, I., 2. *Die Vorsemitischen Kulturen*, Leipzig, 1883. A. JEREMIAS: *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, Leipzig, 1887.

comparatively little of original force and independent worth. The Assyrians went out from Babylonia as colonists, and seem to have retained to the end something of the bold, restless, adventurous, aggressive spirit that made them successful as pioneers of Shemitic civilization along the Tigris valley. They broke with traditional habits, if not traditional ideas, when they left their southern home. They were busy in conquering and keeping their conquests. They had ample employment in military duties for all their energy, and lacked the leisure, as well as the taste, for literary creation. When, in the last century of their national existence, their wealth had vastly increased, their empire had become more thoroughly organized, and they found a little time for the amenities of life, their thoughts turned toward the literary inheritance which belonged to them in common with their Babylonian kindred, and under a munificent royal patron a zealous study of ancient writings began at Nineveh. The result was priceless to us, though it indicated mainly a power of imitation on their part, for it filled the royal libraries in Nineveh with copies of the Babylonian classics, and upon these copies we are dependent for most of what we know of the originals. Some tablets of the same general style which are not expressly marked as copies may have been composed in Assyria, and some bear various local Assyrian marks, but they are made after the old models. The Assyrian genius marked out for itself no new literary path.

The same conditions which were unfavorable for the growth of an independent literature in Assyria, affected also the mode of its religious life. It does not appear that the Assyrians were lacking in religious conceptions and beliefs. The royal inscriptions abound in references to the gods, as authors of all success. How much of this was perfunctory we cannot tell. It seems at least to indicate that the gods occupied a considerable place in the thoughts of the kings and royal scribes. Sometimes the gods are addressed in a style that is really lofty ; but it would appear as if, on the whole, the Assyrian religion were cooler, more rational, more prosaic than the Babylonian. The priests were much less prominent. The ritual was much less developed ; religious ceremonies and prescribed observances were less numerous and less minutely provided for. There was less fond care of temples.

As for the Babylonians, one is tempted at times to wish they had not been so religious as they were. Their writings are religious to the exclusion of much that is of great concern to students. The royal inscriptions of Assyria interpret and supplement ancient history for us. But the royal inscriptions of Babylonia, with a few exceptions, tell us how long and how high the temples were, what kinds

of stone and wood and brick they were made of, and a good deal about altars and images. This is partly due to love of building, but largely to religiousness. It makes the records of Babylonian kings thus far discovered comparatively meagre in historical information, and this is often tantalizing and disappointing. But their fondness for religious expression gives a peculiar value to works of Babylonian authors. It is to them that we must go for an account of Babylonian doctrine and practice. Their doctrine was far better than their practice, perhaps no one will be surprised to hear. Their theology was of a higher type than the average heathen theology. Their doctrine of God had fine elements, in spite of polytheism and anthropomorphism. Their doctrine of man was at times profound. Their soteriology was not altogether unhopeful. Their eschatology was rather cheerless. Their ecclesiology was only mediocre. Their demonology was exuberant. As already intimated, we find all this, and more, in their poetry.

Almost all the poetry of the Babylonians thus far published is connected in some way with religion, being either illustrative of religious belief or expressive of religious emotion. The former class is represented by the epics and legends, into which mythological conceptions enter as largely as into any ancient literature known to us. The latter class is made up of hymns of praise and of penitence, and kindred lyrics. A third kind belongs more or less to both these classes. It consists of conjurations and magic formulas, and of verses containing omens and talismanic lines; these occasionally have poems of the other classes incorporated in them; they are sometimes of curious theological interest, are sometimes important as showing vivid consciousness of an unseen world, and sometimes because of the light they shed on ritual usage. There is little poetry in the cuneiform writing, as far as it has yet been put before scholars, which may not be assigned to one of these classes. A few fables have been discovered in which the mythological element nearly disappears, and the interest centres in beasts that speak. In some aspects this small class, consisting of badly-mutilated tablets, resembles that of the legendary stories already referred to, but at present it may be dismissed with this brief mention. Turning to the others, we will speak first, and briefly, of the epic and legendary poems, then of the conjuration formulas, and finally of the psalms and hymns.

We premise a few words on the question of date.

In regard to the age, absolute or relative, of these classes of poetry, there is need of much careful study and weighing of all the evidence before secure results can be reached. Nothing is yet fully

established as to the antiquity of the Babylonian civilization itself.* All the probabilities point to the presence of a cultivated, non-Shemitic race in Babylonia before the Shemitic people, which afterward dominated Western Asia and North-eastern Africa, established its home there. To this non-Shemitic race are due the cuneiform character, and, undoubtedly, a considerable part of that body of religious belief and literary material of which we find the Babylonians and Assyrians in possession. Many of the texts to which reference has here been made show the same substantial contents in two languages, in parallel columns or alternate lines. One of these languages is the Shemitic Babylonian, or Assyrian; the other, the non-Shemitic (and pre-Shemitic) Akkadian or Shumerian.† But these two languages unquestionably existed for a long time side by side, and when the Akkado-Shumerian at length died out, it was preserved as a scholarly and religious, or ritual, language. Priests taught it to their neophytes; it was considered appropriate to worship and worshipful utterances; and there is some ground to believe that Shemitic Babylonians, who had thus learned it, made use of it in composing new hymns, psalms, and conjurations. In fact, it is coming to be a commonplace among Assyriologists that this pre-Shemitic language was a sort of "monks' Latin" to the cultivated Babylonian of the Shemitic period. Of course all this greatly increases the difficulty of determining the age of the texts. The reverential care, however, with which many of them were copied and labelled seems to indicate that these were old literary monuments in Asshurbanipal's time (B.C. 668–626), and internal considerations point to great antiquity in not a few cases. We leave the topic with these sadly indefinite remarks.

It is no part of the present plan to give an analysis or detailed account of the epic and legendary poems, about which so much has been already written. The best known of them are the Creation tablets, the conflict between Marduk (Merodach) and Tiamat (or "Bel and the Dragon"), the "Nimrod" epic, with the story of the flood in the eleventh canto, and the "Descent of Ishtar to Hades." Badly mutilated, but marked by imaginative power, are the "Legend of the God Zu" (the storm-bird, or storm-cloud) and the "Legend of the Pest-God." They are all characterized by strong

* The date of B.C. 3800 for Sargon of Agane depends on statements made as late as the sixth century B.C., and we do not yet know the basis of these statements. The corroboration supposed to be afforded by recently published lists of Babylonian kings still needs to be tested carefully at several points.

† The question of the dialects of the non-Shemitic language need not be raised for the purposes of this article.

poetic conception, and there are passages in them of not a little expressiveness and even beauty. They are saturated with mythological conceptions, which, even amid the strong resemblances existing between some of them and certain Old Testament documents, distinguish them widely from the latter in theological ideas and in moral clearness, but which are invaluable as we try to reconstruct the Babylonian system of belief. They offer us also a considerable field for the study of poetic form and structure, and in this aspect will be presently referred to again.

For another reason than the familiarity with them which most readers have gained from popular books, we go into no farther detail here. They are, after all, rather poems more or less concerned with religious topics than religious poems in a strict sense. They utter and illustrate some religious opinions and some theology, but show little of religious experience. They are religious as Homer and Virgil are religious. They represent literature as distinct from life. Whatever religious emotion must be presupposed to account for the conceptions they exhibit is remote. They give religion at second-hand. Genuine movements of the heart toward unseen powers may be behind them, but they are far behind. There is little or no experimental religion in them. Their authors are not face to face with divinity. There is no personal longing or personal dread.

The case is different with the other kinds of religious poetry just recognized—the poems of conjuration, or exorcism, and the penitential lyrics and hymns to the gods.

The earliest stage of religion which can be traced in Babylonia was distinguished for its demonology. Evil spirits abounded, and attacked the life and happiness of men on all hands—spirits of air and fire, of earth and water, spirits of disease and storm—myriads of spirits unknown and unnamed, but deeply dreaded. There is an ample class of literature, which was at the outset more than literature, due to the fear of these spirits, whose power might be exercised by a voice unheard and a hand unseen. The tone of this class of literature is not lofty, but it has more to do with personal religion than the epics have. The man who uses the lines is himself really concerned about the matter, really hopes for something, or fears something, or intends something that has to do with the supernatural.

Among the most noteworthy of these texts is a series of twenty-nine incantations, in which the "spirit of heaven" and the "spirit of earth" are appealed to in behalf of sufferers from various misfortunes, diseases, and demons.* Others introduce the gods as agents

* II. R. 17–18. Haupt, ASKT., pp. 82 sqq., No. 11. Transl. SAYCE, *Babyl. Rel.*, pp. 441 sqq.

of cure and relief, or as giving efficacy to the spells employed. Merodach appears frequently in this capacity. More than one set of incantations contains a request from Merodach to his father Ea (?) that he will give him the knowledge he needs to relieve a sufferer.* Ea's reply, in the case here cited, is as follows :

" My son, what dost thou not know, what (knowledge) shall I add to thee ?
Marduk, what dost thou not know ? What shall I tell thee more ?
What I know, thou knowest !
Go, my son Marduk,
To the preparer of food, the house of pure sprinkling bring him,
His spell dissolve and his spell remove, and
The disturbing evil of his body,
Be it the curse of his father,
Or the curse of his mother,
Or the curse of his elder brother,
Or the destructive (?) curse of a man (whom) he knows not.
May the spell by the conjuration of Ea
Like garlic be stripped off,
Like a date be torn off,
Like a (flower) tuft be rent away !
The spell ! the spirit of heaven conjure !
The spirit of earth conjure !' '

The following illustration contains, like many of them, a prayer to a more powerful god, uttered by the priest in behalf of the sufferer, who seeks relief for some bodily disease due to the influence of an unheard voice :

" Fire-god, mighty one, majestic in the land,
Hero, child of the deep, majestic in the land,
Fire-god, by thy clear shining dost thou make light in the house of darkness !
* * * * * * * * * * *
Let the body of this man, son of his god, grow clean,
May he beam like the heaven,
May he shine like the earth,
May he shed light like the midst of the heaven,
The evil word, may it depart far from him !" †

This illustration really gives a specimen of one of the " hymns to the gods" made to do duty as an exorcism, as the first seems like a combination of the mythological element with that of conjuration. These combinations are more valuable as literature than the conjurations pure and simple, like the series of twenty-nine already referred to. Specimens of the latter are :

" Him who possesses the images of a man,
The evil face, the evil eye,
The evil mouth, the evil tongue,

* *E.g.*, IV. R. 7, 8. Transl. (Latin) JENSEN, *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, I. 4, II. 5 (Nov., 1884, Jan., 1885). SAYCE, *Babyl. Rel.*, pp. 471 sqq.

† IV. R. 14, No. 2. HAUPT : ASKT., p. 77, No. 9, Rev., l. 6 sqq. Transl., HAUPT : *Akkadische Sprache*, pp. 21, 22. SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, p. 478.

The evil lip, the evil breath,
Conjure, O spirit of heaven ! conjure, O spirit of earth !"

" The painful fever, the potent fever,
The fever which quits not a man,
The fever-demon who departs not,
The fever unremovable, the evil fever,
Conjure, O spirit of heaven ! conjure, O spirit of earth !" *

Another tablet begins :

" Incantation.—The storm-like ghost, the tormentor of all things,
And the demon who disturbs the disturbers of Anu,
The plague-demon, the beloved son of Mul-lil,
The begetter of Nin-ki-gal,
Above destroy like consumption, and below cut down.
Above they roar, below they peep ;
The bitter breath of the gods are they.
The great worms who have been let loose from heaven are they !" †

But of greater interest still are the poems which make up the third class, particularly the psalms of contrition, confession, and appeal, the *hymns of sorrow and penitence*. Like those in the Hebrew Psalter, they show variety in their contents. Some of them are the voice of patriotic grief, like the following :

" How long, my mistress, shall the mighty foe assail thy land ?
In thy chief city, Erech, wasting has broken out.
In *E-ul-bar*, house of thine oracle, is blood poured forth like water.
In all thy lands hath he borne fire, and poured (it) like incense," etc.‡

But profounder griefs than these are uttered in the lyrics we are considering. Some lines of the following extract are already familiar to English readers :

" Lord ! my transgressions are many, great are my sins !
My god, my transgressions are many, great are my sins !
My goddess, my transgressions are many, great are my sins !
God, known (or) unknown, my transgressions are many, great are my sins !
Goddess, known (or) unknown, my transgressions are many, great are my sins !
* * * * * * * * * *
The lord, in the anger of his heart, has looked upon me.
The god, in the wrath of his heart has afflicted me.
The goddess has been angry with me, and brought me into pain,
The god, known (or) unknown, has oppressed me,
The goddess, known (or) unknown, has brought me into suffering.
I sought help, but no one grasps my hand,
I wept, but no one came to my side.
I cry aloud, but no one hears me.
I suffer, I lie prostrate, I look not up." §

* IV. R. 17. HAUPT : ASKT., p. 84, l. 30 sqq., 45 sqq. The translation here given is from SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, p. 442.

† IV. R. 1. Transl. SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, pp. 450, 451, here followed.

‡ IV. R. 19, No. 3. Transl. ZIMMERN : *Busspsalmen*, p. 74. SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, p. 524. With this may be compared such Hebrew Psalms as the 60th, 85th, and 137th.

§ IV. R. 10. Obv. l. 36 sqq. Transl. ZIMMERN : *Busspsalmen*, pp. 63, 64. SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, pp. 350, 351.

These utterances, and others like them, are so striking that we shall recur to them. We give one illustration of the hymns to the gods, a hymn to Nergal, not particularly beautiful, but showing in combination several characteristics of these texts :

"O warrior, the mighty deluge, that sweepest away the hostile land !
O warrior of the great city of Hades, that sweepest away the hostile land !
O god that comest forth from Sulim, that sweepest away the hostile land !
O mighty ruler, illustrious lord, that sweepest away the hostile land !
O lord of Cutha, that sweepest away the hostile land !
O lord of the temple of Sulim, that sweepest away the hostile land !
* * * * * * * * *
The mighty deluge, who has no rival,
The uplifter of the weapon, who threshes out opposition !" *

Before calling particular attention to some features of the penitential psalms, we must consider briefly the poetical structure of these poetical writings as a whole, and the uses to which they were put.

An examination of the poetical structure of the Babylonian (and Assyrian) poems is somewhat embarrassed by the uncertainty of many readings and the mutilated condition of many tablets, nor has very much attention been thus far bestowed upon it. Some things will at once strike the readers of these texts. One is that it is difficult to draw the line between the poetry and the higher style of prose, between, *e.g.*, parts of the hymns to the gods and the lines of prayer and pious hope with which some of the royal inscriptions end. In general, however, either by the greater freedom of the imagination, or by a distinctly perceptible rhythm of movement, or in both ways, the poetical composition is clearly marked. The lines, or verses, display, in many instances, a fully-developed parallelism of members, from a mere repetition to a finely-conceived progression. Some of the lyrics show what we need not hesitate to call strophical divisions, and in some we find strophe and anti-strophe, priest and sufferer, *e.g.*, alternating in the appeal to divine power. When we look more closely still, to see whether there are traces of regular measure, we find occasionally, at least in the Shemitic texts, what appears to be a well-observed succession and regular number of word beats. These are not carried out, however, through any long poems, and even where they can be traced for considerable passages, there is no absolute rigidity. . There is a primitive freedom and lack of artificiality in the poetic movement, much greater than in the Hebrew Psalms. Metre is felt and observed at times, but then abandoned—the thought carries itself along beyond the strict boundaries of metrical division. Probably, however, many cases where a first glance seems

* IV. R. 26, 1. Transl. SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, p. 496, here followed.

to show considerable irregularity, the ear was, in fact, satisfied by joining short and subordinate words to the principal words, as by *Maqqeph* in Hebrew. So, for example, the apparent unevenness of some of the lines in the opening passage of "Ishtar's Descent" can be removed :

"Ana irsit lâ-tâirat	*kakkari iti[i]*
Istar mârat Sin	*uzunsa [iskun]*
iskunma mârat Sin	*uzun[sa]*
ana bît ete	*subat Irkalla*
ana-bîti sa eribusu	*lâ asû*
ana-harrâni sa alaktasa	*lâ tâirat*
ana-bîti sa eribusu	*zummû nûra*
asar êpru bubussunu	*akalsunu tittu*
nûru ul immaru	*ina-etuti asba*
labsuma kîma issuri	*subat kappe*
êlî dalti u-sikûri	*sapuh êpru."* *

The cæsural division of the lines, making them pentameters of three + two tones, is marked in the original, but is carried through only the obverse of the tablet ; nor is the average regularity of the movement at all equal to that of the lines here given.

We give one more illustration, in a passage of trimeter movement, from an incantation :

"Kinûnu appuhu unâh	" Foculum conflo, tranquillo,
isâti assubu urâba	ignem excito, opprimo,
pisirtu unakki ukabbat	panicum profundo, averro.
kima-kinûni appuhu unahhu	Sicut foculum conflo, tranquillo,
isâti assubbu urabbû	ignem excito, opprimo,
pisirtu unakkû ukabbatu	panicum profundo, averro,
—— ? *pasir ili u-amêli*	(—— ?†) qui solvit deum et hominem,
kisir iksurra lippatir." ‡	nodum (quem) colligavit, utinam solvat."

* IV. R. 31. DELITZSCH : *Assyr. Lesestücke*, 3d ed., p. 110. Translit. LYON : *Assyrian Manual*, p. 52. Translit. and transl. SCHRADER : *Höllenfahrt der Istar*, pp. 8, 9 ; JEREMIAS : *Bab.-Assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 10, 11. The hyphens indicate words that may be joined by Maqqeph. The passage may be given in English as follows :

" To the land without return,	the region of darkness (?)
Ishtar, daughter of Sin	her face did set.
Yea, the daughter of Sin	did set her face,
To the house of darkness,	the abode of Irkalla,
To the house whose entering	knows no going out again,
To the path whose way	has no returning,
To the house which cuts off	him entering it from light.
Where dust is their nourishment,	their food is slime.
Light is never beheld,	in darkness they dwell,
They are clothed like the birds,	their garments are wings,
On the door and its bolt	is lying the dust."

See also SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, p. 221. DYER, in Mme. RAGOZIN'S *Story of Chaldea*, Appendix, gives a metrical version of the passage.

† The name of a god.

‡ IV. R. 8. HAUPT : ASKT., p. 189. The transliteration here follows JENSEN : *De Incantamentorum Sumerico-Assyriorum Seriei quæ dicitur "surbu" tabula VI.*, in *Zeit-*

Without attempting to illustrate the strophical arrangement of the poems, which would require too much space for the limits of this article, we raise the inquiry as to the use to which these writings, or any of them, were put. The epics and legends may have had, and probably did have, a purely literary worth in the eyes of the cultivated Babylonians, as well as being the depository of their cherished mythological traditions. We have already seen, in addition to this, how legendary and hymnic elements entered into some of the conjurations. Jeremias, the latest commentator on "Ishtar's Descent," propounds the theory that this, too, although an epic poem, was incorporated in the response of a priest to a sorrowing suppliant, and certain ceremonial directions at the end of it, which bear no clear relation to the epic narrative, are well explained in this way. There is, however, no other instance at present known of so long a narrative poem being preserved as a mere incident in a poem of ritualistic directions, although it will be remembered that the story of the flood, also, is handed down to us in an incidental form, told to "Izdubar" by his ancestor Hasisadra, whom he visited for the sake of healing.

That the conjurations and incantations were actually employed with the design of driving away evil spirits and removing the disease and suffering they caused is abundantly shown by the directions accompanying them.*

We find also mention, occasionally, of the use of the psalms and hymns. Thus Asshurbanipal, of Assyria, tells us, after describing the overthrow of rebels in Babylon :

> "Their enraged gods and goddesses,
> I pacified with penitential psalm and sorrowing hymn." †

The hemerology of the Second Elul (an intercalary month) provides that on certain days the king shall not utter a psalm,‡ indicating the practice of using them. There is thus little doubt that they were habitually employed in worship. This adds a fresh interest to those striking details which we find in them, and to which the remaining pages of this article will be chiefly devoted.

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schrift für Keilschriftforschung, I., p. 293. Jensen's Latin translation, which quite well preserves the movement of the original, is given in the parallel column. A passage of tetrameter movement is transliterated by BUDGE, PSBA, Nov., 1883, p. 7. The dimeter movement appears, *e.g.*, in the royal psalm, III. R. 66, Rev. Col. 3. Translit. and transl., SCHRADER, H.I., p. 72.

* Cf. farther JEREMIAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 sqq.

† V. R. 4, l. 88, 89. Transl. S. A. SMITH : *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, I., p. 35. Cf. SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, p. 77, for this and other instances.

‡ IV. R. 32, 33. Transl. LOTZ : *Quæstionum de Historia Sabbati Libri Duo*, pp. 39 sqq.; SAYCE : *Babyl. Rel.*, pp. 70 sqq.

The penitential songs are full of religious ideas, emotions, and phraseology which can be paralleled nowhere else in literature than in the Hebrew Psalms, and in the devout utterances of those whose spiritual life has been fed at these sources. Of course, the polytheism which appears in the Babylonian poems often mars the comparison. Yet it is sometimes surprising to see within what narrow limits the polytheism confines itself in this class of poems, how small the number is of the gods addressed, and how the nobler and more spiritual conceptions of deity take prominence and assume a directness and certainty which is almost startling. And the polytheism we do find, with all its crudities, is important—like the various superstitions, from which even these psalms are not free—such as belief in dreams and in the power of priests and exorcists, as the connecting link between the poet and his times. It increases our wonder that his conceptions are so lofty, while it assures us that his poems are genuine. Polytheistic expressions hardly disturb or distract the mind when we read mingled with them such utterances as these :

> "Thou who causest the herbs to spring forth, mistress of mankind,
> Maker of all things" (addressed to Ishtar).*
>
> "Thou who orderest (our) days, who controllest death" (name of god wanting).†
>
> "Beside thee there is no god who guideth aright" (probably addressed to Ishtar).‡

These expressions indicate belief in the deity as creator and ruler. That man is created by the divine power is expressly and often affirmed, *e.g.:*

> ". . . thy servant, the creature of thy hands." §

Parallels from the Psalms and from Job will at once suggest themselves. In the following a number of parallel passages, some quite striking, are placed side by side with the Babylonian quotations. The first passages express the sin, ignorance, and violence of men :

"Mankind is perverse, and has no understanding, Men, altogether, what understanding has any? Let them do good or evil, they have no understanding."‖	"They have corrupted themselves, done abominations, There is none that doeth good. Yahweh from heaven looked down Upon the sons of men, To see if there were any that understand." "Have they no knowledge, all the workers of iniquity?"—Ps. xiv. (=liii.), 1, 2, 4.

* Haupt : ASKT., p. 116, No. 15. Transl. Zimmern : *Busspsalmen*, p. 33, l. 8, 10. Sayce : *Babyl. Rel.*, p. 522, l. 4, 5.

† IV. R. 66, No. 2. Transl. Zimmern, p. 100, l. 43.

‡ IV. R. 29, No. 5, cf. ASKT., p. 115, No. 14. Transl. Zimmern, p. 10, l. 2. Sayce, p. 521, l. 1, *Rev.*

§ IV. R. 61, No. 1. Transl. Zimmern, p. 91, l. 10.

‖ IV. R. 10. Transl. Zimmern, p. 65, l. 30, 32, 34. Cf. Sayce, p. 351.

"Blood is poured out like water." *	"They have shed their blood like water." —Ps. lxxix. 3.

The following represent the sufferings of the petitioner:

"Food I have not eaten, weeping was my nourishment, Water I have not drunken, tears were my drink." †	"Thou hast caused them to eat the bread of tears, And caused them to drink of tears by the measure."—Ps. lxxx. 6 (Heb.).‡
"In lordly fashion I go not." §	"Why go I mourning?"—Ps. xlii. 10.
"I am in pain, I am overwhelmed, I cannot look up." ‖	"I am bent with pain, I am bowed down greatly, All the day go I mourning."—Ps. xxxviii. 7.**
"Like doves I lament, of sighing I have my fill." ¶	"I lament like the dove, my eyes are weak for uplifting."—Is. xxxviii. 14. ††

It was felt that suffering was due to the divine anger:

"The lord, in the anger of his heart, hath looked on me, The god, in the wrath of his heart, hath afflicted me." ‡‡	"Thy wrath lieth hard upon me."—Ps. lxxxviii. 8. "Over me hath gone thy hot anger, Thy terrors have destroyed me."—Ps. lxxxviii. 17.
"How long . . . will the anger of thy heart [continue]? When will thy sternness change to favor?" §§	"How long, Yahweh, wilt thou be angry, forever?"—Ps. lxxix. 5. "Yahweh, God of hosts, how long wilt thou be wrathful at the prayer of thy people?"—Ps. lxxx. 5.

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* IV. R. 19, No. 3. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 74, l. 49. SAYCE, p. 524, IV., l. 3.

† HAUPT: ASKT., p. 116. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 34, l. 20, 22. SAYCE, p. 522, l. 10, 11.

‡ See also: "Yea, I have forgotten to eat my bread."—Ps. cii. 5.
"My tears have been to me as bread, day and night."—Ps. xlii. 4.
"Yea, ashes like bread have I eaten,
And my drink with weeping have I mingled."—Ps. cii. 10.

§ HAUPT: ASKT., p. 116. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 34, l. 26. SAYCE, p. 522, l. 13.

‖ IV. R. 10. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 64, l. 4. SAYCE, p. 351 (l. 4).

¶ See also: "Bowed down to the dust is our soul,
To the earth cleaveth our belly."—Ps. xliv. 26.

** IV. R. 29, No. 5. Cf. ASKT., p. 115. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 10, l. 10. SAYCE, p. 521, l. 5, *Rev.*

†† See also: "We roar like bears, all of us,
And like the doves, we sorely lament;
We look for judgment, and there is none;
For salvation,—far is it from us."—Is. lix. 11.

‡‡ IV. R. 10. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 63, l. 49, 51. SAYCE, p. 350.

§§ IV. R. 10. Transl. ZIMMERN, pp. 64, 65, l. 26, 28. SAYCE, p. 351.

The loneliness and helplessness of the sufferer are emphasized :

"I sought for aid, and no one took me by the hand, I wept, and no one came to my side." *	"And I looked for one to pity, and there was none, And for comforters, and I found none." —Ps. lxix. 21.

But no expressions are more striking than the earnest and sometimes even confident appeals to the divine mercy :

"Lord, thy servant cast not down." †	"Put not thy servant away in anger."—Ps. xxvii. 9.
"To my compassionate god I turn." ‡ "To his compassionate god he cries." § "My lord, merciful and compassionate." ‖	"Yahweh, Yahweh, a God compassionate and gracious, Slow to anger and abundant in mercy and truth."—Ex. xxxiv. 6.
"To Marduk, the compassionate, for grace, into his gracious hands commit me." ¶ "Whoever hath transgression, his earnest prayer thou receivest." **	"Compassionate and gracious is Yahweh, Slow to anger and abundant in mercy." —Ps. ciii. 8.
"When . . . may thy countenance turn (toward me)?" ††	"According to the multitude of thy tender mercies, turn unto me, And hide not thy face from thy servant." —Ps. lxix. 16, 17.‡‡
"In faithfulness look upon me, receive my sighing."§§	"In thy faithfulness answer me, and in thy righteousness."—Ps. cxliii. 1. ‖‖
"Break his chain, remove his fetter, loose his bonds." [?]¶¶	"Thou hast loosed my bonds."—Ps. cxvi. 16.
"Lord, he who trusts in thee, to his soul do thou good."***	"I will sing to Yahweh, Because he hath done me good."—Ps. xiii. 6.†††
"In my darkness give light, my gloom illumine, My confusion make thou straight." ‡‡‡	

* IV. R. 10. Transl. ZIMMERN, pp. 63, 64, l. 59, 61. SAYCE, p. 351.

† IV. R. 10. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 65, l. 36. SAYCE, p. 351.

‡ IV. R. 10. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 64, l. 6. SAYCE, p. 351.

§ IV. R. 26, No. 8. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 85, l. 61. SAYCE, p. 526, VI., l. 5.

‖ IV. R. 66, No. 2. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 100, l. 42.

¶ IV. R. 66, No. 2. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 101, l. 60.

** IV. R. 29, No. 5. Cf. HAUPT: ASKT., p. 115. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 9, l. 6. Cf. SAYCE, p. 521, l. 6.

†† IV. R. 29, No. 5. Cf. HAUPT, ASKT., p. 115. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 10, l. 8. SAYCE, p. 521, l. 4, *Rev.*

‡‡ See also: "Hide not thy face from me."—Ps. xxvii. 9.
"Why . . . hidest thou thy face from me?"—Ps. lxxxviii. 14.

§§ IV. R. 29, No. 5. Cf. HAUPT, ASKT., p. 115. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 10, l. 4. Cf. SAYCE, p. 521, l. 2, *Rev.*

‖‖ See also: "Look from heaven, and see, and visit this vine."—Ps. lxxx. 14.

¶¶ IV. R. 61, No. 1. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 87, l. 2.

*** Transl. BUDGE, PSBA., Nov., 1883, p. 7. Cf. SAYCE, p. 379.

††† See also Ps. xviii. 21, cxvi. 7, cxix. 17, cxlii. 7.

‡‡‡ HAUPT, ASKT., p. 75. Rev., l. 3, 4. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 105, l. 3, 4.

We find confession, prayer for forgiveness, and a recognition of the blessings that follow forgiveness :

"My acts will I tell thee, my acts, that are not to be told ; My words will I recount to thee, my words, that are not to be recounted ; My god ! my acts will I tell thee, my acts, that are not to be told." *	"My sin will I make known to thee, and mine iniquity have I not covered ; I said, I will confess my transgressions to Yahweh."—Ps. xxxii. 5.
"Cleanse me from my sins, lift up my countenance." †	"Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, And cleanse me from my sin."—Ps. li. 4. "Wash me and I shall be whiter than snow, Make me to hear joy and gladness."—Ps. li. 9, 10.
"My lord, merciful and compassionate . . . * * * * * May mine iniquity be forgiven, may my sins be blotted out." ‡ "The man, son of his god, transgression and wickedness rest (upon him)." § "At thy bidding may his transgression be pardoned, His wickedness, may it be removed." ‖	"According to the abundance of thy compassions, Blot out my transgressions."—Ps. li. 3.
"Grasp his hand, deliver him from his sin, * * * * * ; Let thy servant live, that he may praise thy might, That before thy greatness all lands may bow !"¶	"Deliver me from blood-guiltiness . . . My tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness."—Ps. li. 16. "Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, And sinners unto thee shall return."—Ps. li. 15.
"A long life through before thee may I walk." **	"With length of days will I satisfy him."—Ps. xci. 16. "I will walk before Yahweh, In the land of the living."—Ps. cxvi. 9.††
"Let me enter into Esagil, the temple of the gods, house of life ! To Marduk the compassionate, for grace, into his gracious hands commit me. Then will I bow before thy greatness, I will praise thy divinity, The people of my city shall glorify thy power !" ‡‡	"That I may dwell in Yahweh's house, All the days of my life."—Ps. xxvii. 4.

* IV. R. 27, No. 3. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 86, l. 41, 43, 45.
† HAUPT, ASKT., p. 116. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 34, l. 8.
‡ IV. R. 66, No. 2. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 100, l. 42, 45.
§ IV. R. 17, l. 50, a. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 13, l. 8, from bottom.
‖ IV. R. 17, l. 58, 59, a. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 13, l. 6, from bottom.
¶ IV. R. 61, No. 1. Transl. ZIMMERN, pp. 89, 90, l. 32, 38, 39.
** HAUPT, ASKT., p. 123, No. 19. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 53, l. 6.
†† See also : "Life he asked of thee, thou gavest to him,
Length of days forever and ever."—Ps. xxi. 5.
‡‡ IV. R. 66, No. 2. Transl. ZIMMERN, pp. 101, 102, l. 59–62.

We have multiplied illustrations partly to give, through the agency of quotations, something of the strong impression made by the hymns themselves, and partly to show that the quality of these hymns does not depend on the exact translation of this or that single word or phrase. Many translations are tentative, and will have to be modified ; but the general effect of this part of the Babylonian literature upon the religious reader is not likely to be thereby destroyed. One class of details should be particularly noticed. The agreement between the extracts given is not only in range of thought and in imagery, in parallelism and (occasional) strophical division. The technical terms for sin and grace are in important cases identical, or in close correspondence. Thus we have Assyrian *hittu* and *hitîtu*, "sin," corresponding to the Hebrew חַטָּאת and חֲטָאָה ; Assyr. *rêmnu*, "compassion," and its derivatives, matching the Hebrew רַחֲם ; *annu*, "favor," identical with חֵן ; *masû* (=משׁח) means "wipe out," like the Hebrew מָחָה ; and so one may trace a connection in various other characteristics of the phraseology.

We must, of course, recognize the possibility that these terms corresponded to somewhat different ideas in their use by the two kindred peoples. But to go beyond this, as some have done, and deny all spiritual significance to the expressions of sinfulness, etc., in Babylonian psalms * is surely quite unwarrantable. That the external and physical consequences of moral evil were prominently before the mind is true, and it is also true that the conception of sin as a grievous moral offence against absolute holiness could not exist as in later and more enlightened ages ; the thought of deity was not pure enough or the moral standard lofty enough for that. But, if words have meaning, the words we have quoted from these old poems express a sense of ill-desert before beings of greater majesty and higher character than the suppliant possessed ; beings that could pardon, and perhaps would ; beings in whose graciousness, at all events, lay the penitent's only hope. A better conception of deity deepens and enlarges the thought of sin, and of the need and hope of forgiveness. The Jew had it in fuller degree than the Babylonian, and the Christian than the Jew. But because the advanced stage is better, it does not follow that the earlier was wholly bad ; because the utterances of more profoundly instructed lips are richer and riper, it does not follow that the utterances of ignorance were empty and worthless. For sin and forgiveness are not mere concepts of philosophy ; they are genuine and vivid experiences of human souls.

* Notably E. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, I., Stuttgart, 1884, § 147 (pp. 177, 178). Against him, see SCHRADER, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, I., 1 (Jan., 1886), p. 75 ; also ZIMMERN, *Busspsalmen*, pp. 1–3.

While we cannot now say with as much positiveness as would, a few years ago, have been thought quite in place, that the pre-Shemitic Babylonians—the Akkado-Shumerians—possessed the conceptions referred to in the degree indicated in these psalms,* it is of no little theological importance that the Shemitic Babylonians, elder cousins of the Hebrews, but quite out of the range of the specific religious influence of the Hebrew theocracy, had developed them to the point at which we here find them.

It is a matter of some concern to know the literary relationship between the Hebrew and the Babylonian psalms. In the absence of direct testimony we can, perhaps, approximate to a true answer to inquiries on this point by a process of exclusion. Out and out borrowing can hardly have taken place to any considerable extent. Many of the Babylonian poems are undoubtedly too old to have copied from the Hebrew, and many of the Hebrew too old to depend immediately upon the Babylonian. There are some exilic Psalms, and the temporal and local possibilities of a loan by Babylonians to Hebrews, in the exile, are not to be denied ; but it is most unlikely that the loftier religion of the Hebrews, with its rich literature and highly-developed literary forms, should have borrowed largely, either of ideas or of modes of expression, from their idolatrous conquerors. Numbers of the Jews preferred to remain in Babylonia, even when permission was granted them to go back to their own land ; but the religion of the captives, as it emerged from the eclipse of the captivity, was in no sense or degree a Babylonian religion. Besides this, the Babylonian poetry, with all its intrinsic interest, is distinctly inferior, in variety of expression, in boldness of imagery, and in the polish and artistic beauty of its forms, to the Hebrew. Add to these remarks that the force and originality of the Hebrew poetry, due to the influence of its informing spirit, forbid any thought of it as an imitation, and that this applies not only to pre-exilic, but also to exilic Psalms, and it will appear that the facts do not countenance, but rather forbid, a dependence of the Hebrew upon the Babylonian psalms resulting from loans in the exile. But the strongest argument against a direct borrowing from either side is the impression made by almost all these psalms, from both peoples, of having been composed as the direct, personal utterance of a soul that felt what was uttered.

We are left to conclude that the striking resemblances in idea and form point to a common inheritance, linking the Hebrews in a pecul-

* Although sweeping remarks as to the impossibility of this (cf. SAYCE, *Babyl. Rel.*, pp. 328, 352) rest on assumptions or pre-judgments which themselves need the broom.

far way with the great Shemitic people of the lower Euphrates, strengthening the argument for the location of their early home, and affording, at the same time, new proof of the tenacity of the Shemitic mind.

Let us recur, for a few paragraphs, in closing, to the question about the significance of the resemblance,—how far it is inward and real. We repeat that these Babylonian hymns breathe sincerity and earnestness, and some apprehension, vague and imperfect, no doubt, but genuine, of the truth of things, of the facts which most nearly concern men in this present world. A vivid sense of the unseen—idol-images are hardly alluded to—the conception of the highest power as personal, the consciousness of sin as alienation, the longing for pardon as restoration to divine fellowship—perhaps most notably of all the manifest hope of pardon, very seldom on the ground of sacrifices, but because of the gracious, loving, and forgiving temper of the deity addressed—these characteristics are startling, and put much of more enlightened religion to shame.

How shall we explain these things among the old idol-worshippers? We can talk about traces of a primitive revelation. But what stirs us in these hymns is no reminiscence of ancient truth. It is present, living experience. We are never religious in memory or by tradition. Memory may be, and is, a powerful aid to the religious life; but to remember things once believed is not personal religion, nor anything like it. There were men behind those psalms who remembered—no things, but God; and when any man remembers God in the vital, Biblical sense, God himself is at hand. His grace is moving upon the heart, his love is warming the atmosphere. The sap-currents rise, and the buds swell, and the blades of grass shoot forth, because the sun is in the sky and the spring zephyr in the air.

The average religious life of Babylonians through all the ages was bad enough, we may be sure—as bad as their gods were. Those who wrote these hymns and those who used them, with any appreciation of their depths and heights, were, doubtless, sadly few. Heathenism degrades and blinds. That proves beyond a question that in these psalms of penitence there is a more than human power. We need not now discuss the presence of vital piety among the Mormons, or in a Babylonian who thought it his solemn duty to sacrifice his daughter's purity in a goddess's temple; but certainly neither Mormonism nor the vile worship of Ishtar could *beget* true piety.

That moral earnestness and spiritual energy are ever of purely human origin—are not always and everywhere divine—is a dangerous and pagan doctrine, deistical, if not atheistic. Moral and spiritual

movement implies life, and life implies a life-giver not only, but a life-sustainer. The most pernicious error in opinion has not always power to quench the flame whose oil is continually poured into the soul from heavenly sources. Marcus Aurelius thought his best "Thoughts" under divine guidance. One may sympathize with the spirit of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, and refrain from castigating his extravagance when he says of Spinoza: "And be thou blessed of me, great, yea, holy, Benedictus! However thou mightest philosophize over the nature of the highest Being, and lose thy way in thy words, his truth was in thy soul, and his love was thy life!" * One may see in George Eliot's lofty and dynamic moral utterances the marks of a divine relationship, and for all the wrongness and perverseness of opinion which limited her influence, and choked her hope, and made her sometimes an opponent of that to which she earnestly wished to be loyal, one may feel in her words the stimulus of a divine touch, not hers, but his who made her, and made us all, and whose gracious Spirit "worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth."

But in these penitential hymns of Babylonia there is something even more profound—self-abasement, and self-abandonment, and humble appeal to the divine grace. Must not any man who wrote such a hymn out of his own soul, or who used it, with heart-chords vibrating in true harmony with it, have followed the divine leading? Must not "Ishtar," "Shamash," and "Merodach" have been for him a stammering way of pronouncing "God"? In appealing to their mercy, and laying hold of their hands, must he not have appealed, in truth, to the God of gods, and laid hold of the sceptre of the King of kings?

It is surely in a God of faithfulness that one may trust for a penitent whose sincere longings could be expressed in a form like this:

> "Make me clear as the shining of gold,
> Like a ring of diamonds let me be precious in thy sight!
> Cleanse mine iniquity, deliver my soul!
> Secure is thine altar, thy cords I grasp.
> From mine iniquity let me depart;
> Let me be in safety, with thee!" †

FRANCIS BROWN.

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* F. HARMS: *Philosophie seit Kant*, p. 90.

† IV. R. 66, No. 2. Transl. ZIMMERN, p. 101, l. 51–54.

VI.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLES IN THE NATIONAL CHURCH OF HOLLAND.

THE writer of this article has sought in vain among English and American organs of opinion to find any intelligible account of the present commotions and troubles in the National Church of Holland. He therefore proposes, as the result of some study of Dutch sources, and also of a personal visit to Holland several months ago, to give a statement that may be somewhat more distinct, and that may prepare the Presbyterian world for what is possibly a great change for the better in that branch of their common family which has had so interesting a history. This attempt, however, is made with great diffidence. Opinions are still greatly divided even among the orthodox; and movements have not reached the development which makes inquiry into them fully trustworthy.

The early history of the Dutch Church, from the Reformation to the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, does not enter into our inquiry. It is enough that a Teutonic people preferred the Reformation that came from Calvin to that which came from Luther, following in this the example of many among the Germans themselves, and that the Synod of Dordrecht, which was a kind of council of the whole Reformed (Calvinistic) world, left Holland, in spite of Remonstrant agitation and influence, in the main attached to its own orthodoxy. The Remonstrants when restored went their own way, in spite of great fame and literary power bringing down Christianity in a century to something like semi-rationalism; while the National Church longer resisted the process which all over Europe converted Protestantism into an institution whose emblem was the "sere and yellow leaf," and which seemed liker to burn in the heats of revolution than to carry over any fruit to after ages. Holland, however, had no special place in the unbelief of the eighteenth century, such as might rank with the "modern" school of the nineteenth. Her theologians, where they went over to English, French, or German negation, did not stamp on it any national impress, and hence they

have not attained to the celebrity of the Scholtens and Kuenens of our own days.

The great revolutionary wars, in which Holland suffered so much from 1792 to 1815, probably, as in the rest of Europe, tended to discredit French principles and to favor a reaction, such as it was, in the direction of the older orthodoxy; but this was more formal than inward, and Holland has no such revival of national life and of living religion, in connection with this struggle and the anniversary of the Reformation, to record as Germany. The separation of Church and State, which the Revolution had proclaimed in 1795, was, so far, recalled by William I. in 1816, when the National Church of the Netherlands received by royal mandate its present constitution, somewhat modified by subsequent regulations in 1852 and 1869; but this so-called Synodal system was to any Presbyterian eye a poor outcome of the Synodal principle, retaining, indeed, the ten Provincial Synods into which the two millions of the Protestant population had been gathered up, out of some forty-four classes or Presbyteries, but leaving the representation so meagre as to make each Synod a mere Board of little more than a dozen members, and only giving the Church organization a certain unity which it had never had before, by binding together at the top all the Provincial Synods into a general Synod, or last court of appeal, sitting at the Hague, which, however, was only a concentration of the Board scheme, consisting of no more than thirteen ministers and six elders.

Doubtless not a little living Christianity perpetuated itself in Holland, such as is described by the Rev. A. Van Scheltema in an address to the Presbyterian Alliance at Edinburgh, in 1877:

"Forty years ago, when I was called as a minister in one of the smallest and remotest villages of our land, a population of peasants and farmers, I found there even in the poorest cottages the old large family Bible, with its copper locks and ornaments, and next to that Bible a larger or smaller library, where Baxter's *Saints' Rest* and the best practical works were to be found. The Bible was read at every meal, the first day of the week was a real Sabbath, and a good many understood so thoroughly what they read, that to me the four years I lived among this simple, pious people were quite another course of practical theology for me, having a lasting effect on my future service in the Church." *

It is to be feared, however, that of the thirteen or fourteen hundred parishes of which the Church of the Netherlands is made up, only a comparatively small minority were in a state so favorable, a widespread laxity of doctrine being the rule, and where sounder views were held, the mass of the people living at ease in formalism and indifference. This repose was to a large extent broken by the sepa-

* *Proceedings of First General Presbyterian Council*, pp. 234, 235.

ration of a portion of the National Church, both on doctrinal and practical grounds, in 1834, which ultimately took its present name of "The Christian Reformed Church." This Church, associated with the names of Drs. Brummel, Kamp, Van Velzen, and others, assigned to the Presbyterian Alliance as its reasons for separation, while retaining the standards of the Church—viz., the Belgian Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht—these, "the excessive deviation, supported by leaders and Church Courts in the National Church, from the original doctrine, discipline, and worship; the indirect influence of the Revival, to which these Church Courts were opposed; and the deposition of faithful ministers, who were followed by their flocks and subjected to severe persecution."* This event marked something like a turning point in the history of the Netherlands Church. The movement was not shared in its last passages by men like Da Costa and Groen van Prinsterer, who were recognized leaders of the faithful minority, but it had much of their sympathy and that of those who stayed in; and it set the example both of faithful contending for truth and of ultimate separation. Hence, this Church, which is entirely independent of State support, has had great success. It numbers, according to the Belfast register of the Presbyterian Alliance, three hundred and seventy-nine congregations, and has a theological school at Kampen with eighty-five students. Nor did its withdrawal weaken, but rather strengthen, the Church that was left behind; for this is the testimony of Dr. Hoedemaker at the Edinburgh meeting already referred to in 1877:

"Forty years ago there were very few who preached the living Christ in their Church. When their Secession friends left them forty years ago—he had almost said, God forgive them—there was little left in the Church. Now they had four hundred ministers preaching the gospel [out of sixteen hundred], and these ministers had taken a prominent position in all their great cities, and crowds flocked to hear them, just in proportion as they preached the living Christ." (*Proceedings*, etc., p. 209.)

In this revival a part was borne by the disciples of Schleiermacher, who, as in Germany, reawakened the sense of sin, and concentrated attention on the person of Christ, though with a defective view of his supreme divinity, and also of the doctrines of atonement and sovereign grace. Of this movement the University of Groningen was the centre, and this school, by laying more stress upon experience than dogma, has come to be known as the *Ethical*, and by holding a middle place between the orthodox and rationalist, and striving to keep the latter in the Church, with a view to their recovery, has been called the *Irenical*. As with the Schleiermacher school in

* *Proceedings*, etc., p. 298.

Germany, the shades of this party have been great, so that we hesitate to name its leaders ; and probably its members have shown less tendency to advance toward the older orthodoxy than men like Neander and Dorner in Germany. Still it cannot be doubted that writers like the late Chantepie de la Saussaye and J. H. Gunning, Jr., have contributed to the defence of a supernatural Christianity, and that the very conflict of the older or Utrecht school with them has been a means of progress.

But, as in Germany, the revival, while victorious over the less critical unbelief, had a hard battle to fight with the newer rationalism of the Baur or Tübingen school ; so was it in Holland ; and here the University of Leyden was to come in, and in the persons of Scholten, Kuenen, and other leaders of the so-called *Modern* school to rebuild the whole history and doctrine of Christianity upon a humanitarian basis. Dr. van Oosterzee, in a paper sent to the Philadelphia meeting of the Presbyterian Alliance in 1880, states that whereas in 1835 the *Leben Jesu* of Strauss could hardly find a publisher in Holland, just as Strauss himself was rejected by the University of Zurich, the work of Renan in 1863 was at once spread over the whole country. At this time, in 1864, Professor Scholten came forth with his work on the Fourth Gospel, denying it all connection with the Apostle John, whose residence in Ephesus even, beyond Hilgenfeld and Renan, was disputed, and excluding with the Resurrection every other miracle. So Professor Kuenen, in a succession of works, handled the Old Testament, seeing in Jewish history only the natural development of religion in which Jesus comes to hold the highest place, but eliminating everything prophetic, and reducing redemption to the moral influence of Jesus as the best of masters. The learning and ingenuity of these works, as well as a certain honesty of profession, it is impossible to question ; but they add nothing essential to the German school, which has already collapsed ; and though their influence in Holland has been great, it is decidedly on the wane, and but for a tendency to coalesce with the ethical school it would probably soon fall.

All authorities agree that the return of Holland to a supernaturalist Christianity during the last twenty years has been decided. This is the testimony of Mr. Cohen Stuart, in a paper read before the great Evangelical Alliance meeting in New York in 1873 ; of Professor van Oosterzee, in a writing sent two years before his death to the Philadelphia Presbyterian Alliance, in 1880, as already referred to, and of Dr. van Wyk, of the Hague, in an interesting paper read before the Copenhagen meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1884. But the two latter writers agree that as the revival movement has

advanced, it has, as in Germany, assumed two aspects—the one more favorable to a recast of orthodox Christian doctrine, and the other more or less confessional, or tending to the forms of the older orthodoxy. There is, however, this difference, that in Holland the younger part demands a reconstruction of Church order, that the confession may have fair play, while the older is more content with the spirit of revival, though clogged by un-Presbyterian and even Erastian forms. Of the older of these tendencies, Dr. van Oosterzee, so long an ornament of the University of Utrecht, was perhaps the most conspicuous example; of the later, the virtual, if not always acknowledged leader, is Dr. A. Kuyper, one of the professors of the Free University of Amsterdam. This Free University was founded in 1880, with a design to make a more complete separation between the believing and rationalist parties than could be effected in the State Universities, and also to embrace not only theology, but all other branches of learning in an institution controlled throughout by Christian influence, and supported by extra-state funds and resources. This school of Christian learning has already had very considerable success, and the name of Dr. Hoedemaker has, along with that of Dr. Kuyper, made it known wherever the Church of Holland creates any interest.

This institution indicated a step forward in the direction of the stricter Dutch orthodoxy, and the estimate of the school to which it belonged represented, as given by Dr. van Oosterzee in the paper already quoted, some shade in his otherwise liberal mind:

"The ecclesiastical controversy in favor of ultra-Calvinism, under the leadership of men like Drs. Kuyper, Rutgers, Hoedemaker, and others, rose during the last years to a height which had not before been reached. The desire for restoring the Church upon the historic national basis of Dordrecht (1618, 1619) asserted itself with growing emphasis, but at the same time overshadowed the labor for the defence of the *universal* Christian belief. The question as to that which is specially Reformed awakened in the Christian public much more interest than that as to the Catholic Christian foundation, which underlies all the different ecclesiastical communities."

It is the party indicated in this somewhat ambiguous notice of Dr. van Oosterzee which has now come to the front, and which, displaying an energy and decision such as in his days was perhaps not possible, has in the conflict with unbelief and also with the more neutral Groningen school brought on the crisis of which an account has now to be rendered. This stretches from 1885 to the present time.

This struggle has more or less agitated all Holland, but its chief seat is the capital, Amsterdam. This splendid city of nearly three hundred thousand inhabitants has some sixty thousand Roman Catholics and thirty thousand Jews, so that if we discount twenty thousand for the other Protestant churches it will leave the National

Dutch Church some one hundred and eighty or one hundred and ninety thousand adherents. This vast body, however, is very imperfectly supplied with religious ordinances, there being only eleven churches, though some of these are of vast dimensions and capable of accommodating three or four thousand persons. Still the disproportion is great, and the lack of spiritual superintendence is increased by the enormous size of the parishes. Patronage, however, does not exist, the ministers being chosen by an electoral committee, which itself in every parish is elected by the male communicants who are not paupers. With the ministers there are not only elders but deacons, chosen in the same way, and the Amsterdam Church as a whole is governed by the entire body of these, forming a general session or consistory (*Kerkeraad*) of about one hundred and forty members. This concession to ecclesiastical liberty was made in 1867, and the result erelong appeared in the presence of a strictly orthodox majority in the Session of Amsterdam. In other measures this change appeared, and in 1885 it led to a controversy as to the admission of members to the communion. Orthodox office-bearers hesitated to admit those young persons who belonged to the modern school, and even to countenance the service by their presence. A mode of evading this difficulty was sought by asking the session to comply with a prevailing practice, whereby an applicant might be admitted by another consistory or session, provided his own session granted him a certificate of mere moral good conduct. It need not be debated how far this was legal or how far any session was bound on the testimony of two householders to grant a certificate of its own that a person was of good character, and thus to assist his admission elsewhere into the National Church, with the certainty that he was on the way by this roundabout path back to their own communion. In point of fact the Session of Amsterdam refused any longer to take this view, and when, in the beginning of 1885, the young people of modern tendencies applied for these certificates, the session, having appointed a committee to consider the question, agreed on March 23d of that year to withhold the documents unless a declaration was made that it was thereby the purpose of the applicants "to confess the Lord Jesus Christ as the only and all-sufficient Saviour, who was delivered for our offences and raised again for our justification." This act of the session produced a great outburst of complaint on the part of the parents of the applicants, as well as of themselves, and of all who denounced the act as an infringement of liberty by setting up a doctrinal creed. An appeal was made to the body called the *Classical Bestuur* (Classical Board), which, according to the defective Presbyterian organization of the

Netherlands Church, locally works along with and controls each session. This Board consists of some nine members, representing the more bureaucratic element in the Church, and its sympathies are more with the neutral party, not without an infusion of the modern. Still this Board, overawed probably by the session, refused to interfere, and it was only on an appeal to the next highest body in the scale, the *Provincial Synod* (Bestuur) of North Holland, that the decision was reversed, and instructions given to issue the certificates as usual. This deed was dated October 21st, 1885, and the term was fixed (January 8th, 1886) within which the *Kerkeraad* was to deliver the needful papers. This body accordingly took the matter up, but shewed every disposition to refuse obedience. A committee was appointed to prepare a report on the subject, of which Dr. Kuyper, who sat as an elder in the body, was chairman; but before this could be finally discussed an extraordinary step was taken by the *Classical Bestuur*, and a majority of the members of the *Kerkeraad* were suspended from their functions on January 4th, and the *Bestuur* itself carried out the decision of the Provincial Synod.

Had the matter gone forward there is every reason to believe that the Amsterdam *Kerkeraad* would have resisted to the last, and drawn down the censure of the highest powers in the form of deposition. This, as we shall see, actually came on another ground. It is a debated point in this history whether the party opposed to the orthodox, seeing this conflict to be inevitable, and wishing to escape the odium of a direct doctrinal controversy, ingeniously shifted their ground and provoked a strife involving rather questions of Church property and administration. This is denied, indeed, by the authors and favorers of the suspension and ultimate deposition, who contend that there was no such double play, and that the question of the certificates was an entirely different issue. But the charge is stoutly made by Dr. Kuyper in his various pamphlets. It is urged also by certain members of the *Kerkeraad*, who were not suspended, and who in their narrative (*Kort Verhaal*) treat the later ground of suspension as a transparent fiction. Nor can it be questioned that the *Classical Bestuur* itself, in its first publication of the sentence in the official organ (*Kerkelijke Courant*, January 9th, 1886), states a connection between the certificate question and the acts which ultimately, in their judgment, necessitated suspension. This, however, may only mean that in this question the spirit of separation specially asserted itself, and thus the views of both parties may be so far reconciled without prejudice to the good faith of either. It is beyond all doubt that the doctrinal question was the deepest ground of difference; and though technically the denial of its influence at

any particular point may be correct, the general contention of Dr. Kuyper and his friends must be accepted.

We are thus brought to the point where confessedly the strife was waged, and where the issue of ultimate disciplinary measures and of consequent separation lay. This was the charge against the Amsterdam *Kerkeraad* of conspiring to alienate the Church property of the city, and thus to break the bond of ecclesiastical unity. This is necessarily less interesting and edifying than a purely spiritual conflict. It is as if the Scottish Secession had been technically fought out upon a question of manses and glebes, or the Free Church Disruption upon the temporalities of the parish of Auchterarder. Still even here the spiritual element perpetually dominates the temporal, and the question of spiritual independence is really the life of the struggle. The question of Church communion and Church confession might be silenced, but the rights and liberties of the Church—even in connection with material guarantees for them—still made themselves heard.

It is admitted on all hands that the property of the Amsterdam Church as a whole belongs to the adhering people. This is conceded by Dr. Van Doorn, a leader of the Modern party, and also by Dr. Hogerzeil, one of the more orthodox, who on this question has taken up the defence of the present organization against the reformers, and charged their measures with being organized revolution. He says in his pamphlet, *Revolution Organized*, p. 9, "From the year 1810 the Amsterdam congregation (as one body), so far as Church property goes, has 'free administration;' that is to say, no other college, ecclesiastical or otherwise, has anything to do with its administration, or can exercise any control over it." From 1810 the actual administration has been in the hands of the *Kerkeraad*, as understood mandatories of the people, which is all the more reasonable as they are themselves elected by the whole body of male church-members; and then the *Kerkeraad* has not directly exercised this control, but delegated it to another body, elected by itself, and called "The Church Commission," composed half of members of the *Kerkeraad* and half of other members of the Church, called Notables. This administration by the "Church Commission" in harmony with the *Kerkeraad* and in virtual unity with the people has given such satisfaction that when, in 1869, the State Government wanted to introduce a more uniform system for the whole kingdom, the Amsterdam church-membership by a large vote preferred to abide by the existing regulation. The details were from time to time corrected by the *Kerkeraad*, and in vindication of its own independence this important clause was introduced into the statute, by

which the action of the Commission was controlled : " Whenever a member of the Commission, an elector, or an office-bearer falls unexpectedly under Church censure of whatever kind, the Commission decides whether or how far this censure has consequences bearing on the rights of the party censured, as assigned him by this statute. Till this decision is given the party remains in office and the case *in statu quo.*" This enactment, which goes back to 1875, and which settled some debates of that time, passed quietly into the Amsterdam Statute Book ; but it has been found to be the very battle-ground of the present controversy and separation.

The Reforming party, which had the upper hand in the *Kerkeraad*, naturally found, not only in connection with the certificate question, but from other indications, that the struggle was approaching a crisis, and hence they wished to prepare for the worst issue by making good what they believed to be their just title to the property of the Church. For this purpose they introduced certain changes, which they did not regard as affecting any vital principle, into the statute (*Reglement*) originally drawn up by the *Kerkeraad*, and modified from time to time, under which the Church Commission carried out its administration. Passing by other paragraphs and clauses, the most important change was Article 41, which runs as follows :

" In case that the *Kerkeraad* (both general and particular), in fulfilment of its call to keep the Church steadfast to the Word of God and to preserve the three formularies of unity as the bond of church-fellowship, should be so seriously involved that it should see itself compelled to act out to the full the precept to obey God rather than men, and should have its legal right to act as representative of the [Christian] people contested, either by suspension or deposition of a portion of its members, and either some other body should interfere in the affairs of the people, by professing to do the work that belongs to the *Kerkeraad*, or an opposition *Kerkeraad* should be formed, the Commission shall in such a case continue to acknowledge the original *Kerkeraad*, which seeks to keep the people to God's Word, as the only legal one ; and in the carrying out of all the requirements of this statute, where the word '*Kerkeraad*' occurs, shall understand by it this alone." *

This and other modifications of the statute, though opposed by a party in the *Kerkeraad*, were adopted *en bloc* by the great majority of that body on December 14th, 1885. It was hardly possible that the non-reforming party should sit silent under such a challenge, and hence there now appears on the scene the *Classical Bestuur* of Amsterdam, which is destined to figure so largely in this history. This was the lowest of the less popular governing bodies of the Church, working up into the *Provincial Bestuur* of North Holland, as that again into the *General Synod* at the Hague. It consisted of seven ministers and three elders, most of them with a certain color

* Hogerzeil, *Revolution Organized*, p. 12.

of orthodoxy, but all opposed to the reform movements of a more confessional type, or which tended to substitute popular for bureaucratic administration. This body had avoided any decision in the certificate question, leaving the North Holland *Bestuur* to suppress that movement. But now it had to take action in the property question, being probably directed from headquarters and assured of the support which its strong measures would speedily require; and yet it was not easy to find a ground of interference, as the question of property was confessedly in the hands of the *Kerkeraad* alone. Some of the Classical members also, when acting before on the Church Commission, had expressly taken the oaths of office which laid stress on this independence, and could hardly now repress it. Hence they were compelled to regard the action of the majority of the *Kerkeraad* as coming under their general discipline, in virtue of which they could review all matters of property not on their material but on their moral side, and by the application of that part of the general Church Law which constituted them the guardians of "order and peace." On this strained ground they might, as they did, have annulled the new regulations of the *Kerkeraad*, and left the standing of those who passed them otherwise untouched. This would have been enough until some compromise or intervention suitable to an extraordinary time had been discovered. But they went at once to the extreme length of suspending all who had voted for the new regulations. The *Kerkeraad* had then one hundred and thirty-six members, and seventy-nine were included in this sweeping censure, of whom five were ministers of Amsterdam—Van Son, Van Loon, Van Schelven, de Gaay Fortman, and Karssen—with forty-two elders and thirty-two deacons. It was remarked that there were included among the elders Dr. Kuyper, Dr. Rutgers, Dr. Van Hartog, and other persons connected with the Free University. This act of suspension from all official functions was dated January 4th, 1886, and was announced in a circular signed by Dr. Adriani, President, and Dr. Vos, Secretary of the *Classical Bestuur*, which, as already stated, itself consisted only of ten persons. This document informed each suspended officer that the act for which he suffered was annulled, and required his submission to the sentence in a fortnight on pain of further procedure. Only four deacons, however, made this submission; but there still remained unaffected by the stroke twenty-one preachers, eleven elders, and twenty-five deacons, and these numbers may give some idea of the direction of sympathy among the different classes of society in Amsterdam. Though there thus remained members enough to make a *Kerkeraad*, the *Bestuur* set it henceforth aside, and stepped into its place to do its work. It

was significant that on the afternoon of the day on which the suspension had taken place at noon, the *Bestuur*, in this vicarious character, appointed two of its own number to give out certificates, by way of ending that older controversy. It also claimed the possession of the churches and other buildings, as if the Church Commission had been suspended likewise. This, however, encountered resistance on the part of members of that body. The police for a time seemed to waver between the two authorities, but at length, after a singular struggle (in which moral force approached the verge of physical), the *Bestuur* had to give way, and the venerable *Nieuwe-Kerk* on the Dam, which had been the prize of battle, remained in the possession of the Church Commission.

These proceedings produced unexampled sensation, all the more that there had been no regular process or trial. In fact, no minutes of names of persons voting in the *Kerkeraad* were kept, and hence the ministers and others suspected were simply asked formally to accept the annulment of their own act, and to make this known to this higher tribunal—in other words, to criminate themselves. Besides, very strong language was applied in the act of the *Bestuur* adopted on the day after the suspension and published in the official *Courant* of January 9th, 1886, to the conduct of the suspended parties, such as "extreme illegality, unfaithfulness, and abuse of ecclesiastical functions;" while it was very soon after, in order to meet the appearance of harshness, expressly declared that the step had no other ground than the act of self-defence on the part of the suspended in connection with property, that has been already explained.

The *Bestuur* followed up its attack with great vigor. It asked and received from the Commission of the Hague Synod power to defend its title to the Church property before the civil courts. It is not certain whether it moved the next highest body, the *Provincial Bestuur*, to take its work out of its hands and do all that further belonged to it. Certain it is that this higher body took up the prosecution of the suspended office-bearers with a view to turn suspension into deposition, and sought to engage the General Synod in this trial. The Synod, however, on a question of order corrected this provincial court, and sent everything back again to the Amsterdam *Bestuur* to judge whether there was a plausible case for deposition, and then to bring the matter, if needful, to any higher body. This decision as to procedure was not arrived at till March 9th, 1886, and meanwhile the question of suspension alone, though with its threatening issues, engrossed the whole public mind.

The official *Courant* (a Hague organ), in which the sentence appeared, has an unofficial part edited by Dr. M. A. Gooszen, Theo-

logical Professor in Leyden, and this was employed at once to influence the whole public mind in ecclesiastical circles. There was prepared by January 9th, issued in Amsterdam, and largely reproduced in this organ, a pamphlet by Dr. Hogerzeil, of Amsterdam, one of the ministers of the city, entitled the *State of the Question*, in which he professes, with great impartiality, to handle the subject for the uninitiated, and in which, followed up as it is by two other pamphlets, *Revolution Organized* and *The Preliminary Suspension*, the whole procedure of the Reforming party is set forth as wild and destructive of all law and order. As this writer was of the comparatively orthodox type, and as his works had not a little of fervor, with a good deal of ingenuity and confidence in his cause, they made no small impression, and sold by thousands.

But the other party, who have so much at stake, are not silent, and among them by far the most prominent is Dr. A. Kuyper, of the Free University, who in three truly vigorous pamphlets reviews and badly damages Dr. Hogerzeil's line of argument. In the *first* of these pamphlets (which are full of wit and humor as well as of sharp but not unkindly dialectic), and which is entitled *Conspiracy and Revolution*, he shows that there had been in his party nothing more than the legitimate assertion by constitutional means of a great principle, and that the error of the other side lay in applying to an essentially divided time such routine measures as provoked revolution—a revolution that was still in the line of the Reformation and of the nation's great history. It was a passage in this pamphlet that in the final trial was held by the Hague Synod as a confession by Dr. Kuyper on his own part and that of his brethren of the ordinary offence of ecclesiastical conspiracy, which the whole pamphlet was written to deny. The *second* pamphlet of Dr. Kuyper is entitled *Our Free Management of Church Property Threatened and Defended*, and it goes over the same ground as in a separate work of two distinguished lawyers of the party, De Savornan Lohman and Rutgers's *The Legal Rights of our Local Churches*. The substance of this view, and how far it is accepted even by the other side, has been already given. The reluctance of Dr. Hogerzeil to look this history of often-asserted right in the face is strongly urged, and also the want of generosity in expelling the reforming party from the whole property, while the latter were willing to divide it in any proportions even among the *Modern*, as might be settled by legal tribunals or arbitration. The *third* pamphlet of Dr. Kuyper is entitled *The Lovers of Peace in Office*. This is a review of the action of the Irenical party since in 1870 they began to replace the Modern school in the various boards to the Synod upward. It is drawn out in the

language of complaint that they had favored the Modern party and discouraged the other, and much of the pamphlet is occupied with the questions of detail as to the suspension and the struggle for the possession of the Amsterdam public buildings. As the result of these three pamphlets the position of Dr. Kuyper and his party stands clear—an admitted right of the so-called *Bestuur* organization to review the *Kerkeraad* on all *spiritual* matters (with right of the latter and of the people to agitate for more purely Presbyterian representation), but strenuous denial of all right of the *Bestuur* or Synodal power to interfere in *Beheer* or Property administration, and affirmation of duty to repel such sentences as *ultra vires*. It will thus appear how Dr. Kuyper and his party, on this ground of a "double" quality in the *Kerkeraad* and all that it represented, could honestly maintain their adherence to the unity of the Church. They admitted their subordination to spiritual sentences, but they did not hold the Synodal control of property, even in a State Church, to be essential to unity.

Even their subjection to the spiritual sentence of suspension they did not hold to be absolute. They did not intrude into any ecclesiastical functions, such as preaching or attempting to do the work of elder or deacon in the sacred places. But they did not scruple to preach in halls or other public places, and this was a means even as powerful as the use of the press, whereby the suspended office-bearers maintained their cause. Some six large halls were hired in Amsterdam, and, with the suspended ministers preaching in them, were filled with crowded audiences, while the large churches were—at least some of them—comparatively deserted. This separate worship Dr. Kuyper in his third pamphlet defends, saying that the people would never return to their old sanctuaries till they saw their venerable leaders back in them. He calculates that of the church-going people of the capital fully two thirds sympathized with the Reforming party, and states that as a test of interest the collections in the first month had amounted to three thousand gulden, or two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. Six months afterward the present writer was in Amsterdam on a Sabbath in September, and can attest that while the vast spaces of the *Oude Kerk* were almost a solitude, the neighboring hall of *Frascati* was crowded in the morning and almost equally in the evening with worshippers listening to nothing more than the ordinary preaching of the gospel, but with a sense of stir and eagerness entirely new. It was, therefore, to be lamented, in so anomalous a case, that the Amsterdam *Classical Bestuur* found another call to discipline, and in a circular dated May 31st, 1886 (*Courant*, June 12th), denounced to their several local authorities

seventeen other ministers, at the head of them M. Lion Cachet, of Rotterdam, who had taken part in Amsterdam with the five suspended ministers there in their so-called "Bible readings," and thus encouraged disorder and separation in the Church.

Many, no doubt, equally disapproved of the suspension, but expressed their sympathies and perhaps also their difficulties in some other way. Among these was the well-known Dr. Hoedemaker, of the Free University, a great personal friend of Dr. Kuyper, and in many other forms a helper of the common movement by his ability, moderation, and Christian earnestness. Here he found himself unable fully to share Dr. Kuyper's view and action; and his conduct in his several pamphlets, though we cannot share his scruples, is a beautiful example of Christian candor and friendship.

He had exposed as ably as any one the unscriptural character of the so-called Synodal administration, which committed to State-created Boards, acting according to a State constitution, and not to regularly called office-bearers of a Presbyterian church, acting according to the Word and in the name of Christ, the affairs of His Kingdom. And he had full sympathy with the aim of Dr. Kuyper and his friends to recover the profession of sound doctrine which was so far embodied even in the existing Church. But he despaired of this under the present organization, and thought that this should first be redressed. Nor was it by fighting the battle with a constant eye to separation as the alternative, but, on the contrary, with an effort to carry the whole Church along in this path, and even to find a *modus vivendi* whereby even the Modern party might be embraced not in the circle of the Church proper, but of a more general society, sharing under certain regulations the use of the benefices and buildings till the transition period, which was the occasion of conflict, had passed away. We have endeavored to state as fairly as possible these views of Dr. Hoedemaker, gathered from his *Open Letter to Dr. Kuyper*, of date January 18th, 1886, and other publications. He also distinguished himself by efforts at this time to have the General Synod called together. But amid the excitement of the controversy his voice was less regarded, and matters ran on to a far more summary decision than he had proposed.

With this fermentation of the public mind occupying the daily press to a degree which cannot be reported, the wheel of discipline moved round. On March 15th, 1886, the *Classical Bestuur* of Amsterdam found that there was a plausible case for deposition against the seventy-five suspended members, and sent this finding up, as directed, to the *Provincial Bestuur* of North Holland to complete the trial. This body, consisting of seven persons, asked the accused

on March 30th to furnish any explanations or defences. In a paper signed by M. Van Son and two others in the name of the rest, and dated April 5th, exception was taken to the process as radically incompetent. The *Bestuur* on May 29th complained that only three had signed the document, and sought to make good the lack of evidence by putting to each of the accused the question whether he had voted for the Regulations, and on their declining, on May 29th, to answer, it came, in a final judgment, on July 1st, to the conclusion that in the circumstances silence gave consent, and also regarded the act thus not disclaimed as in the matter of it deserving of deposition, which it pronounced accordingly.

This naturally increased the agitation, all the more that the sentenced parties had appealed to the final court, or General Synod. As an indication of the sense of distrust which these proceedings awakened may be mentioned an interesting pamphlet, published at this date by Dr. J. H. Gunning, Jr., of Amsterdam, and reflecting the opinion of the better type of the Irenical party. Dr. Gunning is one of the theological professors appointed directly by the Church and not by the State, filling that place in Amsterdam, and the title of his pamphlet is *One Witness More on the Amsterdam Church Incident*. Dr. Gunning is necessarily the advocate of latitude. He had always protested against the exclusion of the Modern section, though he wholly denied their right to a place in the Church. Hence, the going out of the reforming party is to him still more unwelcome. He grants the justness of the sentence on a wide construction of what unity of government requires, but does not believe that it is legally and technically defensible. Even if the Synod should sustain it, he hopes that measures will be taken to restore the deposed, and perhaps by their retracting their amended Regulations for some equivalent to open a way for a reorganization of the whole constitution of the Church, and for the placing in the foreground questions of faith rather than of administration. While he protests against the exclusiveness of Dr. Kuyper and his friends, he recognizes their importance in the development of the future, and is willing to give them a career as representing an element in the past which had been too long neglected. Such is as fair a statement as can be given of Dr. Gunning's position, and it will be seen with what anxiety men like him must have followed a legal conflict which contained no element of conciliation whatever.

The Synod of the Netherlands Church decided the appeal made to them first by a hearing before the so-called Contracted Synod, and then, on a last revision, before the whole body. The first process was the more elaborate. The "considerations" bearing on the com-

plaints of the appealing parties are too technical to be here reproduced, especially as they bear on informalities of procedure. Dr. Kuyper, who appeared before the Synod on September 16th, wished to raise the question of incompetency in the original action of the *Classical Bestuur*, but on being driven from this line and held to answer as to his own proceedings, he refused to compromise his rights, and left the court. Under protest, however, grievances were stated in writing, and the Synod, in a clear, if technical document, endeavored to answer them at great length. The most notable thing in this conflict of legal wits is, that the Synod acknowledges that it cannot put its hand on any express statute which is traversed, but only makes out a case of constructive disorder, on the ground of which, in this the ablest of all the judicial papers on that side, it confirms on September 24th, 1886, the deposition already pronounced. The appeal to the whole Synod follows, and its sentence comes forth on December 1st. This goes over the five grounds of revision summed up by the seventy-five appellants in a memoir sent in on November 15th, finding each of them untenable, and confirming the sentence of deposition already pronounced. There is a certain hardness in the tone of this judgment, and this is possibly to be ascribed to a remarkable document sent in at the same time by Dr. Kuyper in the name of the rest, entitled *Last Word to the Conscience of the Members of the Synod.* This is such a paper as has rarely been presented to any judicial body, and can only be justified by the gravity of the circumstances.

This *Last Word* breaks through all the forms of public judicial pleading. It declares that both sides know well enough that the real difference is not, as it appears, in the long-drawn and technical windings of an ecclesiastical suit, but in a vital discord of inward belief.

After repeating the old doctrines of the confession, the paper thus proceeds :

"And herein lies the painful wrongness of our mutual relation, which it does no good to conceal ; that you, as a Synod, do *not* share our convictions. As a Synod you do not confess the three-one God ; you do *not* find yourselves in sympathy with our sense of guilt in the presence of the Holy One ; you do not believe in eternal punishment ; you do *not* glory in Immanuel as God over all blessed forever ; you are not at home in the holy mysteries of his miraculous birth, sin-atoning death, justifying resurrection, and glorious ascension in our human flesh. All these are to you venerable forms of human thought, but no sacred realities ; modes of expression used by a less advanced age to body forth ideal truths, but long outgrown by our century." (*Last Word*, etc., pp. 12, 13.) Again : "Thus also the Church of Christ is *not* to you 'a company of believers with their seed ;' Holy Scripture is *not* the sole authority by which all human opinion is to be judged ; the Headship of Jesus is *not* to you an official sovereignty, but a figure for the influence of his past appearance in history ; and you are bound to main-

tain that *not* a bond of confession, but a liberty of teaching, must be the rule of our Churches" (p. 13). *Further:* "And herein lies the deepest ground: why, so long as you hold these convictions, you cannot yield to us, but also why we can as little yield to you. Nay, it would be our duty, speaking from our own point of view, to say, that for you and your views, according to sacred right, no place in the Church of Christ can be allowed at all, and that for you nothing remains but either to give glory to the King of heaven by returning to the old confession, or to send a bill of divorce to that Church from whose confession you have been long estranged" (p. 13). The suspended, however, do not feel it to be the best course to urge this point of view: "At this time we do not pursue this strain. Our serious word might thus easily miss its mark. A spirit of receptivity for so cutting a judgment of ours could not, constituted as human nature is, be presupposed at this moment on your part" (p. 14).

This is rather stated in order to impress the duty of the Synod toward the suspended, in the light of this confessed, world-wide difference of doctrinal conviction. Severity on the part of the Synod would be in painful contrast to their latitude on graver questions:

"When just now those who stand at your bar are not in the line of Venator or Coornheert, of Socinus or Vorstius, of Roëll or Van Vlak, of Becker or Van Leenhof, but rather have developed themselves in the direction of Marnix and Datheen, of Trigland and Voetius, à Marck and Brakel, of Smytegelt and Comrie, does not a delicate sense of propriety demand that you, sitting as judges over men who are brought into trouble solely through principle and a regard for their deepest convictions, should recall your own past, and not forget your own principle?"

No necessity for rigor existed such as could be pleaded in regard to doctrinal points, and the opinions of eminent lawyers left the way open. In closing, this appeal urges besides the harshness of casting out men who had grown gray in the service of the Church, the difference between a process of friendly and gradual separation, such as they themselves were prepared for, and a violent ejection fraught with bitter memories and grudges for the future.

No paper gives a clearer view than this *Last Word* of the mutual relations of parties in this controversy, but its pleadings and deprecations were fruitless, and the spectacle was witnessed of a deposition on the question of outward order carried through by those to whom all inward harmony had long been indifferent. The General Synod accompany the publication of their own lengthened decision and the still longer one of the Contracted Synod with briefer circulars, of date December 2d, 1886, to the church courts and to the people, and it creates a somewhat peculiar impression when, in these, appeals to unity and fidelity are made without any definite gospel principles, and when the past greatness of a Church is invoked against a party whose reverence for it, even if mistaken in its methods of expression, was the deepest cause of separation from its pale.

The decisive act of the official Church is met by an equally decisive on the part of the deposed office-bearers. They meet and re-

solve to set aside the deposition as null and void, stating their reasons for refusing to hold it binding in the court of heaven. This paper is dated December 8th. They farther resolve to claim to be the historical Netherlands Church, and in that character to cast off the yoke of the Synodal Hierarchy, taking the name of the Church under the Cross (*dolcerende*). And they also claim to be the lawful *Kerkeraad* of Amsterdam, and in the name of the Church to resume the ministry and other functions, on the footing not of Separation, but of Reformation, which is explained in an appeal to the Christian people. These very important resolutions are adopted and published in a document which bears date Amsterdam, December 16th, 1886, and to which are appended the reasons for setting aside the Act of Deposition. From this impressive document, which, if not the manifesto of a new Church, is at least the testimony of a renewed one, there is here extracted the formal set of Resolutions, and the substance of the *Report on Reformation.*

"NETHERLANDS (NEDERDUITSCHE) REFORMED CHURCH (UNDER THE CROSS).

"To the members of the Church is made known :

"1. That the *Kerkeraad*, again risen up, after having taken knowledge of the decision on the first of December current in the Amsterdam Case of Discipline, has resolved to cast off the yoke of the Synodal Hierarchy. 2. That the *Kerkeraad* has resolved to revive the Church order in force before the introduction of the Synodal Hierarchy—*i.e.*, before 1816. 3. That the *Kerkeraad* accordingly has resumed the earlier name, 'Netherlands Reformed Church.' 4. That the *Kerkeraad*, after past experience, has not seen its way in the mean time to make good its title to the buildings, possessions, and goods of the People, and for this reason, with an express reservation of all rights, comes forward as the *Church under the Cross*. 5. That of this Reformation of the Church by the rejection of this second Hierarchy, knowledge is given to the People in the annexed 'Report on Reformation.' 6. That the grounds of retention of Office by the members of the *Kerkeraad* who have been deposed are set forth in the annexed 'Statement.' 7. That next Sunday the ministry of the Word shall be renewed, and on the Sunday following the Dispensation of the Holy Sacraments ; also that notice of Baptism in this instance must be given in writing before Wednesday, December 22d, at six P.M., to P. Goedhuis, Under Secretary of the *Kerkeraad*, Heerengracht 192, 8. That the members of the Church shall erelong be placed in circumstances to make free-will offerings for its support.

"The *Kerkeraad* of the Netherlands Reformed Church (Under the Cross).

"P. VAN SON, *President.*

"H. W. VAN LOON, *Secretary.*"

AMSTERDAM, December 16, 1886.

Among causes of offence that called for Reformation are mentioned the preaching of error ; the neglect of ordinances to such a degree that of an adhering population of one hundred and seventy-five thousand, at most only a tenth attended worship ; the decay of discipline ; the desecration of the Sabbath ; the utter incompetency of a handful of office-bearers, bound down to other official duties, to

grapple with the wants of such a community. The governing body in the Church, through want of a clear recognition of the headship of Christ and of the authority of Scripture, and through its encouragement of error and formalism, must be shaken off. But the Church was not to be forsaken, but carried, as it were, without the camp.

"To no separation do we seek to seduce you. No; we remain in the Church of God, which has been aforetime hallowed by the blood of our martyrs, which we love with all the love of our hearts, and to which we cling with an inseparable grasp. We set up no Labadism in the midst of you, nor walk in sectarian paths, for we know that the Son of God by his Word and Spirit gathers in his Church to life eternal believers with their children, and that the discerning of the spiritual state of men lies with God and not with our brethren. And far from wishing to lead you in the paths of Independentism, we confess rather that all Independentism is contrary to Scripture, and that on all Churches of Christ there rests an obligation to preserve the unity of his body. The same old Church of Amsterdam, and the Church in its old historic bonds—to restore to something of its old bloom, and to reform according to the demands of our present Church life—this is the only way in which we seek to go."

With an appeal to Christian liberality, on which alone the Church had now to depend, and a still more earnest appeal to a higher strain of Christian life, this solemn and elevated address ends.

By a singular coincidence, on the same day (December 16th) on which these documents of the reorganized Church appear, there is dated an able pamphlet by Dr. Hoedemaker, criticising the judgment of the Synod, and especially its circular letters to Church Courts and Members. This is entitled *Human Authority or Lawful Rule*. This repudiates altogether the judgment against the deposed office-bearers, and sets forth with great force the evils of the existing system as destitute of any sufficient recognition of the headship of Christ, or provision for the full Scripture representation of Presbyters. It also protests warmly against the profession of any national church as such, according to the circular "to be moved by the spirit of the times," and defends the effort to make a church as strict as Scripture against their apparent charge of "sectarianism." In relation to the question between the Synod and the *Kerkeraad*, it meets the assertion of the former, that the deposed ministers could have no complaint on the ground of religious liberty, as they could easily remain in the Church on recalling their action, by showing that this was wholly illusory, as the Synod knew well enough that they could never admit "Modern" communicants to the Lord's Table, or comply with other terms of fellowship. This pamphlet also asks the defenders of the existing system—a system which had lasted only seventy years—with unanswerable force how they could stand up for it, with its narrow and bureaucratic suppression of true Presbyterian order, as alone consistent with the genius of the Reformation,

since every Presbyterian church in the world, with the exception of their own and of the Prussian, had adopted a more popular as well as more Scriptural constitution?

One might almost have expected that Dr. Hoedemaker, after these judgments, would have declared himself ready to cast in his lot with the deposed brethren. For this, however, he is not yet prepared. He still thinks that the possibilities of work in the National Church are not exhausted, and while he must, for sufficient reasons, decline to preach in the pulpits of Amsterdam, he intends to watch and help on the deliverance of the Church from the synodal organization rather by reformation within than by separation, to the qualified extent, of the new *Kerkeraad*. This is still his attitude in a later pamphlet, addressed (June 9th, 1887) to the moderator of a gathering held at Utrecht on April 21st, composed of what he calls the "conservative and optimist" part of the orthodox body in the National Church. This body, according to him, had at that meeting wrought no deliverance, and in relation to their meeting and to the whole position, he opens up anew the evils of the synodal system and of the general state of the Church as full of contradictions and anomalies, which needed to be laid to heart and redressed before any final reply to the so far premature step of the Amsterdam *Kerkeraad* and to its dividing influence could be found.

To these counsels of Dr. Hoedemaker, who is candid enough to admit that Dr. Kuyper and his friends are on the path to which the action of the orthodox for a long time had seemed to point, though he could not yet himself give up hope of inward reorganization such as he suggests, there is a decided contrast in a pamphlet by Dr. Hogerzeil, which came out on December 22d, 1886. This was entitled *What Now?* and was intended as a reply to the documents of the *Kerkeraad* (Under the Cross), but addressed to the members of the National Church to keep them from separation. Dr. Hogerzeil indeed grants the ability and earnestness of the Reformed manifesto, but there is little in his statement of solid refutation. He makes a great deal of the point that though the party professed not to leave the Church, they still left it. He denies their title to "Reformation," because while the original Reformation stood as a unit over against Popery, this new Reformation divided the orthodox. He says there was nothing in the cry against "synodal" organization which might not have been brought against the "Synod" of Dordrecht, and that it was only a beaten party accusing the judge. The only show of plausibility is, when he urges that as all the Courts of the Church, to the Synod upward, embraced the principle of popular election, the Church had only to complain of itself. But he forgets

what had been so often urged by Dr. Hoedemaker and others, that mere Boards formed after a State model could never have the life and freedom of proper synods and assemblies, and furnishes a confirmation of the objection in granting that even the orthodox had ceased to take interest in these elections, which had degenerated into routine. Dr. Hogerzeil also returns to his old ground that the deposed office-bearers had suffered nothing in connection with the certificate question, but he forgets that the issue of that matter showed that they could only escape suffering in future by forcing their consciences; and in regard even to property he does not allow for divergent consciences, but appeals to the oaths of office as if they had only one meaning. Dr. Hogerzeil grants that error was tolerated, but he states *per contra* that truth was not forbidden.

These publications afford a glimpse of the keen conflict of argument contemporaneously with and after the time of deposition. An instance will show how, though rarely in the generally passive Dutch nature, the excitement could almost rise to physical violence. In the congregation of Leiderdorp, near Leyden, an ancient seat of piety and zeal, the *Kerkeraad*, consisting of the minister, Dr. Vlug, and six office-bearers (two others having declined the step) sent in on July 15th, 1886, to the Synod and also to the King of Holland formal notice of their separation. A neighboring minister of the State Church is appointed by the Leyden *Classical Bestuur* to preach in the place, the Synod having meantime declared the *Kerkeraad* fallen from office and membership. This minister accordingly appears on July 25th at the usual hour of worship, accompanied by two other representatives of the Synod and two policemen. At the same time the separated minister and his office-bearers come on the scene, and on the church door being opened, and the attempt first made by the State minister from the pulpit to gain a hearing, the crowded building is filled with cries and threatenings of violence, whereupon he hastily departs and makes way for the other, who, amid an excitement that can be easily conceived, conducts the service.*

It is not possible to carry this narrative farther at the present date. Arrangements are being made by the "Reformed" party to hold, in the course of the summer, a Church Congress at Rotterdam, which will bring out the strength of the adhering body. Meanwhile, the only estimate which we have seen is that of the Rev. Lion

* The details are found in a pamphlet by the State Church minister, H. Wildeboer, *The Church Conflict at Leiderdorp*. Leyden, 1866. M. Wildeboer belongs to the orthodox, but bears this testimony in regard to the Synod: "I also deplore, that in the Highest Court, the 'Moderns' are in a majority" (p. 10).

Cachet, of Rotterdam, who, in a brief speech before the United Presbyterian Synod at Edinburgh on May 5th, 1887, stated that some forty or fifty ministers had already connected themselves with the movement, and that the sum raised by the separate organization amounted then to nine or ten thousand pounds sterling.

As stated in the beginning of this article, it is impossible as yet to predict the future of such an agitation. We have been more careful to furnish our readers with the means of forming a judgment of its basis than a forecast of its history. There are doubtless excellent men who refuse to be connected with it, and there may be dangers of various kinds which will require to be avoided. But of what movement of separation may the same thing not be said ; and what great remedy for the evils of a Church, in doctrine and life, has almost made any radical impression without this element of trial and difficulty? As, therefore, former separations in Holland have wrought for good, and as the whole history of Scotland for the last two centuries, in its bearings on the Christianity and the Presbyterianism of the world, is a mighty testimony to the good which can come from such a bitter discipline, we cherish the sincere hope that a movement which, as our article has shown, has in it so much of intelligence, energy, and self-denial may, with whatever imperfections adhere to it, bring blessing in its train and give a much-needed impulse to soundness in doctrine and earnestness in life among the churches of Europe.*

JOHN CAIRNS.

Edinburgh.

* NOTE.—This article was written in the summer of 1887. During the autumn the writer spent some days in Holland. He has corrected his narrative in the light of this experience. The only facts he wishes to add to his paper are that Dr. Hoedemaker has resigned his office in the Free University ; that repeated conferences of the friends of the deposed brethren have been held ; and that the members of the earlier separative [Christian Reformed Church] have assumed a kindly and sympathetic attitude toward the new movement.

VII.—CRITICAL NOTE.

THE NEW THEORY OF THE APOCALYPSE.

THE Apocalypse of John has been from the earliest times the most doubtful writing in the New Testament. Pious bishops, theologians, and reformers have either denied its canonicity or expressed grave doubts whether it ought to be included in the canon of the New Testament. Harnack and Von Gebhardt agree with Vischer in eliminating it from the canon, and in assigning it a place alongside of extra-canonical early Christian writings in the Library of which they are editors.*

Indeed, they were compelled to this course by the new theory of the Apocalypse proposed by Vischer, which they have adopted. For if the Apocalypse of John be indeed a Jewish apocalypse, like the apocalypses of Enoch, of Baruch, of Ezra, of Moses, and the Sibylline oracles, re-edited and enlarged by a Christian author, it certainly has no place in the canon.

This hypothesis was first proposed by Vischer, while a student in the theological class of Professor Harnack. It was at once adopted by Harnack; and so soon as it was made public it gained the consent of Schürer, Dillmann, and many other of the best critics of Europe. Some of our readers will ascribe this to the German fondness for novelties. But those who understand German scholarship, and recognize its thorough, scientific spirit, its ardent pursuit of truth for its own sake, and its freedom from the fetters of traditional prejudice, will rather conclude that there must be some strong reasons for the new theory, and will give it serious examination.

The Apocalypse has been the theme of numberless works which are scattered through the Christian centuries, but these have been either commentaries or expositions of its visions in the light of Christian History. After all, the general opinion among scholars has been that its key has not yet been found. If Vischer has found the key, he is entitled to the thanks of the Christian world, even if we must remove it from the canon.

Recent studies of the Apocalypse have placed it in an entirely new position in its relation to the other books of the New Testament. It is so different in style and doctrine from the other Johannine writings, that the old view that it was written by the apostle very near the same time with the Gospel and Epistles is untenable. The only way to save the Johannine authorship is to put it at a considerable period earlier than the Gospel, in order to leave time for the doctrine of the Apocalypse to grow into the theology of the Epistles and the Gospel.

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* TEXTE UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ALTCHRISTLICHEN LITERATUR. Von OSCAR VON GEBHARDT und ADOLF HARNACK. II. Band, Heft 3. DIE OFFENBARUNG JOHANNIS. Eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung. Von EBERHARD VISCHER, mit einem Nachwort von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1886. See also DIE OFFENBARUNG JOHANNIS KEINE URSPRÜNGLICH JÜDISCHE APOKALYPSE. Eine Streitschrift gegen Herren Harnack und Vischer. Von DANIEL VÖLTER. Tübingen: J. J. Heckenhauer, 1886.

There are more features of resemblance with the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistles of Peter and James than with Paul or John ; and yet there are so many Pauline elements that Vischer thinks that the Christian author who worked it over belonged to that school. And then there are certain elements that resemble the Gospel and the Epistles of John which justify, to some extent at least, the theory of the Johannine authorship. But, after all of these relations to other writings of the New Testament have been conceded, any one who has studied the pseudepigraphical literature of the Jews will find more features of resemblance with these extra-canonical apocalypses than with any or with all of the writings of the New Testament.

It is only in recent years that these apocalypses have been studied by critics, and it is not unnatural, under the circumstances, that those scholars, who have done the most in this department of work, should recognize those features of resemblance between the Apocalypse of John and the other apocalypses, and ask the question whether this Apocalypse has not shared the fortune of all the other apocalypses, and whether this does not explain the difficulties that have enveloped it. Harnack tells us that when he first read the Apocalypse in the light of Vischer's theory the scales fell from his eyes, and difficulties that had appeared insoluble were at once resolved.

This, then, is the strength of the new theory. It seems most natural that the one apocalypse that has found its way into the New Testament should have had the same fortunes as the one apocalypse that was admitted to the canon of the Old Testament and the many Jewish and Christian apocalypses that were current in the early Christian Church, two of which are cited in the Epistle of Jude, one of which is quoted by Papias as giving the teaching of Jesus, and others of which are used by the Fathers on a par with the Old Testament prophets. It is highly important that the Apocalypse of John should be studied in these historical relations. The new theory forces us to make the comparison. The question must be considered whether the Apocalypse of John differs from those other apocalypses to a sufficient extent to justify their exclusion from the canon while it assumes a unique place therein. The theory of Vischer is certainly favored by the history of these other apocalypses, and it was to be expected that specialists who had devoted their attention to these would approve the new theory. There are other arguments that re-enforce this presumption. These must be overcome by stronger arguments, or the theory of Vischer will win the day. We propose to test the theory by the principles of the Higher Criticism, without regard to the views that have thus far prevailed in the Church. Christians have nothing to fear from the truth, and exact methods ought to be their delight.

(1) If the Apocalypse is to be divided between two authors, these ought to show *differences of language*. This line of argument is avoided by Vischer, on the ground that the original Jewish Apocalypse was written in Hebrew, and that it was translated by the same hand that re-edited it and enlarged it, and that therefore the words and phrases are the same. The only arguments for a Hebrew original are the number of the beast, which may be explained from Hebrew letters, and the occurrence of Hebrew words with their Greek equivalents in two instances. We cannot accept this avoidance of this line of argument as justifiable. If the greater part of the Apocalypse be a translation from the Hebrew and the lesser part an original Greek composition, criticism ought to be able to present sufficient evidence for it in differences in words and phrases. A translator will, so far as possible, reproduce the words and phrases of the original, and these will differ from his own favorite words and expressions. A translation will also lack the ease and grace of an original. Vischer was bound to justify his theory at this point and show the linguistic differences between the

translation from the Hebrew and the Greek writing. In that he proposes the theory of translation as an explanation of the lack of linguistic differences, he admits his inability to furnish the evidence required at this point. The theory of a translation from the Hebrew seems to us to demand greater linguistic differences than two Greek originals. Indeed, the words and phrases of the two parts of the Apocalypse, as proposed by Vischer, are in remarkable agreement. It will suffice to mention the rewards of the faithful in the Epistles to the seven churches, assigned by Vischer to the Christian author, which recur in identical words and phrases in the rewards of the blessed in chapters xx.–xxii. in the parts assigned by Vischer to the Jewish author. This line of evidence of the Higher Criticism counts against the new theory.

(2) The new theory was bound to show differences in *style and methods of composition* between the two authors. This line of argument Vischer also avoids. He attributes the Epistles to the seven churches to the Christian author and the other groups of sevens to the Jewish author. If we compare these groups we find that the method is the same. The groups are parallel. The first group of seven does not present the appearance of a copy of the others. It is the freshest, the most original and powerful of the groups. It is, indeed, the basis for the explanation of the others. Its teachings pervade the Apocalypse more than the teachings of any other groups. The other groups have their parallels in the Jewish apocalypses. The first group is unique. This originality of the first group and its correspondence in method with the other groups strongly favor the view that the same author has made it the first and the basis of his groups of sevens. Another striking characteristic of the style of the Apocalypse is the frequent recurrence of little hymns. We have observed that half of these hymns go with the supposed Jewish part and half with the supposed Christian part, the latter being much the finer and stronger. This is a very singular result of the analysis of Vischer, and it counts strongly against his theory. There is no such difference of style and method between the two parts as the new theory demands.

(3) Vischer does not present any differences in *historical situation* to justify two different authors. We could hardly expect that the Jewish author and the Christian editor and elaborator should be so near in time, that such differences would not appear, especially in such a rapidly changing period as the last half of the first Christian century. Harnack evidently saw this gap in the argument, and tries to stop it. In his brief "Nachwort" he separates xvii. 11 from xvii. 9, 10. The latter he ascribes to the Jewish author who knew of but seven emperors, and who must have written in the year 68, just before the destruction of Jerusalem. The former he ascribes to the Christian author who knew of eight emperors, and was obliged therefore to add this verse in explanation. He must have written in the reign of Domitian. Thus Harnack fixes the time of the composition of the two sections with remarkable precision. It seems to us that he might have given his pupil this hint, and set him the task of inquiring whether the two writings show any other traces of this difference of date. The world could have waited a few months until Vischer had completed this line of investigation. If Harnack and Vischer can prove this difference in date of the parts, the theory will be accepted. But even Harnack can hardly expect that his ingenious analysis and explanation of xvii. 9–11 should be accepted without confirmatory arguments. Many critics have studied the Apocalypse, and they differ greatly as to its date. The older view made it date after the destruction of Jerusalem. But most modern critics think that it was written prior to the destruction of the city. If part of it were written before and part after, this ought to be disclosed in more places than one, for the destruction of Jerusalem was to Jew and to Christian an event of immense importance. We have re-read the Apoca-

lypse in the light of this new theory and in view of Harnack's opinion as to difference of date, and we have not been able to discern such a difference of historical situation. Furthermore, the difference of date assigned by Harnack is too short to explain the fascination of the Christian author with this supposed Jewish apocalypse and his work in re-editing it, explaining it, and enlarging it. The historical argument counts against the new theory, and Harnack's attempt to overcome it only shows how greatly Vischer has sinned in neglecting this field of inquiry.

(4) We have already intimated that there are many lines of connection between the Apocalypse and other writings, canonical and extra-canonical. These lines need a thorough investigation, as Harnack states in his "Nachwort." This would have been a profitable task for his pupil. His new theory required that he should undertake it, for it presents evidence that has a great deal to do with the validity of the theory. Thus the dependence of the Apocalypse upon the Gospels of Matthew and Luke is clear, not only in the matter common to them, but in the matter peculiar to each of them. This is especially the case in regard to the eschatological discourse of Jesus, which is to our mind the key to the Apocalypse. This dependence is found not only in the so-called Jewish parts, but also in the Christian parts. It is true that much of the common material in the Jewish parts may be regarded as the common property of all the apocalypses, as they are all alike based upon Old Testament prophecy. But even here a careful comparison shows a much closer resemblance to the discourse of Jesus than to the Jewish apocalypses. We are well aware that Vischer follows some recent critics in the opinion that even the discourse of Jesus is the elaboration of an earlier Jewish apocalypse. But the evidence for this is extremely slender, and it can hardly be assumed with propriety in discussing the Apocalypse of John. The Apocalypse of John and the discourse of Jesus agree in their pure and genuine development of Old Testament prophecy, and they contain none of those conceits and extravagances that are so characteristic of the extra-canonical apocalypses. The dependence of the Christian parts of the Apocalypse upon the discourses of Jesus in the Synoptists is no less striking than in the Christian parts, and this common dependence betrays a common original. How could the supposed Jewish author be so dependent upon the words of Jesus? It is impossible to maintain the theory from this point of view without the theory that all the parts of the discourse of Jesus upon which the Jewish section of the Apocalypse depends also belonged to a Jewish apocalypse. The relations to the Jewish apocalypses in the so-called Jewish part are certainly very numerous, but these do not indicate an earlier stage of composition than the Christian part. If there is any argument here it rather reverses the chronological order, for there are many features of resemblance with the apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch which belong to the second Christian century. The argument from citation and use of other writings counts against the new theory, so far as any evidence has yet been presented on this subject.

(5) There remains but a single line of argument in favor of the new hypothesis—namely, the argument from *difference of doctrine.* We admit that this is ever the strongest line of evidence. But it must be very strong indeed to overcome the arguments derived from the other lines of evidence. Here is the line of battle for the new theory. It will stand or fall here. Vischer separates the Christian parts from the Jewish parts with little difficulty. With two or three exceptions, we must admit that provided the theory be the true one, the Christian parts are just where we should expect to find them. We also admit that Vischer and Völter have both of them by their Higher Criticism rendered great help to the Lower Criticism, and have indicated a number of passages where the text should be amended by the removal of certain words or expres-

sions that have crept into the text in the process of transmission. But these are side issues, and do not determine the correctness of the theory. Vischer admits that the Christian author has been very conservative in dealing with the Jewish original. He found it suited to his purpose, and has given us almost all of it. As Harnack says, a Christian who allowed vii. 1–8 and xi., xii. of the original to stand, would not be likely to have stricken out much of it. He appropriated the whole of it, and if there was anything in it inconsistent with the Christian doctrine of the first and the second advents, he certainly did not see it.

But just here we must express our agreement with Völter in the opinion that Vischer could not with propriety ignore the Introduction and Conclusion of the Apocalypse as he has done. He assigns chapters i.—iii. to the Christian author, without committing himself on the question, whether the introduction to the Jewish original is not in part contained in chapter i. But this is important to know. What shall we do with i. 7? It gives the *text* of the entire Apocalypse, the theme that pervades the whole. It is derived from the words of Jesus in Matthew. This would seem to force us to assign it to the Christian part, were it not for the view of Vischer that a Jewish apocalypse is embraced in the words of Jesus. If it belong to the Jewish author, how are we to explain the correspondence with it in the parts assigned to the Christian author? It presents such a great difficulty in the way of the new theory, that it was unpardonable to neglect it.

Furthermore, the title of the Apocalypse ought to have been explained. How could the Christian author embrace a Jewish apocalypse and his own additions to it under the title *Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δουλοῖς αὐτοῦ*? It was also necessary to consider xxii. 18, 19. Vischer assigns xxii. 6–21 in general to the Christian author, but leaves out of consideration the objections that spring therefrom against his theory. Verses 18, 19 pronounce a curse upon any one who adds to the book or takes from it. If this belonged to the Jewish original, the Christian editor would hardly have retained this curse upon him for everything that he had done. If they belong to the Christian author, what sort of a conscience must he have had to pronounce a curse upon any one else who should do with his work precisely what he himself had done with the work of another?

When now we compare the Jewish and Christian parts as analyzed by Vischer, is there any such difference as to prove difference of authorship? Vischer claims that two entirely different views run along side by side in the Apocalypse, the one essentially the same that we find in the Jewish apocalypses, the other entirely Christian. And Harnack says that there are two pictures of the Messiah, the one the Messiah of victory and judgment, whose birth is expected, the other the Lamb who has already appeared and redeemed the nations by his blood. Is there any such contrast as this? We think not. We agree with Völter, that after all the admittedly Christian elements have been removed, there remains nothing that a Jewish Christian could not have written. There is no inconsistency whatever between the two conceptions, any more than there is between Jewish and Christian in the compound Jewish Christian. We freely admit all that is common between the Apocalypse of John and the Jewish apocalypses. The common material is much greater than any one has as yet supposed. We are not suprised that the early Christians esteemed many of the latter as inspired writings. There is so much of genuine prophecy in them. It is true that they are pseudonymes, but this does not in the least detract from their value. Those pious enthusiasts who devoted themselves to the study of prophecy without the aid of inspiration, yet followed the lines drawn by the Old Testament prophets, and thus were able to reach many of the same conclusions that we find in the inspired prophecy of the New Testament. We should not be surprised at this.

But granting all that can be fairly demanded in this regard, we find a simplicity, a power, and a grandeur in the Apocalypse of John which exalts it above the extra-canonical pseudepigraphs and ranges it with the Old Testament prophets, with the discourses of Jesus and the Epistles of Peter and Paul. Even the Jewish part as left by Vischer and Harnack transcends the apocalypses with which they compare it so far that one would be surprised not to find the Christian points, the Christian climax, the Christian consummation. It agrees so far with the eschatology of Jesus, Peter, and Paul, that we expect it to agree still more, and it is precisely this that we find in the Christian parts that have been excluded. The Apocalypse is the work of a Jew who had become a Christian, of a man who had been saturated with Old Testament Prophecy, who knew the pseudepigraphic apocalypses of his countrymen, and who yet had the higher guidance of the word of Jesus and the inspiration of God. The Apocalypse of John is thus the climax of the prophecy of the Old and New Testaments.

The citadel of the new theory is its exposition of chapters xi., xii. Chapter xi. gives an account of the testimony of the two witnesses, their death, resurrection, and ascension. Vischer claims that the common Jewish opinion expected Moses and Elias as precursors of the advent of the Messiah, and that the Christians did not have any such expectation with regard to the second advent. Elias had already appeared—John the Baptist. This argument is plausible, and yet not altogether convincing. It is true that we find this expectation in the Jewish apocalypses. But it is more explicit in those of the second Christian century than in the earlier ones, and is based more upon Persian theology than on the Old Testament Prophets. It is true that these witnesses have striking resemblances to Moses and Elias, and yet they are expressly identified with the lampstand and olive-trees of Zechariah, which are in closer connection with the high-priest Joshua and the prince Zerubbabel. These witnesses are, indeed, symbolic figures, comprehending many biblical features, and they are not presented as precursors of the advent at all. Vischer's exposition of the passage is altogether false. Besides, he insists upon a literal application of the city to the old Jerusalem, and is obliged to erase "*τῆς μεγαλῆς ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἰγυπτος ὁπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη*," which gives the Christian editor's view of the city, and brings out the symbolism in its heaping of epithets. He is also obliged to erase the beautiful hymn in verses 17, 18. Those who decline Vischer's interpretation of the chapter will hardly agree with him in regarding it as the work of a Jew who was looking forward to the first advent of the Messiah.

The real core of the problem, however, is in chapter xii., in the birth of the Messiah of Mother Israel. Vischer and Harnack insist that the scope of the Apocalypse limits it to *future* events, that a Christian author could not therefore go back to the birth of Christ, that he could not ignore his life, his death, and his resurrection, and limit himself to his birth and ascension, and represent the latter as immediately following the former; that chapter xii. is dependent upon chapter xi., and that, therefore, the birth of the Messiah is announced by the seventh and last trumpet. These arguments are extremely plausible, and taken together they appear to be strong, but they rest upon certain presumptions that are altogether false.

(*a*) This document, according to the theory, passed through the hands of a Christian editor; how could *he* have left the life, death, and resurrection of Christ unmentioned? He would have supplemented the Jewish original here, as well as in other passages, if he had thought it necessary or important. If the Christian editor did not find it difficult to omit these things, why should an original Christian author have found difficulty?

(*b*) The scope of the Apocalypse is confined to the future, but that did not prevent the author from seeking a basis in the past when it was necessary to

explain the future. It seems to us that the Christian author was compelled to refer to the birth of the Messiah, in order to explain his ascension, and to refer to the ascension, in order to explain the conflict in heaven upon which the expulsion of the serpent from heaven and his persecution of the Church on earth depended. But he does not dwell upon the birth and the interval to the ascension, for this very reason, that it was sufficiently well known to his readers, and had nothing to do with his present purpose. It was sufficient to give the birth and the ascension of the Messiah which included all the rest. It is not the method of the Christian author in the supposed Christian parts to do more than make very brief allusions here and there to the death of the Messiah. We find just such a reference in verse 11, but this is stricken out by the authors of the new theory. According to this theory, the Christian editor ought to have written more, or else less. To our mind the reference to the birth of the Messiah corresponds with the reference to the death of the Messiah, and is just what we should expect of a Christian author of the entire chapter.

(*c*) The scope of the Apocalypse is to make the first advent merely incidental to the second. The suffering Messiah is referred to only incidentally throughout the Apocalypse. The reigning and judging Messiah fills the author's mind. The Epistles to the seven churches do not lay any less stress upon the Messiah of Judgment than the other groups. They do not contain any more references to the historical Messiah than the other sections. Taking the chapters as they stand, the historical Messiah is less prominent in the Epistles of the seven churches, which are supposed to be Christian, than in the second group, that is supposed to be Jewish. The only way to overcome this conspicuous fact is to strike out all references to the Lamb in the second group as editorial additions. But the Lamb does not appear in the Epistles to the seven churches at all. He first appears in the group of the seals, and if he is eliminated there who is to take his place? This forces to another conjecture, that the ἀρνίον is a mistake for the Hebrew אֹרִי, which seems to us to be merely slipping out of a difficulty.

There is no such difference between the two figures of the Messiah as the new theory claims. The differences do not appear where we ought to find them, and these differences where they do appear are nothing more than the common New Testament distinction between the suffering Messiah of the first advent, and the victorious and judging Messiah of the second advent. The Jewish apocalypses have the second, but Christian apocalypses have both.

The new theory does not bear serious examination. The principles of the Higher Criticism are against it. It is a premature birth. If the authors had retained it longer for critical examination, they might possibly have strengthened it. It is probable that they would have abandoned it. It will call to a fresh study of the Apocalypse in its historical relations, and will therefore be of service to Christian scholarship. But in its present form it certainly does little credit to the critical judgment of Harnack, and impairs his reputation for scientific criticism.

C. A. BRIGGS.

New York City.

VIII.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT'S LETTER TO ARTHUR HILDERSHAM ON THE STUDY OF DIVINITY.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT was the father of Presbyterianism in England. He has left many valuable printed works. There are also a number of MS. writings of some importance in the British Museum and at Trinity College, Dublin. We published one of these in Vol. VI. of this REVIEW (pp. 101 sqq.) The letter which we publish below I discovered in Trinity College Library, Dublin, among the manuscripts of Archbishop Ussher. It is important for its picture of the studies of a theological student in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Arthur Hildersham was an eminent Puritan minister, the author of not a few important works. He was a pupil of Cartwright. The letter is the advice of a teacher to his pupil. The MS. is difficult to read, and is in parts obscure. There are not a few quaint expressions and unusual uses of words, and there are several words not to be found in the dictionaries, making the letter interesting to philologians as well as to theologians. It was kindly copied and afterward collated and annotated in proof for me by Mr. T. French, of Trinity College, who has thereby earned the thanks of all who read the letter.

C. A. BRIGGS.

Thomas Cartwright's letter to Mr. Hildershame for the Studye of Divinitye.—Ms. C. 3.10 *Trin : Coll : Dublin.*

GRACE and peace fro[m] God our father and from our lord Jesus Christ I see not my brother wher in you have ned of my pardon my desertes are not such towards ether you or the Church as could procure any obligation of a thankefull letter from you, much les cast you into forfiture for a foorestoed letter. As for that wher in you make so earneste a sute unto me I confes that I in the comon love wher with our Savior Christ hath loved us both and put us in trust with the ministerie of his holy word you have intereste to require that at my hand which for love sake you had rather thus bashfully to intreate for. If ther be any fault with you it is that by a letter painfully and carfully written you have as it were taken a longe journey to fetch water wher it is not to be had, for though the lord hath in greate mercy exempted me from the number of those cloudes which promising rayn throught ther lightnes wher by they are scattered by the wind, yeeld no mosture at all, yet I must in the conscience of

mine own weakenes confes that my lott lieth amongst those which doth teach the simple and unlearned and as it were to furnish of somnecessarie moisture the valles and low groundes contented with less raine, and not to be a teacher of the teachers themselves, as one that were able with liberal and plentifull showres to watter and make frutfull the hilles and mountaines: I see not with standing what reply my profession in the universitie some tyme giveth you against me, in this behalfe. But I think you se also how the lords speedie displacing me from thence was a warning unto me to make my provision for a lower place wherby it is easie for you to understand that the thing which semeth of some difficultye unto you semeth tharder unto me wher in I my selfe would be glad ether to learne of him that would teach me or to learne with him that is desirous to confer with me. I confes I have ben longe upon the waye but goeing as it were in the night tyme without any light of order or method which you seke for what direction can I give to them that shall aske the way of me. besides that it pleaseth the lord so to dispose of me that I am fitter to tell you the way from one towne to another cittie, and frome countrie to an other kingdome then to re solv you of your demand and tho I write to you is not as though I ment by a longer day taken to get some advantage to over come the difficultie to the which as to a thing above my reach I never stretched forth my hand, but rather that when by silence I saw my selfe like to com into suspition ether of inhability or arrogancy I might by confession of the les avoyed the greater. as that which will stricke deep into my ministrarie for the rest I am well contented that there be that opinion of my skil which removing me from the highest forme of the learnedest and exquiste teachers leveth me yet a place amongst those that may use some frutefull labour in the lords worke howbeit not fearing but that through my long silence I have driven you to enquire of som skillfuller guide I may now with les danger of hindering your good speed write in few wordes unto you what I think in this matter. for wherein I agree with your lords man you should in a fuller perswasion of being in the right way travell with better courage and wher I shall mislead you, your direction shalbe at hand to keep you from danger of wandering. And this I doubt not wilbe agreed betwen us that the studye of the scripture it selfe which for some yeares as you write hath worthyly shut forth the studie of all bye writers that profes ther attendance upon, it shal kep his prehemnence stille that the studie of no other writter how frutfull soever shal shut forth som daily reading and meditation therin. for whether soever you goe out of the Paradice of the holie Scriptures you shall in the best groundes met with thornes and thistils of which you are in danger to be pricked yf you carre not the forest bil of the lords word wher with to stub them and grub up, nether is ther any so free from evil eares when you go from the holsome and sweet brethes of the lord garden wher you are not in som peril of infection unles by som forereceit of the words next your hart, (as y^t were) you stop the plage against it. Now the Bible being continually to be studied it may be dubted whether the old or new testament is principally to be laboured in: that for being the foundation of thother, and of greater capacite of doctrine to the

decidinge of all maner of controversies ; or this for the plainess and light of those pointes which are of greater use in christian religion : for me I think and (*sic*) equal study of them is comended unto us not only by the things wher in the resemble ech other but also by thos thinges wher by they are one, most unlike unto an other Therfore it is not amiss so to carrie our selves towards them that as they are the tow brestes alike *melche* so they may be also drawen alike coures by coures, and one after another : And as the studie of them all is to be preferred before all others so I would esteme it there are some bokes of them which require oftener and more attentive reading then other som more speciall attendance then other ether for ther necessary and genrall use, or els [which] ther difficultie may more justly procure them. In the first kind are the bookes of Moses and especially the booke of Deut. the fountayne of the rest of the Scripture and wherewith all the prophate after Moses even the last of the Apostles themselves have watered ther gardens The bookes of Joshua which even in that part of it which seemeth to be of the lest frute is very frutfull as that which is the Topography almost of the whol bible next unto it foloweth the storres which bring a singulor light unto the profetes by comparison of the state and goverment of every tim with the exhortations and rebukeinges of the prophetes that prophecied in the same and especially of that gover ment toward the which the prophet was by calling more particularly directed as to Juda sometimes and sometymes to Israell wher the bookes of the Kinges serve the prophetes which executed their minesterie unto the Captivitie : Esdras and Nehemiah carrie the torch unto those which wer after, the bookes of the Cronicles particularly with the prophetes of both tymes. Among those which for their difficulite (*sic*) require more attention and which will not so easely be acquainted with unles they have more suit mad unto them, some are hard for the matter which they handle as are the bookes of Daniel Ezekiel Zacharias, or throng of much matter in few wordes as are in the old testament the poetical bookes wherin (no doubt the versses hath caused some cloude.

And amongst them the proverbes from the 10 chapter which besides the difficultie that the poesye drawethe withal even by little professe some farther obscuritie unto thes may be aded the prophecy of Hoseas which semeth to cary a sma[t]ch of his old age in the shortnes of his speche applied as much as might be to the measure of his breath where of ther semeth also to be some steppes in Ecclesiastes written in Salomon's later dayes. I suppose also amongst those ther is some further degree of paines to be taken in everie one of them as they are of longer receit of doctrine then ther fellowes. In which number I account the bookes of the psalmes the proverbes and the epistal to the Romanes. And although it be long or ever a man can fall into any familiar acquintance with them yet are they not like the proud and quoy dances which contemne their sutores as those that beinge written in the spirit of humblenes be open to them that seeke to them in the same spirit, And albeit they speak somwhere as it were but halfe a word, yet being much about them and accustomded often to talke with them, wee shall as the hand mayds which giv their continuall attendance upon their mistris even by a beck understand their mean-

inge. But if the tyme seem longer or ever they take us in* as it were to their privite chambers the fruite of their† neare acquaintance is so ritch as will easilie recompence all our travel and attendance. In the writteres which have digged to discover this treasure unto us, howsoever other have digged deeper and with more knowledge of this golden minerall then other som : yet when you remember the de[e]‡pes and heights of thother ; when you remember that the foote of no living thing hath troden upon it : nor any bird soer it never so highe, and have it never so quicke an eye hath sein y^{t} it will not be needfull to put you in remembrance of the saying of our Savior Christ that you take no man to be your father or Rabie§ heer upon the earth, nor that you bind your judgment in these thinges as it wer apprentice to any man, nor to suffer your eare to be naylled to the door of any mans private interpretation considering that the privilege belongeth only to the holy men of god which spake and wrote by the holy Spirit of god and whom god hath given to be his publicke notaries and recorders of his good pleasure as whom he did sitt by and as it wer continually held their handes whiles they were writing. As touching thordere of reading them : I thinke the newe writeres are to be red before thold for that we understanding by them what sutes thes are depending betwene us and oure adversairies of all sortes, we my both the better know what evidence is layd up in the monumentes of thold writeres ether for us or them and make our note acordingly : likewise the freindes and favoreres unto the truth are to be red before thadversaries to thend that our vessels being fore seasoned with the truth thother corrupt lickores may be so contayned in us as they may not by cleaving to us hurt us : which admonition hath the princepal use in the new writeres the falshood of thold being for the most part laid forth together with their confutations. And every part of these in their severall times to be red with observation of the tymes wher in they wrote. In the writeres of both times neue and old wher som labour the knowledge of the word by interpretation of it either generally by commentary comonplace wise or perticularly in confirming or confuting certaine special pointes which the circumstance (?) of tyme giveth occasion of, other som comitt to memorie ether the persons or thinges that are of anie speciall note in the Church. I esteme that these later w^{ch} story the Church matters are first to be red according to ther times that is the later stores before the‖ other later writers and thauncient stories before the ancie[n]ter writers wher of the reason is apparant ynaigh that the stories may be well understood without the other writers wher they cannot be understood without the stories, now in what choise and in what order they ought to be red which are generall of the whol churches and which are particular I remember ther is a very profitabl treatise written by John Phrigius unto the which I would think y^{t} you might resort for your better dirrection I would also esteeme that the

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* This word is written above the line by a later hand,

† The word is "the" with "ir" added above by a later hand.

‡ This e is added above in a later hand.

§ Thus in original hand ; a later has put a second b above and struck out the final e.

‖ In a different hand.

cõmentaries should be red before the other workes for that by them the holy Scrip[ture] from whence al sound knowledg is drawen to judge of al doct[rine] is made more familiar unto us, and also for that they having their the rule befor their eyes to drawe a right interpretation by they are like to square it out better then when they did not so directly and so norowly looke therunto w^{ch} I understand especially of the nue and old greek writers, who as they were inferiuer to the latines in the soundnes of certen doctrines so seme they much more religuous and simple in commentinge uppon the Scripture then they whose commentaries for the most part, I would think a man might without any great hindrance spare the reading of farther then upon particular ocasion, heer and ther. And in this part, if it were to me I would content myself amonge the newe writeres with Mr. Calvin who performeth of all other y^{t} that other wher he of him self profeseth, that a man in reading his expositiones taketh this bennfit, that for the shortnes he useth he departeth [not] far from reading of the text it self. Although I would also for exxcellent lerning read Oecolanpadius likewise for singular and much reading M^{r} Martyr saving that (as) his cõmentaries are rather comon places then comentaries so are they by Monnseir de la Fountone very fietly as it wer marshalled in their proper place, and theirfore amongst the comon places to be red. Amongst the Greekes I hold Chrysastom to have the crown of all, who besides his interpretation is another Apollos and furnished the pulpit better then any that I remember to have red. Next unto the contraries [commentaries] followe the comon places wher in the whole bodie of the doctrine of the gospell is professed to be taught that seeing the knitting and joyning of one part with an other wee might be the beter able to iudge of them when they are by treateses a part dismembred and severed one from another, and also the easier discover al macching them with such as they have no nyghtbourhood or correspondence with. heer you are not ignorant what place is given to Calvins institution to M^{r}. beza his confestions Melancsttions comon places Amongst the Adversaries after the master of the sentences and Aquinas Hosaus Canisius seem to carrind [? have carried] the bell In the rest of the writinges I thinke the coñcels and canons have the first place as those which* being mad with greater assistance carrie the most creadit with them wher with all understand thelder they are the farther they are from coruption which notwithstanding is not alwaies so in the ancient writers apart, especially if these be ther workes which are fathered of them howbeit for the greeke fathers they seme all worthie the reading for the traces of greeat learning which are to be seen in them so far as I have red of them even ther wher the some [? sum] of divinitie of many leves may be brought into a few pages. yet is Gregorye Nazianzen for his profound knowledge sur named the devine & for the latine doctores Tertillian howsoever towards the later end he stained him selfe : yet his adge and the greate readinge he was of maintained his credit so in the church that Cypriain asking for his workes would call for his master Cypriain also for his singular pietie hath ben alwayes reverenced and

* Above in later hand.

ought so much more to be amiable as he with the whole African mi[ni]sterie both be fore and after kept more steppes of the Apostilick disceplin then the other Bishopes did wher uppon the doctrin also (so long as they keept themselves free from the heresies of their time) was pur[er] then the other were Hilares bookes of they trintie are very wel written In Ambrose Augustin and Jerom their epistles those especially that are not base born seen [? seem] to be amongst the flowre of the works But Ambrose and especially Austin in their warlike writinges as they are termed are saving in a point of Baptisme against the pelagian at gretest peace with the truth yet now I remember Austins bookes de civitate dei are of al other thevident seales of his learning and especially of his much reding contrawise Jerom with his heat is osted out of his thinges* and declareth how true it is that anger worketh not the wil of god and therfore is to be taken heed of especially when hee hath an adversarie conserning the newe writers. I need say no farther considering that herin you may gather what I thinke by my Judgment of their comentaries and comon places suing that Luther both for his noble service in the worke of the Gospel as also for the pregnancie of his witt shold not be passed bye for other faihous [famous] men of our time as Bucer and Calvin hath in a maner taken that w^{ch} is the fattest in them as I thinke M^{r} Colvon himselfe somewhere confesseth and therfore need not so much but by occation to be red and none of this also need but that it mor nedfull for me to yeld† to your honest request in answering somthing then profittable for you not receving that which you wer in hope of And it is so litell that If M^{r} Fild had in your behalfe pressed it out I suppose I should have taken further day of writing any thinge in this matter therfore I desire that it may remain with you as a letter [ ] man‡ in the secrecie of your own bosom or eles let it smel of the fire that you can read my good affecction it is enoughe I crave no favor for it and as with my hartie comendations unto you I comend your and yor godly stuidies to the gracious both direction and blessing of the lord our God in Jesus our Savior I pray you commend me harttily to Romolds and all other the godly bretheren to whom you thinke my comendations wilbe gretefull.

Your most lovinge frend,

THO. CARTWRIGHT.

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* The word originally was "livinges." This is stroked out, and the word "thinges" written in the same hand.

† It was first hold and the h was corrected to y.

‡ The letters m a n are most distinct, but the first part of the word is not readable. I think, however, it was intended for "*remain*" mentioned just before.

IX.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE ALLIANCE OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

The next council of this body will be held in London from the third to the twelfth of July the present year, and the executive commission, appointed to act in the interim, has been actively engaged, in both its sections, the British and the American, in making provision for the meeting. The services are to be held in Exeter Hall, a building which by virtue of its numerous apartments, its reading-room and restaurant, as well as its large place of assembly, all under one roof, is well fitted for such a conference. The attendance, it is thought, will be large, and the arrangements, modified in view of former experiences, will be such as to give more room for debate, and allow a more general expression of opinion on the subjects brought before the body. Hence there is reason to anticipate more direct and practical results than followed from the Councils of Edinburgh (1877), or Philadelphia (1880), or even Belfast (1884). Indeed, it would be strange were the case otherwise, for in all such matters much of the first work done can be only provisional and tentative. It requires time to bring counsel as well as action to maturity.

The Alliance may well awaken the attention and interest of all in any way connected with any of the bodies represented in it. Its usefulness can hardly be overrated, while, as it neither claims nor desires any legislative power, there seems to be no reason for apprehending any danger from it. It is a great matter that already through its agency the different branches of the Reformed, holding the Presbyterian system, so widely scattered through the four quarters of the globe, have become aware of each other's existence and character and situation. Hitherto such knowledge was confined to a few, and even by them was not very distinctly held; but now the presence of living representatives from each of these bodies, furnishing fresh and authentic evidence of their faith as formulated, their position, their aims, and their works, has given a mighty impulse to the sense of Christian fellowship in the larger communions represented, and at the same time imparted no small encouragement and stimulus to those of smaller size. Not a few ministers and a multitude of laymen have been surprised to learn that there are on the globe sixty-six different churches, all of which claim a title to the historic name Reformed, and maintain the parity of the ministry. These, of course, represent many races and employ various languages, but they are practically one in symbols and in polity.

The Alliance also promotes the true idea of the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, which is what is really desirable among the followers of Christ. It wastes no time or effort upon questions of organic union, with the agitations and heart-burnings which such questions engender, but seeks simply recognition, fellowship, co-operation, and sympathy. Nor is this merely talk. Words that are nothing but words rarely amount to much. The words of the Alliance have a direct practical aim. This is to canvass all points of common interest, to gather useful information, to compare methods, to bring to light the peculiar experiences of each body, so that thus a solid basis may be laid for legislative action by those to whom such action belongs. The very fact that a Council does not pretend to exercise authority, but confines itself rigidly to recommendations, and is even somewhat chary of these, gives the largest liberty of speech, and ensures a free interchange of opinion. And this consulting together on great subjects—for there is no room for small and narrow themes—greatly promotes the feeling of unity by accustoming all parties to dwell more upon the points in which they are agreed than upon those in which they differ. However opinions may vary upon certain topics, the underlying conviction becomes yet stronger that all the Reformed are essentially one, and that this fact should be emphasized and brought conspicuously to the front on every proper occasion.

The usefulness of the Alliance has been signally illustrated in the matter of co operation in Foreign Missions. This subject has been before every council ; it has been considered by large and influential committees ; it has been matured in formal papers and reports ; and already the blessed fruits have begun to appear. This does not mean that the missionaries themselves have been thus influenced. They did not need it. A true servant of Christ when face to face with a hoary and gigantic pagan system is ready to join any other servant of the common Master. The mischiefs of divided counsels in such a conflict are so apparent that, with or without instructions from home, all on the field are prompt to work together just as far as they possibly can. It is, or rather has been, different in this country. Many undoubted friends of the cause cherished misgivings as to the result of any closer union than what already existed. Here the discussions, reports, and communications of the Councils have been of great service. The fact of their undenominational origin gave them access to the attention, the respect, and the confidence of thinking men. The result has been a great and widespread change of opinion. It is generally agreed that the various branches of the Reformed should have but one church in a heathen land, and that this church should have its autonomy, its own ministry, its own symbols, and should develop in accordance with its soil, climate, and people under the leadings of Providence. Hence the extraordinary action of the missionaries in Japan, taking such a huge step in advance of all that had hitherto been contemplated as to union, met with a hearty reception from all the parties concerned ; and it is now regarded as a settled thing, and one that is to furnish a pattern that is at least to be aimed at in all other similar fields. This result, this prompt response of the Church at home to the Church abroad, seems to be largely due to the influence of the calm, patient,

wise, and fraternal deliberations set on foot and maintained from year to year by the Alliance.

Apprehensions have been felt and sometimes expressed that there is danger to doctrinal soundness, because some of the bodies represented in the Alliance have diverged somewhat from the doctrines of grace which have always constituted the distinguishing and glorious feature of the Reformed. The correctness of the fact alleged it is not proper or needful to canvass here. But even if the fact be admitted, it may be urged that so many of the larger bodies hold fast with such an unrelaxing grasp the time-honored inheritance from Paul and Augustine that one may much rather expect that their quiet influence will tend to bring the others into line with themselves than that the masculine theology of the Reformation should be in any degree weakened or compromised. There may be, doubtless there will be, improved modes of statement; but for substance of doctrine the faith of the fathers will prove as immovable as the eternal Rock upon which it was founded.

Once more, the Alliance is in harmony with the spirit of the age, which is very far from being in this respect the same with the *Zeit-geist* of Rationalism. The marked tendency of the present generation is for all assimilated churches to draw more closely together. This is seen in the Pan-Anglican Synods held at Lambeth and in the Œcumenical Conferences of Methodism, the first of which was held at London in 1881, and the second it is proposed to hold in 1891 at some point in this country. These movements are wise in themselves, as promoting strength, courage, and fellowship in the several constituencies, and of happy omen in furthering the arrival of the day when the different branches of Protestant Christendom, while allowing for each other's peculiarities, can yet so arrange their action as to present a common front to the foe, and also avoid friction, intrusion, and waste in their endeavors to occupy their own country and other lands for Christ. And surely such a result must be a pleasing subject of contemplation to every pious heart, and one therefore to which all true followers of our Lord will wish a hearty God speed. What has been done in the last thirty years warrants bright hopes for the future.

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UNION ON THE MISSION FIELD.

A strong Union sentiment prevails at the present time in nearly all Protestant churches, and has borne valuable fruit, especially among Presbyterians and Methodists. We can point to several auspicious unions already accomplished, and it has been clearly demonstrated that churches with an honorable history may cease to have separate existence, and yet the cause of Christ gain rather than lose thereby. The progress and the happy effects of Union have been well illustrated in the United States and the British Colonies; and while equal results have not yet been achieved in Britain itself, the Union forces are obviously working toward happy consummations.

It were impossible that the spirit of Union should be strong enough to accomplish what we have witnessed in the Home Churches without the question of Co-operation and Union on the Foreign Mission Field coming forward for earnest consideration. Missionaries, almost without exception, are advocates of Union ; and in no part of the Church's work do our divisions seem more reproachful than in our efforts to overthrow false religions, and rescue men from the terrible moral degradation of heathenism.

The subject of Co-operation and Union in the Foreign Missions of the Reformed Churches came before the first General Council of the Alliance, which met in Edinburgh in 1877. At the two subsequent meetings of the Alliance it was carefully considered, and a real impulse was given to the good cause. Men's hearts were warmed and expanded with the consciousness of a wider brotherhood, and powerful words were spoken in favor of Union both at home and abroad. Steps were taken to ascertain the views of the churches in the Alliance on Union and Co-operation in Foreign Missions, as well as upon some other related matters. With not an exception these churches reply in favor of co-operation, and with hardly an exception in favor of organic Union of Mission Churches in countries occupied by churches of the Presbyterian order. This general reference to the history of the question must here suffice, but every friend of Union will regard the situation with thankfulness and hopefulness.

Union, as we here speak of it, has reference to native churches raised up by different denominations of Presbyterians on the same Mission field ; and the question is, Should these work separately on the foreign field, each Church claiming its own converts and organizing them apart, or, should missionaries of the several churches work together and build up *one* Mission Church, as in Japan ?

There are, of course, fields occupied by churches, British and American, which are remote from other missions, as in some parts of India. In relation to such fields the question of Union may in the mean time be of less practical importance ; but there are other fields where several churches are operating, with stations intermingled or contiguous. In such instances weighty arguments can be urged on behalf of Union, and not very much that is entitled to serious consideration can, we respectfully think, be said on the other side.

1. The duty of practising economy in the expenditure of missionary resources is a reason for Union. The churches should, of course, send forth more men and contribute more money than they are doing at present. But no increase of agents or of funds could justify the want of economy in the use of them. We are bound to employ to the utmost advantage the means and instruments with which the Lord has entrusted us. In working separately, whatever care may be taken to avoid collision, and even to render acts of mutual courtesy and helpfulness, greater expenditure would be necessary in carrying on our operations. Our experience of Union and of Disunion on the home field amply illustrates and enforces this consideration. Every one knows cases in which our home Unions have enabled us to work more economically, and,

without diminution of efficiency, to devote to new objects funds which were saved at certain points.

Should it be replied that this argument goes further than the application of it here made, and would sanction still more extensive Union in home work, we shall not maintain the opposite, nor regard the argument as the less sound on this account. There may, however, be especial difficulties, historical and otherwise, which stand in the way of Union at home; these do not exist in the foreign field, and need not be imported; so that there is little to detract from the force of the argument here presented for Union in Mission work. Let us do for our Lord the most we can with all that is committed to our stewardship.

2. There is obvious advantage in placing the Christian religion before the nations free from our divisions. Division and separate interest on the part of those who are presenting a new faith will naturally be more or less a hindrance and stumbling-block in the way of those whom we would win for Christ. Though denominations of Christians do seldom, if ever, oppose each other on the Mission field, their presence side by side, with distinct organization, cannot commend the common faith to those who are totally ignorant of it. We know too well the use which the Church of Rome makes of Protestant divisions. Rome says: "Agree among yourselves what the true faith precisely is, and then offer to us the religion for which you wish us to exchange our own." There may be nothing in this objection to Protestantism, but it is often urged with too good effect. Heathenism is not always as subtle as Popery, and in the absence of conflict among missionaries, little attention may be called to the fact of our churches working separately; but we do know that, in some instances, our divisions are cited against us, and the very argument of Romanism, with all its exaggeration of our diversities, employed by heathen against the Gospel. Now we should, as far as possible, keep this weapon out of the hand of the enemy; and in the encounter with the terrible forces of paganism the Christian religion should not unnecessarily be placed under any disadvantage.

3. Union on the Mission Field would tend to cheer and encourage our missionaries. As a class, missionaries are pre-eminently advocates of Union. We see the instinct of the missionary in the conventions for counsel and sympathy which are held from time to time, as in India. But in complete Union opportunity of sympathetic and helpful conference would be still better provided. Those who have felt the joy of Union at home can well understand how brethren far from home, and continually in presence of a dismal and depressing heathenism, need that joy, and would value it even more than we can.

4. In some instances the churches which work side by side on the foreign field are *different* churches simply because their headquarters are in different countries; they are so near each other in everything of consequence that they would not be separate were they in the same country. Were the adherents of the Church of Scotland, or the Free Church of Scotland, or the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland transported in a body to the United States of America, would they not unite with the churches on this side the ocean rather than set

up another Church? Why, then, should churches almost identical seek to establish separate churches in India or China? As long as these Mission Churches are locally distant from each other there may be no serious evil; but as they expand and approximate in the great countries, the semblance of reason for separation would disappear. Whether separation can be fully justified, even at present, seems doubtful.

We do not know any satisfactory answer to these reasons for Union. It has been said that union in Mission work would prevent us from teaching our distinctive principles, and that the Truth would thus suffer. If the Reformed Churches are bound so to propagate their peculiarities on the Mission field as to forbid their working together and uniting their converts in one Church, nothing more can be said. Very reluctantly, it seems to us, should churches at one in all the doctrines of the Gospel, and substantially at one in their polity, come to this conclusion. In this large agreement we surely find an adequate basis for the fellowship of those, at least, who have just been turned from idols to serve the living God.

We are supposing that the churches in question are evangelical, and are really teaching the great Gospel truths. Should they, then, from the first indoctrinate converts in their distinctive principles or differences, and count these so important that, in presence of heathenism, they must organize separately for the maintenance and diffusion of these principles? Holding it indisputable that every man should be absolutely faithful to his convictions, and should seek even in less momentous things to have truth prevail, we must yet say *No*. We cannot here consider whether such differences as those in question—differences as to the relations of the civil and the ecclesiastical, as to details of worship and of administration, etc.—justify separation at home; for even if they do, it does not follow that Mission Churches should be organized apart on these grounds. We have no hard thing to say of brethren who think otherwise; we can only pray that the Spirit may be so poured out upon churches at home, and upon their work abroad, that all hindrances to the evangelization of the world which come out of our divisions shall speedily and utterly vanish away.

Another objection to Union on the Mission field is, that our people would be less interested in foreign work, and would less zealously support it, were we not in a position to point to the distinct and separate results accomplished by their own branch of the Church. But we refuse to think so poorly of the piety of our churches as to imagine that any great importance would be attached to this consideration. If Christ is honored in the entire work, is not that sufficient to stimulate the zeal of his loyal followers? Besides, we should no more be ignorant of what is achieved in a united mission by the labors of the missionaries sent by our own Church than we are ignorant of the prosperity accorded to this or that congregation, through the labors of this or that servant of Christ, in the Church at home. Let us not lean too much upon "the flesh."

Nothing is here said about the missions of Churches not Presbyterian. If divisions must exist on the Mission field as on the home field, there are plenty

of them, though our Presbyterian Churches should work together. The time for advantageously considering the question of *wider* Union may not yet have come. Organic union with non-Presbyterian Churches may not be practicable, though in regard to these our churches will bid them God-speed, will avoid all collision with them, and will study helpfulness and co-operation in all legitimate ways.

William Caven.

Toronto.

THE ONE HUNDREDTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

By appointment of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the One Hundredth General Assembly will be held, with special services, in the city of Philadelphia, on the third Thursday of May, 1888, and the year closing at that time will be devoted to the preparation of historical papers in connection with the several Synods, Presbyteries, and the numerous congregations of the Church, and especially to efforts for the endowment of the great literary, benevolent, and missionary institutions of the Church.

By special invitation the Southern Presbyterian Church was invited to share in the services of commemoration. It has accepted the invitation, and joint exercises are to be held. In our opinion a grave blunder was committed in neglecting to invite the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which also has a common interest with us in the General Assembly of 1788, from which it is no less a legitimate descendant than the two churches that have resolved to meet together. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church will be greatly missed by a large section of our Church, and their absence will mar the commemoration.

It is eminently fitting that this occasion should be used for a thank-offering, and that this thank-offering should be devoted to the endowment of the great interests of the Church. It is also a wise policy for the Centennial Committee to limit their special efforts to the raising of one million dollars for the endowment of the Board of Ministerial Relief. The most serious defect of our American Presbyterianism is its neglect of its own ministry. The Church needs very greatly a scheme of sustentation that will provide a method by which the feeble churches may be aided by those that are wealthy or in comfortable circumstances. The scheme that was zealously presented some years ago was not sufficiently adapted to the conditions of our country; it was too closely modelled after the method of the Free Church of Scotland, and therefore has been a failure. But this failure ought to teach us lessons that will make a second attempt a great success. The One Hundredth General Assembly could do no better work than to undertake such a task. In the meanwhile the Board of Relief should be handsomely endowed. It would be better that they should receive two million dollars than the one million that has been proposed. Nothing should be done by any other institution to withdraw attention from this scheme, in which all ministers are deeply interested.

The chief interest in the One Hundredth Assembly is historical. It gives an opportunity for a review of one hundred years of the history of American Presbyterianism. This century is not so interesting or eventful to the student of history as the previous century, in which American Presbyterianism was founded and shaped by the heroes of our Church ; but it has its own peculiar features of interest. We propose to give some reflections upon the history, and draw some lessons therefrom.

One of the first things to attract attention is the great increase of the Church. In 1788 there were 16 Presbyteries, 177 ministers, and 419 churches. These have increased, according to the Minutes of 1887, to

Presbyteries.	*Ministers.*	*Churches.*	
201	5,654	6,436	Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.
69	1,116	2,236	Presbyterian Church in U. S.
119	1,563	2,540	Cumberland Presbyterian Church.
389	8,333	11,212	Total.

This seems to be a very flattering increase, and yet when we compare it with the marvellous increase of the population of the country, and the vastly greater increase of the Baptist and Methodist-Episcopal Churches, we are constrained to inquire why American Presbyterianism has allowed itself to fall so far behind these other denominations and its own splendid opportunities. There can be no doubt that at the close of the previous century Presbyterianism was the dominant factor in the religious life of the Middle States, as Congregationalism had the control of New England. But Presbyterianism and Congregationalism have both lost their supremacy in this country.

This failure on the part of these two great Puritan bodies which shaped the early history of the United States and influenced to so great an extent their political constitution is due, in my judgment, chiefly to two reasons : (1) The inadequate supply of educated ministers and (2) the expenditure of strength in unprofitable doctrinal controversies.

It is a marked feature of American Presbyterianism that it has never been able to supply a sufficient number of educated ministers. All through the eighteenth century repeated appeals were made to the Presbyterian Churches of Great Britain for ministers ; and although a considerable supply was received from these sources, it was altogether inadequate. The Log College was erected by the Tennents to supply this defect ; but unfortunately it became the occasion of strife and division. A considerable party in the Presbyterian Church have always been willing rather to let the outlying districts suffer from a lack of ministers and go without the Gospel, than to give them a ministry without a full education. The consequences of this policy have been disclosed in the history of the American Churches. During the separation between the Old and New side, the side that insisted upon no preaching except by an educated ministry gained only four ministers during the period of separation, while the side that pursued a more liberal policy made the most rapid advance that has ever been made in the history of American Presbyterianism, increasing from

20 ministers to 72. Nor did it neglect to educate its ministers, for it established the College of New Jersey, which has been a fountain of blessing to American Presbyterianism throughout its history. Within the present century the Cumberland Presbyterian Church separated for similar reasons, and its rapid increase in the first half of the century was due to the same cause. The fields belonging by historic right and by the class of emigrants to the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, but which they could not supply with an educated ministry, and refused to supply with an uneducated ministry, were at once occupied by the Baptists and Methodists, and these denominations reaped the fruits of their wise policy and self-sacrificing zeal.

I would be the last one to advocate an uneducated ministry, or to lower in any degree the requirements of our standards and of our customs for ministerial education. Our theological education ought to be still further advanced, and more should be required of theological students rather than less. But I am convinced that it is of the first importance that the simple Gospel of Christ should be preached to the people, and that this must be accomplished in the best way that is practicable. If we cannot find a sufficient number of educated ministers, we should not hesitate to use pious men who are less well equipped for their work. It is evident that if the Presbyterian Church had adhered to the policy of the Tennents, it would have retained its mastery over this country. When the Reunited Church departed from that policy it forfeited its great empire, and gave it into the hands of the Methodists and the Baptists.

Any one who will examine the Minutes of our General Assembly will be convinced that the American Presbyterian Church is unable at the present time to educate a sufficient number of ministers. If the supply of ministers and the preaching of the Gospel in our own churches depended upon the ministers educated in our own theological seminaries, the Church would be in a wretched condition. During the past year 188 young men were ordained to the ministry, and 88 ordained ministers were received from other denominations. It is true that 38 ministers were dismissed to other denominations, but this leaves a gain of 50 to us. During the past six years our church has received from other denominations 441 ordained ministers, and ordained only 937. The Minutes of 1887 show a loss by death of 130 ministers and a gain in churches of 155, and ministers of 108. The graduates from all our seminaries were 194. Many of these graduates belong to other denominations, who attend Presbyterian theological seminaries on account of the well-known thoroughness of their theological instruction. It is evident that our seminaries do very little more than supply the places of the dead. There ought to be at least 150 more students in our theological seminaries at the present time to supply the needs of the Church, if it do not grow. But taking into consideration the sure growth of the Church ere these young men can complete their studies, it is clear that the supply of theological students in our seminaries is 200 less than it ought to be. I grant that there are serious objections to the present methods of giving aid to students in their preparation for the ministry. If any better methods can be adopted, we should not hesitate to use them. But it

ought to be evident to any one who takes a survey of the entire field, that it is the interest of the Church to aid the young men to complete their studies as soon as possible, so that their services as effective ministers may be secured. The two, three, or four years added to the time of preparation by the necessities of self-support would doubtless in some respects be better for the ministers; but, in fact, the Church cannot afford to do without their services for these years, and in its own interest must help them to rapidly complete their studies and go forth into the mission field. The One Hundredth Assembly would do well to appoint a committee to consider this whole subject.

The other cause for the failure of American Presbyterianism in reaching its ideal and maintaining its supremacy has been the conflict about doctrines. It is now commonly conceded that these conflicts have been unprofitable. The very fact that the Old and New School came together, after a long period of separation and conflict, without compromise, on the basis of the common Standards, without giving up any differences of opinion on these doctrines, and with a mutual recognition of the right to differ on these questions, is sufficient to show that the separation itself was a very great mistake. It retarded the progress of Presbyterianism in America. The Southern branch of the Presbyterian Church was the first to see the evils of separation, and to accomplish a reunion of the Old and the New School. It was not long before the Northern branch followed their example.

There are differences of doctrine in the American Presbyterian Church. There have been such differences from the beginning, and they will continue until the end of time. These differences are recognized in the original Adopting Act of 1729 and by the Constitution of 1788. American Presbyterianism is by nature broad, catholic, and generous. It embraces all the legitimate types that were developed in the history of British Presbyterianism, and it has combined them in its own type of American Presbyterianism. The American formula of subscription is a model of its kind. It points the path in which all the British churches must walk in their revision of their formulæ. The American formula binds the subscriber to the Westminster system, and does not tolerate any departure from that system. At the same time, it does not bind to the letter of the statement, or every detail of the statement, or, indeed, to anything that is not essential to the integrity of the system.

There are those who would insist upon strict subscription to the letter of the Standards, if they could do so. But these are often the very ones who are least able to subscribe to the Standards in their *historic* sense. They claim the right of logical deduction and of private interpretation—a right that cannot be conceded; for the Westminster Standards, like the Bible and all historical documents, must be interpreted by the grammatico-historical method. Those who insist upon a strict subscription to the letter of the Standards are guilty of violating the terms of subscription no less than those who crave more liberal terms than the formula allows. The subscription binds on the one side, and it protects on the other. It binds the minister to the Westminster system, and it protects him from the imposition of extra-confessional doctrines and the

hobbies of theologians or ecclesiastical demagogues who may gain a chance majority in an ecclesiastical body. It binds the Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies no less than the minister. These bodies cannot make new doctrinal definitions or exact anything of their ministers beyond the terms of subscription to the Standards. Any infringement of the rights of a minority or of an individual in this respect is a violation of the Constitution of the Church, which would be rebuked by the civil courts of our nation in case of appeal to them. The Constitution of the American Presbyterian Church guarantees the right of free discussion and statement of all doctrines that are beyond the range of its own definitions, and are not essential to the integrity of the Westminster system. If there is one lesson that the history of the past one hundred years has taught, it is that American Presbyterianism should avoid the path of intolerance and division, and pursue catholicity and union.

The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States is not so much a constitution that marks the limits of legislation. It is rather a *Code of Law* which cannot be increased or diminished without the consent of two thirds of the Presbyteries. The ecclesiastical bodies have no power to add to this Code of Law in any other way. Their functions are not so much legislative as executive and judicial. They may make executive *Acts* such as are necessary to carry into effect the Code of the Church. They may make judicial decisions in connection with trials of cases, and they may also make deliverances of opinion. The Minutes of the General Assemblies are covered with deliverances on all sorts of subjects, which, if they were meant to be a part of the law of the Church, are altogether unconstitutional and void, and if they were designed merely as deliverances of opinion, confuse the minds of the people and the majority of the ministers, who are unable to make the distinction in authority between the several kinds of items that pass the Assemblies. It is to be feared that the General Assemblies are burying the Standards themselves under a mass of heterogeneous deliverances, some executive, some judicial, and some that seem to be legislative as well as advisory. It seems to me that the One Hundredth Assembly would do well to appoint a committee to digest the Digest, and remove from it all matter that does not properly belong there, such as obsolete deliverances, some of them contrary to the present opinion of the Church; some of them, as the deliverance on the invalidity of Roman Catholic Baptism, contrary to the Standards themselves; and still more of them upon matters where there is considerable difference of opinion in the Church. It would be a great gain if they could all be blotted out, leaving nothing in the Digest but judicial decisions and executive acts, which alone have authority, and are binding upon the ministry and the churches.

The Synod in 1788 adopted a Constitution that is sufficiently extensive, embracing the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Form of Government and Discipline, and the Directory of Worship. That these documents are all embraced in the Constitution is clear from the final action of the Synod:

"Ordered, That Dr. Duffield, Mr. Armstrong, and Mr. Green be a Committee to superintend the printing and publishing the above Confession of Faith and Catechisms,

with the Form of Government and Discipline, and the Directory for the Worship of God, as now adopted and ratified by the Synod, as the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."

The fact that the minister subscribes only to the Confession of Faith and the Form of Government and Discipline does not exclude the Catechisms and the Directory from the Constitution ; and yet there can be little doubt that many ministers, who are more familiar with their ordination vows than with the Adopting Act of the Synod, do not regard the Catechisms and the Directory as so much a part of the Constitution.

In looking back to the action of the Synod in adopting the Constitution, two things impress themselves upon us : (1) What great liberties the Synod took in the matter of revision of the Standards before adopting them as the Constitution, and (2) what liberties the Presbyterian Church has taken in its attitude to the Standards during the one hundred years past.

(1) There are few who apprehend to what an extent the Synod of 1788 revised the Westminster Standards, and how greatly our Constitution differs from that of the Presbyterian Churches of the Old World.

(*a*) The Westminster Confession was revised in chap. xx. 4 by omitting the phrase, "*and by the power of the civil magistrate,*" and chaps. xxiii. 3 and xxxi. were entirely changed.

(*b*) The Larger Catechism was amended in Question 109 by striking out the clause "*tolerating a false religion.*"

(*c*) The Shorter Catechism was not changed.

(*d*) *The Form of Government and Discipline* was so thoroughly revised that it is a new form rather than a revision. I have before me a copy of the original edition as it was adopted by the Westminster divines, and also a Scotch edition of 1788, the very year of the American revision. A comparison discloses very radical changes on the part of the American Synod. I shall give but a single specimen. The original document reads under the head of :

Of the Officers of the Church.

"The officers which Christ hath appointed for the edification of his Church and the perfecting of the Saints are some extraordinary, as apostles, evangelists, and prophets, which are ceased. Others, ordinary and perpetual, as pastors, teachers, and other church governors and deacons."

The American Form reads :

"I. Our blessed Lord at first collected his church out of different nations and formed it into one body by the mission of men endued with miraculous gifts, which have long since ceased. II. The ordinary and perpetual officers in the church are *Bishops* or *Pastors ;* the representatives of the people, usually styled *Ruling* elders, and *Deacons.*"

It is clear that very serious changes were made here in the doctrine of the ministry : (1) In neglecting to specify the extraordinary officers that have ceased, the question was left open which these were ; and although there has never been a difference of opinion in the American Presbyterian Church as to the fact that *apostles* and *prophets* have long since ceased, yet there has grad-

ually arisen in the Church a different opinion with regard to *evangelists*. The Westminster divines represented that these passed away with the apostles and prophets, and have no place in the present ministry of the Church. And yet there are efforts in many parts of the Church at the present day to recognize the evangelists as a distinct kind of ministers, and to magnify their office. But there is another no less serious difference in the doctrine of the ordinary officers of the Church. The Westminster divines included teachers among them, and gave this class of officers a separate treatment, in a section of the Form of Government, between the sections on pastors and other Church governors. This was also the method of the Scottish Book of Discipline. But the American Synod blotted this all out, and removed the Doctor from the list of ordinary officers of the Church. A third change of considerable importance is in the substitution of the name *Ruling Elders* for the Westminster term *Church Governors*. In this connection there is the insertion of the phrase "representatives of the people," which is the introduction of the American republican idea of the eldership in place of the Westminster theory, which represents them, equally with the pastors, as "appointed by Christ." It is significant that the American Synod left out this phrase, "appointed by Christ," when they inserted the phrase, "representatives of the people." This section will suffice as an example of the liberty that the American Synod took with the venerable Westminster document.

(*e*) But the greatest changes were made in the *Directory for Worship*. Here the order of topics was changed, and the whole greatly compressed and modified in many particulars. I shall give a few specimens. I think it was wise that the following section was omitted :

"It is requisite that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the Scriptures ; and ordinarily where the reading in either Testament endeth one Lord's Day, it is to begin the next." But the following section ought to have been retained : "When the minister who readeth shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended."

There are several omissions in the directions for public prayer and administration of the sacraments, among which we may mention : "To pray for the propagation of the Gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations ; for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, the fall of Antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord." "That children, by baptism, are solemnly received into the bosom of the visible Church, distinguished from the world and them that are without, and united with believers." The prevailing neglect to pray for the second coming of Christ, and the error that infants of believers are born into the visible Church, might have been prevented if these sections had been retained.

The change in the form of administration of the Lord's Supper has tended to lower views of the sacrament. The words : "*Take ye, eat ye ; this is the body of Christ, which is broken for you ; do this in remembrance of him,*" imply a higher view of the sacrament than that now prevalent in the Presbyterian

churches of America. The Westminster Directory made the Long Prayer begin with Confession of Sin. The American Directory makes Confession the third topic, and gives Adoration and Thanksgiving as the first and second topics. These examples will suffice to show what great changes were made in the *Directory for Worship.*

II. We shall now briefly state some of the changes that have taken place with reference to the Standards during the past century.

(*a*) At the last General Assembly an amendment of the Confession of Faith was consummated by the removal from xxiv. 4 of the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. It would not be difficult to point out other matters in which the American Presbyterian Church has changed its mind. But it is the general opinion that there is peril in constant revisions of the Confession of Faith, and that our terms of subscription are broad enough to cover the most, if not all, of these cases.

(*b*) One of the most remarkable things in Presbyterian history is the neglect into which the Larger Catechism has fallen. It is the most mature and the fullest expression of the faith of the Westminster divines in many respects. It was the most carefully prepared of all the doctrinal standards, and yet it is little used and, indeed, little known among ministers and teachers.

(*c*) On the other hand, the Shorter Catechism, which was hastily prepared, after a large number of the ablest divines had died or left the Assembly, has become the favorite doctrinal standard. And yet it is short, and often ungarded in its definitions. It tends to a sterner Calvinism than the Larger Catechism on account of this brevity and conciseness, and in many cases needs to be put in the light of the Larger Catechism.

(*d*) *The Form of Government and Discipline* was entirely revised a few years ago in its second book on Discipline, and in its first book on Government it has been revised at different times in several particulars. But a more radical revision will soon be required, in view of the proposed union with other denominations. These changes will probably—some of them at least—be in the direction of the older document, which is at once more comprehensive and flexible than the American revision. In view of union with other denominations, it might be wise to at first set our own house in order. There can be no union unless we come to the Westminster plan of Synodical Representation ; and if we are to recognize the different customs of the Reformed bodies and of some of our Presbyterian denominations, we will be obliged to give up the territorial principle in the organization of Presbyterians, and allow some liberty of choice so far as the connection of ministers and local churches with Presbyteries, and possibly even synods, are concerned. Another change should be made erelong in the direction of the Presbyterianism of the Old World—namely, the removal from the roll of Presbyteries of ministers without charge, so that the Presbyteries will consist only of the representatives of Church sessions or Congregational Presbyteries.

(*e*) The American Presbyterian Church has taken the greatest liberty with its *Directory for Worship.* This was revised in 1886 by inserting a chapter "Of

the Worship of God by Offerings." But it is noteworthy that the Directory makes no provision for the modern Sunday-school, the Prayer-meeting, the Service of Song, women's meetings, and other such religious exercises in which the religious life of our people finds expression.

It is also evident that the *Directory for Worship* is not followed by a considerable portion of our ministers. They seem to have lost the feeling that the Directory is a part of the Constitution, and so all uniformity of Presbyterian worship has disappeared ; and no one knows what the order of worship is to be in any Presbyterian church he enters as a stranger. It will be necessary erelong to revise the Directory to correspond with the religious life of the churches, in order that it may have any importance in directing our worship ; for it is clear that the present neglect of this part of our Constitution is undermining the whole Constitution. The One Hundredth Assembly should take the *Directory for Worship* in hand.

I have raised a number of important questions that should be fairly and squarely discussed. Presbyterians should not only meet in Philadelphia for congratulations and glorification of Presbyterianism, and for the raising of large endowments, but there are also important lessons to be learned from our history, such as will enable us to avoid the mistakes and errors of the past, and such as may guide us to a better policy and more efficient methods, that the next century may in every respect be more fruitful.

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X.

REVIEWS OF

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE BIBLE-WORK: THE OLD TESTAMENT. Vol. I., Genesis, Chap. I., to Exodus, Chap. XII. From the Creation to the Exodus. Prepared by J. GLENTWORTH BUTLER, D.D. New York, Chicago, and London: Funk & Wagnalls.

This volume has six hundred and forty-seven pages, each page containing five inches by eight of printed matter. In other words, it is about as full as the Lange or the Pulpit commentaries on the same part of the Scripture. The paper and print are better than is usual in large commentaries.

Whether the reader of this commentary will find it satisfactory will depend on what he is seeking in a commentary. As a collection of the sayings of gifted men concerning the Bible or concerning particular passages in the Bible, it is superb. The larger part of the volume, in bulk, is composed of materials of this sort. The selections are mainly made not from previous commentaries, though these have been freely used, but from every department of literature. From a literary point of view, the selecting has been done with good judgment and good taste. Very likely it is the finest collection of the kind in existence. The Pulpit commentary is richer in homiletical literature, but the literature used in the "Bible-work" is of a much wider range, and, on the whole, of a higher order.

Let it be understood that this is no small praise to give to a commentary. If a man would study the Bible for himself, he must study it directly from the text, and not from men's comments upon the text. But next to the study of the sacred Word itself is the study of the reflection of it which shines from the minds of great and good men; and the study of this reflection is often a help in the study of the text itself. This volume is every way full of mental and spiritual stimulus. It is a storehouse of materials for illustration and citation. It is not mainly a book for closely critical students, though the most critical student may gather many a good suggestion from its pages. But the large majority of those who use commentaries are not closely critical students, but persons who may fairly be said to read rather than study. Some of them read rather than study because they prefer this course, and some because they suppose they have no time for any other course. For the use of all such, the good points in this volume are especially good, and its deficiencies are less important than they would be for the use of some others.

With so much said in praise of the book, it is no undue dispraise to say that one would seek in vain if he here sought for clear and intelligible accounts of the critical questions concerning the Pentateuch now before the Biblical scholars of the world ; or if he sought information as to the condition of the text, and the question whether the present text should be retained or emended ; or, generally, if he sought grammatical or philological explanations ; or if he sought clear and simple statements of primary facts concerning the recent geographical and archæological investigations that have thrown so much light upon these passages of Bible history. He will find all these things abundantly mentioned, it is true ; he will find the conclusions that some men have reached on some points, and the admirable remarks that other men have made on other points ; but he will find no adequate simple accounts of these matters, such as he, in his lack of information, needs, to enable him to understand and test the conclusions and appreciate the admirable sayings.

Again, the careful student, whether he be a beginner or an advanced scholar, will not find in this volume the kind of help he needs to guide him in seeking his own understanding of the text. The best editions of classical authors, prepared for use in schools, contain annotations that really help the student to the understanding of the author's meaning : explanations of grammatical or historical facts, with information as to how the facts may be verified ; cuts, maps, and plans, illustrating the topography of places where events occurred, or illustrating peculiar terms used, or other like points ; exact statements in regard to difficulties, and methods of obviating them ; and all these put into compact shape, so that the student can learn the statements of the notes and apply them. It is astonishing that simple, clear, trustworthy annotation of this sort has so small a place in our popular commentaries on the Bible. The "Bible-Work" is here no improvement on its predecessors.

In fine, this commentary, sought and used for what it is really worth, is of great value ; it is no severe attack upon it to say that if one looks in it for what is not there, he will be disappointed. WILLIS J. BEECHER.

NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS. With two Appendices. By G. J. SPURRELL, M.A., Late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. Pp. xii., 380. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1887.

This is a good book on a practical plan, and will be of great service to students. One who studied it thoroughly would not, indeed, be able to disregard commentaries, but would be in a position to deal with commentaries intelligently, on the basis of solid grammatical and critical acquaintance with the original text. Such acquaintance is the prime need in Biblical study. The author—Professor Driver's assistant at Oxford—presupposes a knowledge of the elements of the Hebrew language, and of its position among languages. At least the alphabets of the Arabic and Syriac are needed for a full appreciation of many arguments. But with this simple equipment one may take up the study of Genesis under the guidance of Mr. Spurrell's "Notes," and not only find one's self enabled to read the book in Hebrew with much satisfaction, but also make steady advance toward mastery of the language. Difficult points of morphology and syntax, of the derivation of words, of textual criticism, even of history and geography, are discussed with great clearness and brevity, with abundant references to illustrative passages from other Old Testament books, to grammars, commentaries, periodicals, and monographs, and, indeed, to all authorities likely to be accessible and useful to students. Questions of literary criticism are not examined in detail, but in Appendix I. the author states some of the critical views of the composition of the Hexateuch. Appendix I. treats of the derivation and meaning of the divine names, אֵל, אֱלֹהִים, and יְהוָה. The author, in his preface,

expressly disclaims originality, but he generally states to what one of the divergent or conflicting opinions which he cites with such fairness his own view inclines. We cannot accept all of his decisions, but the book is, in scope and method, most admirable. It does not, perhaps, always give to Assyriology quite its due prominence, though it by no means neglects it; one wonders, too, why no mention is made, in Appendix I., of Dillmann's treatment of the Hexateuch question at the end of his Commentary on Joshua; there are, however, few omissions like this. We commend the book warmly to theological students.

FRANCIS BROWN.

COMMENTAR ZUR GENESIS. Von G. W. GOSSRAU. Halberstadt, 1887; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 8vo, pp. 390.

The object of this commentary is to show that "Genesis is written by a single author, with a distinct plan and clear connection. This author was Moses, the leader of the children of Israel out of Egypt, their lawgiver and the mediator between God and Israel" (p. 31). It is written, of course, with direct reference to recent critical theories, although the author is constrained "to admit it as probable that Moses had written documents before him from which he drew." With the best will in the world to follow and applaud his argument, however, I must confess that I can do neither. His method is one too common now—to argue by means of exclamation and interrogation points. He gives the contents of each chapter in a paraphrase or summary, to which he attaches remarks giving his own views or the views of those from whom he differs. These latter are quoted at some length, and the interjected points are often the only answer. It is curious to observe that Dillmann and Delitzsch, neither of whom can be called radical in his views, are those who most frequently excite the author's ire. Even when he attempts to controvert their views by a distinct argument, the argument does nothing more than to point out an "unbecoming" expression. His own view is often difficult to discover. But when expressed it is distinctly literalistic. He holds fast, for example, to the literal six days of creation. He believes that the Flood was absolutely universal, and even goes so far as to suppose that the rainbow had never appeared until after the covenant of which it was made a sign.

As is well known, the difference in the use of the divine names is one of the standing arguments for the existence of different documents in the Pentateuch, and one of the criteria by which the analysis is made. Our author gives an extended table showing where the different names occur, and attempts to show that Moses purposely chose one or the other in accordance with the exigencies of the case. His theory on this point is not new, but as a new attempt to apply the theory to the facts, we may be excused for dwelling a little longer upon it. He says (p. 38):

"God's omnipotence is indicated by *Elohim*; *Jehovah* [so written always] is so called as the ever-unchangeable eternal Benefactor and Friend of mankind; hence as the Covenant God of Israel, who especially receives this people. While now in this first chapter the omnipotence of God is conspicuous, in the detailed description of God's care for mankind the writer adds to the name Elohim the name Jehovah, to show that the same almighty God has shown an eternal unchangeable love and truth toward man. . . . Could the narrator more concisely and more distinctly express what he meant?"

The question here asked might be differently answered; it might seem doubtful to some whether the union of the two names in Gen. ii. and iii. would convey to the reader all that is here implied. But granting that it would convey all, the difficulty is just begun, and this we discover as we endeavor to follow what Professor Gossrau says. For example, in chap. iv. 1 Eve connects the birth of

Cain with *Jehovah*, while in v. 25 *Elohim* gives her Seth ; in vi. 11, 12 *Elohim* sees the corruption of mankind, and tells Noah that he will destroy the earth ; in vs. 3, 5, 6 *Jehovah* grieves over the evil of men, and resolves to destroy them ; vii. 1, *Jehovah* commands Noah to make the ark, but (9 and 16) the animals go into the ark as *Elohim* commanded. This might be accounted for on the ground "that the anima's are not saved on their own account ;" but what shall we think when *Elohim* remembers Noah (viii. 1) ? In the first banishment of Hagar *Jehovah* hears her need, and the Angel of Jehovah speaks to her ; in the second, *Elohim* hears the voice of the lad, and the Angel of Elohim calls to her out of heaven. While *Jehovah* destroys Sodom, *Elohim* thinks graciously on Abraham and rescues Lot ; just the reverse ought to be the case according to the theory. *Elohim* blesses Isaac with riches ; *Jehovah* blesses Laban for Jacob's sake in the same manner. Rebecca prays to *Jehovah* for children ; Rachel receives a son from *Elohim*.

These instances are probably enough to convince any one that the argument will not stand the test. In fact, as a defence of traditional views concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch the book is a failure. Its sharp arraignment of the critics is occasionally of value. The author nowhere gives evidence of thorough scholarship, certainly not enough to justify him in adding to the already formidable list of commentaries on Genesis. H. P. SMITH.

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE TEXTGESTALT UND DIE ECHTHEIT DES BUCHES MICHA. Ein kritischer Commentar zu Micha. Von Lic. Dr. VICTOR RYSSEL, ausserord. Professor an d. Univ. Leip. Leipzig, 1887, 8vo, pp. 284. New York : B. Westermann & Co.

This critical commentary is preliminary to the exegetical treatment of the Prophet Micah, which is promised by the same author. It consists of two parts ; nearly two hundred pages are first devoted to the discussion of the text, based upon a minute and careful comparison of the Hebrew with the various ancient versions. If the complicated problem of Old Testament criticism shall ever reach a definite and satisfactory solution, it must be on the basis of such laborious and thorough investigations. For the present it is not so much a question of details as of primary and fundamental principles. The manuscripts, it is generally conceded, yield a uniform text. The most extensive collations thus far made have been comparatively barren of results. The deviations of the ancient versions, and particularly of the Septuagint, the oldest of them all from the Massoretic text, are almost numberless and often very considerable. How are they to be accounted for ? What conclusions do they warrant respecting the contemporary Hebrew text ? What help do they afford in correcting the text as we possess it ?

The wide divergence between critics in this matter is apparent from a comparison of the recent treatise of Cornill on Exekiel with that of Ryssel, now before us. With similar data, their conclusions are as far asunder as possible. Cornill finds occasion to make corrections everywhere, and, in fact, recasts the entire text. Ryssel, after minutely examining, point by point, every word or clause in the Book of Micah in which the versions depart from the Hebrew, finds that they seldom, if ever, justify any correction whatever ; and he expresses his belief that the same is the case in the books of the prophets generally. Even where there seems reason to suppose that the Hebrew is at fault, he claims that in most cases there is no resource but critical conjecture. The divergence of the LXX. from the Hebrew is much greater than that of subsequent Greek versions, not because the original text had in the interval undergone serious changes, but because the later translators adhered more rigorously to the *ipsissima verba* of the text before them than their predecessors had done. In numberless instances

critics have needlessly assumed a variant text of the original by the purely mechanical method of translating back from the version into Hebrew, without inquiring first whether the translator may not have purposely varied the expression, for the sake of giving a more adequate or a smoother rendering, or one more accordant with the genius of the language in which the version was made, or more closely conformed to a parallel clause or some reminiscence of a like passage elsewhere; or the translator may have mistaken the meaning of the passage or some of its principal words, or have given a conjectural sense where he was at a loss as to the true meaning. Errors of the eye or of the ear have often been assumed, which imply impossible Hebrew phrases and unaccountable negligence or ignorance on the part of the translators, when the phenomena can be more readily and satisfactorily explained otherwise.

Ryssel lays down the rule that no deviation in the version, whether in form or sense, which may easily have been due to the translator, should be laid to the account of a discrepant original. And further, that when it seems probable that a discrepant text lay before the translator, it does not necessarily follow that this is to be preferred to or even put on a par with the Massoretic text. It must still be tested by critical rules; it may prove to be a worthless variant, due to careless transcription. He finds but one improved reading yielded by the Targum—viz., iv. 13, "thou shalt devote" for "I will devote," where the other ancient versions concur with it against the Massoretic text; and yet even here it is questionable whether the translators have not merely united in altering an unusual form of speech, which nevertheless suggests a true and profound meaning. Among all the variants of the Septuagint he finds very few that are worth accepting or even discussing. He instances (p. 185) only iii. 6, וְחֶשְׁכָה, *darkness*, for וְתֶחְשָׁכָה, *it shall be dark*; iv. 14, שֵׁבֶט, *sceptre*, for שֹׁפֵט, *judge* (where few probably would be in inclined to follow him); vii. 12, where he thinks it "worthy of serious consideration," whether עָרֶיךָ, *unto thee*, should not be עָרֶיךָ, *thy cities*.

The second portion of the volume, comprising the last eighty-six pages, is devoted to a discussion of the genuineness of the text on internal grounds. He here again occupies what in Germany would be accounted an extremely conservative position, though he admits interpolations in i. 1, where he fancies that the kings named are inconsistent with Jer. xxvi. 18 and with the contents of the book; and in i. 10, "Declare ye it not at Gath," which he thinks inappropriate. He holds that ii. 12, 13 is the genuine language of the prophet; but its want of connection with what precedes leads him to suppose that it was spoken on some different occasion. He draws a like inference from imagined discrepancies in iv. 9–14. He regards Mic. iv. 1–4 as original with Micah, and inserted in Isaiah ii. 1–4 not by the prophet himself, but by the collectors of his book; also the words "Hear, ye people, all of you," as in their proper place—Mic. i. 2—but interpolated in 1 Kings xxii. 28 from the extraordinary conceit that the Book of Micah contains the prophecy uttered by his more ancient namesake. In regard to these transpositions, he quotes (p. 223) with approval the language of Dr. Cheyne: "It is becoming more and more certain that the present form, especially of the prophetic Scriptures, is due to a literary class (the so-called 'scribes' or 'scripturists'), whose principal function was collecting and supplementing the scattered records of prophetic revelation." He defends the genuineness of the words "thou shalt come even to Babel" (iv. 10), while insisting that they were not fulfilled in the sense intended by the prophet; inasmuch as from his "prophetic horizon" he must have expected the Assyrians to be the executioners of the judgment which he foretold. The captious objections of Stade and others to various other paragraphs and sections of the book are likewise minutely examined and convincingly set aside.

W. Henry Green.

ERKLÄRUNG DER KORINTHIERBRIEFE. Zweiter Band: DAS ZWEITE SENDSCHREIBEN DES APOSTEL PAULUS AN DIE KORINTHIER. Erklärt von Dr. C. F. GEORG HEINRICI. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1887. 8vo, pp. x., 606. New York: B. Westermann & Co.

The detailed results of Dr. Heinrici's exegesis of the epistles to the Corinthians have been, since 1881 and 1883, before the public in the (so-called) new edition of Meyer's "Commentary on the New Testament." The preparation of that work interrupted the completion of the undertaking now before us, the first volume of which, containing the exposition of 1 Corinthians, appeared so long ago as 1880. In the review of that volume which was published at the time in this REVIEW, the purpose and characteristics of the work were sufficiently pointed out, by which its publication alongside of the purely exegetical commentary in the Meyer series is entirely justified. Dr. Heinrici's motive, it will be remembered, is to seek a secure basis for the reconstruction of the life and surroundings of an apostolical congregation—the discovery of the forces which prepared the heathen world for and brought them to the Gospel, and the clearer apprehension of the struggles through which the Gospel conquered a place for itself amid the teeming life of the time. He rightly considers that the only sound way of coming to a realization of the *origines* of the gentile churches is to work carefully through the whole of these wonderfully rich epistles; to select out the notices which, to the superficial view, appear germane to the subject, and to build from them a picture of early Christian life and organization, he fitly characterizes as a making of Mosaics (they may even be beautiful Mosaics) out of broken bits of the rock of history, rather than digging down to the rock itself.

The reader of this commentary is not likely to be long in discovering Dr. Heinrici's eminent qualifications for the task he has set before him. His historical is matched by his philological equipment; and apart from its ulterior purpose, the commentary marks an epoch in philological exegesis, and is enriched on every page with a wealth of linguistic and other parallels from the later classics—such as Polybius and Plutarch, Diodorus and Dionysius, Ælian and Arrian—such as places it easily in the first rank of contributions to the study of the New Testament language. Some of the results of this work are gathered together in a valuable short chapter on *Das Sprachgut der Briefe* (pp. 594–604), which makes the mouth water for more. Here Dr. Heinrici teaches (in harmony with the general view) that Paul's language is not Hebraizing, but moves throughout within the boundaries of pure Hellenistic Greek; that although a coloring from his use of the LXX. no doubt is traceable, yet the true analogies with his speech are to be found in the later classical rather than in the Judaistic writings. Along with this chapter should be read its companion on the *Darstellungsmittel der Briefe* (pp. 573–578), where we may find a very suggestive study of Paul's use of language, which does full justice to its individuality and power, and insists that it finds no exact parallel among other Judæo-Greek literature, not even in the Book of Wisdom or Philo, but, especially in its mode of appealing to the moral consciousness, is most closely paralleled in the dialectic of the Stoics, particularly of Epictetus, who preached rather than taught.

There is a deep truth in this representation, which has been much too long neglected. No one will care to deny that it is from the writers of his own day, rather than from the Attic Greek of centuries earlier, that Paul's speech should be illustrated. But we may easily go too far upon even so plain a path; and with Dr. Heinrici all this is but a part of a more general contention which he does press at times decidedly beyond the centre of gravity. The significance of Dr. Heinrici's volumes lies in the reaction which they lead against the tendency which has long reigned to over-judaize the origins of Christianity, and especially its first beginnings on heathen ground. That the gentile Christian congrega-

tions, and even Paul himself, had their roots deeply planted in the Greek life of their day and grew and waxed strong out of its fecundity, is certainly true ; and Dr. Heinrici has done good service in reasserting it and illustrating it with such richness of material. But shall we, therefore, deny that Paul was a Jew and a Pharisee, and refuse to see the traces of his Rabbinical training in his life and writings ? Because there were points of contact between the Christianity which Paul brought to and proclaimed at Corinth and the teachings of the heathen eclecticism of the times (a most admirable sketch of which is given on pp. 557–565), shall we almost doubt whether all the tenets of the Corinthian Church were not imported from their heathen thought ? Because elements of the club-life of the Greeks found their way into and conditioned the Church-organization which Paul brought with him and imposed on the congregations which he founded, shall we shut our eyes to everything in the ordering of the gentile churches, except what may have come from the clubs, and even fill up what we do not know of the Church life from what we can dimly discover in the club-life of the times ? We cannot doubt that Dr. Heinrici presses his thesis too far in all these directions ; but we cannot fail to be grateful to him for emphasizing this side of the composite of influences that moulded the growth of the infant Church when planted among the heathen. He especially felicitates himself that his theory of the origin of the Church order (which he broached as early as 1876, although it is best known among us under Dr. Hatch's name), which points to the clubs as the source of much of its machinery of government, has received not only the negative support that comes from the abandonment of the thesis that the synagogue formed the pattern for the heathen churches by Holsten, Weiss, and Weizsäcker, but also much positive support from the investigations of Weingarten, Holtzmann, Hatch, and Harnack. The last word is not said as yet, however, in this controversy either.

Nowhere are the good sense and historical insight of Dr. Heinrici more apparent than in the conclusions which he reaches on the very vexatious introductory questions that beset the study of 2 Corinthians. The extreme license of exegetical and historical conjecture which critics of every school—from Weizsäcker to Godet—have allowed themselves here, are corrected by Heinrici's thorough and sympathetic exposition of what the apostle actually tells us of his own movements and the situation of the Church to which he was writing. He rightly identifies the evil-doer of 2 Cor. ii. 5 *seq.* with the incestuous man of 1 Cor. v. 1 *seq.*; he rejects the hypotheses of an intermediate visit and of an intermediate letter to Corinth ; he brings the time between the two letters down to five or six months ; and he assigns 2 Cor. to the autumn of 58. In all these points we hold him to be certainly right ; and we know little in recent exegetical literature more careful or more sound than his exposition of the passages of the epistle on which he bases these conclusions. The chief point in which we find ourselves out of agreement with his reading of the introductory problems concerns the relations of Timothy and Titus to the two letters ; and out of his determination of these grows all that we account erroneous in his view of the circumstances and purpose of 2 Cor. Dr. Heinrici holds that Timothy visited Corinth and brought word to Paul at Ephesus of the stress of the Judaising danger at Corinth, whereupon Titus was sent to Corinth on a mission supplementary to the first epistle, while the apostle fled with his companions northward, from the danger which now attacked him at Ephesus. But would not this mission of Titus be the equivalent of the intermediate letter which has already been rejected ? Whether Timothy reached Corinth or not on the journey mentioned in 1 Cor. we can never know. But the conditions of the problem appear to point to Titus as the bearer of 1 Cor., which was written not in the real quietude of heart that Dr. Heinrici supposes, but in a calmness which was as-

sumed for the occasion out of the apostle's love for his children (2 Cor. ii. 3 *seq.*). We need only to assume that Titus's mission was to bear the first epistle to reduce all confusion to order; and why he should have been chosen for this important mission Dr. Heinrici has admirably explained on pp. 55 *seq.*

The exegesis proper occupies no less than four hundred and seventy pages, and is as acute and suggestive as it is elaborate, often broadening into excursuses on important passages. It will not be possible to give specimens of it here, and this is the less necessary, as its chief results are already known from the volume in the Meyer series. Surely, however, Dr. Heinrici has wrongly decided against the genuineness of the section, vi. 14–vii. 1.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

LECTURES CHIEFLY EXPOSITORY ON ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. With Notes and Illustrations. By JOHN HUTCHISON, D.D., Bonnington, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner & Welford.

The general aim of these Lectures is that indicated in the Preface: "Encouraged by the favorable reception given to previous volumes on 'Our Lord's Messages to the Seven Churches of Asia' and on 'St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians,' I now publish these 'Lectures on the Epistle to the Philippians.' Like its predecessors, the book is chiefly expository. It is, indeed, more strictly so than they. While, however, as distinguished from a mere series of pulpit homilies, it professes to be a commentary, it is one in which the course of the apostle's thought is not only carefully traced, but also to a certain extent applied." These words outline a type of expository lecture treatment which is becoming more and more characteristic of the evangelical pulpit of our time. On the one side, the lectures form what is substantially "a commentary," as distinguished from a series of detached pulpit homilies, suspended on an exegetical thread. On the other side, it is a commentary in which prominence is given to the "application" of the annotated thought.

There are obvious liabilities connected with this plan. On the one side is the danger of following too exclusively the exegetical bent, burdening the text with the details of abstract criticism, being carried away by hermeneutical will-o'-the-wisps, or being drawn aside into the polemics of disputed passages. On the other side is the liability of sacrificing the exegetical to the practical, of drifting into the platitudes of so-called edification, and, if not of disregarding the apostle's course of thought, at least of overlooking some of its important links, while unduly magnifying others. To steer between the Scylla of scholastic pedantry and the Charybdis of homiletical discursiveness requires the exact balancing of the exegetical and the practical interest, the harmonious combination of the instinct and temper of the commentator with the method and stress of the homilist.

Dr. Hutchison realizes in admirable measure this equipoise, and his book is to be welcomed as a substantial addition to our expository literature. The exegesis is scholarly, independent, and thorough; while the application is pervaded by unction, earnestness, and spirituality. The author is, indeed, fortunate in his book. As he himself recognizes, the Epistle to the Philippians more readily, perhaps, than any New Testament book, lends itself to the treatment here bestowed upon it. Its structure is simple, its style familiar, its tone affectionate and urgent, its contents for the most part not too ponderous for effective practical treatment. The lecturer happily adapts his pace to that of the apostle. His discussion of the weightier passages, and especially of the Christological passage in chap. ii. 5 f., is full and satisfactory. But especially in the unfolding of the more purely personal and perceptive passages his sympathetic insight,

clear discriminations, felicitous illustrations, and earnest appreciation of the noble and affectionate temper of the great apostle as reflected in this unique and fascinating production of his mind appear conspicuous. The literary form of the work is fine. Special points of interest or difficulty are briefly treated in a series of Notes and Illustrations at the close. It goes without saying that the work is based on the Revised Version. LLEWELLYN J. EVANS.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES. By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark ; New York : Scribner & Welford.

This work is intended to form a companion volume to the author's "Introduction to the Pauline Epistles," published twelve years ago. It follows the general plan of that work, and exhibits the same characteristic excellencies and defects.

The author's construction of the term Introduction, at least in the present volume, is somewhat broader than the current one, and especially in the space and prominence given to topics pertaining to Biblical Theology. Something may be said, no doubt, in favor of a comparative exhibit of fundamental doctrinal contents in their eisagogical significance. What Dr. Gloag gives us, however, is not so much such an exhibit as the amalgamation under one title of two distinct branches of Biblical study. At the same time the biblico-theological treatment is partial. We have a discussion of "Petrine Theology," but not of the Jacobean or Johannean. We have the Eschatology of Peter, but not the Antichrist of John. To some extent the book is evidently a receptacle for the author's "chips," as, indeed, the last paragraph in the Preface intimates—a procedure not to be commended in a work of this sort.

There is also some disadvantage connected with the separate discussion of particular collections of the New Testament writings, such as the Pauline Epistles and the Catholic Epistles, in so far as it necessitates repetition in the traversing of common ground—as, *e.g.*, in the discussion of common authorities.

There is some objection to the author's method of treating controversial points by giving a *résumé* of the discussion respecting them, stating opinions, objections to the opinions, replies to the objections, and, it may be, counter-replies, etc. The mind of the average reader, for whom it is evident the book is chiefly designed, is liable to become somewhat confused by the cross-firing. Indeed, a skilful critic would at times find it difficult in some instances to unravel all the threads of the discussion, and to distinguish between what the author says for himself and what he says for others.

A still more serious objection is that, in regard to so many of the mooted points considered by him, he finds it difficult to come to a decisive conclusion. So many of these points are left in the air that readers who seek from our author a solution of their own perplexities cannot fail of being disappointed.

It must be added that the book furnishes no independent contribution of importance to the solution of the standing problems furnished by the Catholic Epistles. As is implied in what has been already said, it is valuable chiefly as a *résumé* of the views and discussion of the leading authorities consulted by the author. As such it will doubtless be found helpful.

LLEWELLYN J. EVANS.

The following works in Exegetical Theology may be briefly noticed :

Parallel-Bibel, oder Die Heilige Schrift Alten u. Neuen Testaments in der Verdeutschung durch D. Martin Luther, nach der Originalausgabe von 1545, *mit nebenstehender wortgetreuer Übersetzung*, nach dem Grundtext. Parts 4–7. (Gütersloh : C. Bertelmann, n. d.; New York : B. Westermann & Co.) This work is to fill three volumes, containing, respectively, the historical books of the Old Testament, the poetical and prophetical books of the Old Testament, and

the New Testament. Part 7 ends with the beginning of 1 Kings xvi., on p. 672 of Vol. I. The two versions are given in parallel columns, and are distinguished by a difference in type. The new version is more accurate than the old, and there are some marginal notes of interest and value to the general reader. But no version will be satisfactory to scholars or approach finality until the Old Testament text has been thoroughly revised.——*The Gospel According to St. Luke.* With Introduction, Notes, and Maps. Chapters XIII.–XXIV. By Thomas M. Lindsay, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow. (In *Hand-Books for Bible Classes*, edited by Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D., and Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D.) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, n. d. [1887]; New York: Scribner & Welford.) Professor Lindsay's Commentary on Luke I.–XII. was issued a few months ago, and noticed briefly in this REVIEW, July, 1887. The present volume contains pp. 173–268, and completes the commentary. The exposition is brief, condensed, and often epigrammatic and pungent. Following the commentary proper is a "Summary View of the Life of Christ from the Four Gospels," which is hardly needful or desirable in a short hand-book on Luke; and there is an Index at the end.——*Kritisch exegetischer Commentar über das Neue Testament.* Von Dr. Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer. Zwölfte u. Sechszehnte Abtheilungen. *Die Briefe Petri und Judae.* 5te Auflage umgearbeitet von Lic. Dr. Ernst Kühl, Inspector am Johanneum zu Breslau. Pp. vi., 442. *Die Offenbarung Johannis.* 4te Verbesserte Auflage, von Dr. Friedrich Düsterdieck. Pp. vi., 574. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1887; New York: B. Westermann & Co.) The New Testament Commentary which bears Meyer's name is industriously kept alive by means of frequent revisions. Neither of the two volumes before us was originally the work of Meyer. Huther, who prepared several editions of the former, has found a successor in Dr. Kühl. Dr. Kühl has considerably changed the attitude of the Commentary on 1 Peter by adopting Weiss's view of its date, relatively to the Pauline epistles. He makes it precede these in time, and defends this view on historical and biblico-theological grounds. It is certainly much easier on this theory to account for the attitude of the writer to theological and practical questions, and for his silence on many points, without calling in the *tendenz*-hypothesis. In the Commentary on the Apocalypse, Düsterdieck maintains, with little modification, his old positions. One is surprised to find that while he devotes a little attention to Völter's fragment-hypothesis, he almost wholly passes by Vischer's much more important and influential theory, elsewhere discussed in this number of the REVIEW. The reason he assigns in his preface for this omission is surely insufficient.

FRANCIS BROWN.

II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D. With Maps. Pp. 701. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887.

Finally, we have a Manual of Church History prepared by an American for American students, and fit to be used as a text-book in our seminaries and colleges.

Every teacher of Church history must have felt the need of just such a book. The German manuals of Hase, Kurtz, Guericke, Niedner are very useful in their way, especially the first two, which are kept up to the times and undergo important changes and improvements in new editions. Those of Hase and Kurtz have been several times reproduced and adapted, so that the older editions are entirely superseded. But these books were written by German professors for Ger-

man students, with special reference to the Continental churches. They ignore English and American church history and literature entirely, or treat it so superficially and erroneously as to be worse than useless, and to shake the confidence of the reader in the other parts which are good and reliable. The American Chapter in the posthumous volume of Gieseler is so faulty and misleading that the translator deemed it best, in the interest of the work and the public, to omit it altogether. We should remember that the exportation of theological books from America to Germany has not yet begun, and even if German divines are presented with works in the English language by the author or publisher, they cannot read them, at least not with ease and comfort. When I studied in German universities, Tholuck of Halle and Neander of Berlin were the only divines of my acquaintance who could speak English. Now things have changed. The rising generation of divines pay more attention to the English language and literature. But the change has not yet affected the character of church histories.

Dr. Fisher's book is evidently the product of many years of professional teaching and experience. It is no compilation based upon superficial acquaintance with the subject, but an original and therefore reliable work of one who has looked into the primary sources. The writer had already won a high place among church historians by his "History of the Reformation" and the "History of the Beginnings of Christianity."

Dr. Fisher, besides ample learning and a clear polished style, has that catholic and irenic spirit and that impartial, judicial temper which are among the highest qualifications for a historian. He writes not in the interest of any particular sect or school, but in the interest of truth and the Church at large. It is difficult to find from his book to what denomination he belongs. He may be called an evangelical Catholic, in sympathy with all that is Christian, on the principle, "Christianus sum, Christiani nihil a me alienum puto." We need such historians if the problem of the reunion of Christendom is ever to be solved. They prepare the way for it.

The author adopts the natural division into three eras: ancient (1–800), mediæval (800–1517), and modern (1517–1887), and subdivides them into nine periods. This agrees with my own, except that he carries the ancient church with four periods to Charlemagne instead of Gregory I., and subdivides the modern era into two instead of three periods.

He gives most space to the modern era from p. 287 to p. 664, and least to the Middle Ages (pp. 163–286). This is a disproportion, but may be justified by the great importance of the Reformation for all the churches in America. The English and Scotch Reformation and the colonization and chief ecclesiastical bodies and events of the United States receive due attention, and constitute one of the principal advantages of this over European manuals.

It is unnecessary to recommend such a book, which meets a felt want, and will naturally find its way by its obvious merits and usefulness.

The author might improve its usefulness by appending a dozen pages of select bibliography similar to those at the end of his "History of the Reformation."

PHILIP SCHAFF.

THE GROWTH OF CHURCH INSTITUTIONS. By the Rev. EDWIN HATCH, M.A., D.D., Reader in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

There is no more encouraging sign of the progress toward a true Christian unity than the broad and irenical character of the later ecclesiastical literature. The transition from the Episcopal writers of forty or fifty years ago to the style of Stanley, Lightfoot, and the writer of the treatise before us is like passing from sage-brush barrens to a fertile prairie. The difference is that the later

writers are not bent on sustaining at all hazards a particular theory of the Church, and willing to wrest Scripture and History to its support, but are simply studying the problem in a broad historical spirit, and trying to get at the facts regardless of their bearing on any particular church or system. Such is the spirit in which this treatise of Dr. Hatch is conceived. His object is "to trace the growth of church institutions," or to show "how the congregational system of early Christianity passed into the Diocesan system of mediæval and later times."

Dr. Hatch's title itself recognizes the fact that such institutions, including the ministry and the whole church organization, were not cast in a fixed immovable form from the beginning, but were developed by the existing conditions of the Christian society from the germinant ideas posited by the Apostles. He finds, therefore, in the most primitive church, neither absolute Presbytery nor absolute Prelacy, but some simple arrangement for the government and instruction of the early communities, which gradually, through the shaping of circumstances, grew into more unified and centralized forms. If Dr. Hatch does not exactly comprehend the true genesis of Episcopacy, he is at least wholly clear of the common and stereotyped errors on the subject. He could not accept the too hasty generalization of Dean Stanley that "it is as certain there was no Episcopacy before the second century as it is that there was no Presbyterianism after it." But he perceives that the Presbyterianism of the apostolic churches was gradually and necessarily changed during the course of the first three centuries into a system which threw more power into the hands of the clergy, and unified the Church by a vigorous Episcopal administration. "It has, no doubt, been sometimes maintained" (he observes, p. 16) "that the diocese, in its modern sense, is an institution of primitive times. But the recorded facts are far from supporting this view. They show that in the large majority of cases a bishop, presbyters, and deacons existed for every Christian community. As a rule, a city had but a single community (church), and consequently a single organization. . . . Every town and sometimes every village had its bishop."

This last sentence, if we leave out the word "*sometimes*," or change it to "*as a rule*," contains an absolute truth, and furnishes the key to the origin of the Episcopal system. When the fact is once fairly appreciated that all the believers in a place, large or small, made up the church of that place, and that for one church (no matter whether consisting of one congregation or many) there must be one and could be but one bishop, the whole matter becomes perfectly plain. If all the Christians in Rome made up the one Church of Rome, and that Church could have but one Bishop, then the necessary historical genesis of Episcopacy is patent. In the one Church of Rome there were many congregations, each of which had its own presbyter as pastor; but they all made up the one church, presided over by its one bishop. This is Diocesan Episcopacy. The whole thing lies in a nutshell, and dispenses with the elaborate attempts of Harnack and his correspondents in the *Expositor* to invent explanations of the origin of Episcopacy. And this is further illustrated by the fact that Episcopacy first comes to our view in a few large cities, and that down to the middle of the third century we do not know of its existence anywhere else than in Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria. This illustrates the "growth of church institutions," and while ignoring the Apostolic origin of Episcopacy, furnishes its full historical justification.

SAMUEL M. HOPKINS.

DOCTRINA DUODECIM APOSTOLORUM. Canones Apostolorum Ecclesiastici ac Reliquæ Doctrinæ de Duabus Viis Expositiones Veteres. Edidit, Annotationibus et Prolegomenis illustravit, Versionem Latinam addidit. FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS FUNK. Tubingæ, in Libraria Henrici Laupp, 1887. Pp. lxvii., 113.

This edition of the *Didache* is a new evidence of the extraordinary and lasting

attention which the literary discovery of Bryennios has excited. We may well say that it ranks in importance next to the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus by Tischendorf. Germany and America have been foremost to turn it to account. Drs. Hitchcock and Brown first introduced it to the American public in Greek and English a few weeks after a copy of the *editio princeps* by Bryennios had reached New York. The number of works written about it during the last four years exceeds two hundred. The list given by Funk (pp. xlvii.–lii.) is not nearly as complete as those given in two well-known American monographs on the *Didache*. It is quite unnecessary here to discuss the contents and value of the *Didache*. We present simply a brief account of this latest edition, which must be ranked with the most complete and valuable.

Dr. Funk is Professor of Church History in the Roman Catholic Faculty of the University of Tübingen, successor of Bishop Hefele, and editor of the *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, the chief quarterly organ of Roman Catholic Theology in Germany. He took part in the discussion of the merits of the *Didache* after its first appearance, and now presents the results of his continued studies. He assigns it the first place among the works of the Apostolic Fathers, which he edited in two volumes on the basis of Hefele's edition. The Prolegomena discuss the origin, genuineness, time and place, contents, editions and versions of the *Didache*, and its relation to the cognate documents, the ecclesiastical canons, the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions, the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. 18–20), the Latin fragment. Then follow the Greek texts with a Latin version.

Dr. Funk, with most American and English scholars, puts the *Did.* before the close of the first century, before the Epistle of Barnabas and the Pastor of Hermas (against Bryennios and Harnack). He finds, with Prof. Zahn, of Erlangen, traces of it in Justin Martyr (*Apol.*, I., 15–18, compared with *Did.*, I., 3–5; perhaps also in *Apol.*, I., 61), and in Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which combines the text of Matthew and Luke as the *Did.*, I., 4. As to the place of composition, he denies the Egyptian and maintains the Syrian or Palestinian origin. The text is accompanied by Latin comments.

Dr. Funk has also written a special essay on the *Didache* in the Tübingen Theol. Quarterly for 1887, pp. 276 sqq.

In connection with this notice, we may also mention an Italian monograph of 288 pages by R. Majocchi: *La dottrina dei dodici apostoli.* Documento della chiesa primitiva pubblicato nel suo testo originale con versione (latina) e commento. Ed. ii. Modenæ, 1887. PHILIP SCHAFF.

A SELECT LIBRARY OF NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. Vols. IV. and V. The Christian Literature Company, New York City.

This "Select Library" is intended to supplement the Library of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, edited by Bishop Coxe, and issued by the same publishing house.

We have already referred to this combined and comprehensive undertaking. Its object is to place within the easy reach of American ministers and laymen this early Christian literature, so varied and desirable, yet hitherto well-nigh inaccessible. Indeed, the average reader, lay and clerical, had come almost to despair of any ready access to these writings of the Christian Fathers; the period was so great, stretching from the second to the ninth century; the writers were so numerous and so productive; the Library of Migne was so vast, comprising three hundred and eighty-nine volumes; the language foreign, and the cost immense. This American enterprise is to include all in thirty-three volumes, and at a proportionate reduction in cost.

Whatever may be his doctrinal tendencies, no intelligent reader will question the historical value of such a library. Indeed, with marked interest and expectation have individual clergymen and laymen and the public press welcomed this noble undertaking. The prompt and thorough work performed has deepened the interest and encouraged expectation. Not only has the library of the Ante-Nicene Fathers been already completed in eight volumes, with an additional index volume, but within the year 1887 have appeared five volumes of the library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. The first of these volumes contains "The Confessions and the Letters" of Augustin. The latest volume contains his "Anti-Pelagian Writings." Thus properly does this "Select Library" begin with Augustin, whom Leibnitz styled "a man of true greatness and stupendous genius;" and concerning whom Dr. Schaff says in the *Prolegomena*, Vol. I., p. 19, "No other of all the Church Fathers has produced so permanent effects on both Catholics and Protestants, and no other stands in so high regard with both, as Augustin." Page 21: "He is of all the Christian Fathers nearest to Evangelical Protestantism, and may be called, in respect of his doctrine of sin and grace, the first forerunner of the Reformation."

The works of Chrysostom and the Church History of Eusebius will come next in order, according to the plan of the editor. The two series of twenty-five or thirty volumes will include the Latin Fathers down to Gregory the Great and the Greek Fathers from Eusebius to Photius. The undertaking can no longer be regarded as an experiment. Its execution is guaranteed. The competency and trustworthiness of Dr. Schaff, the editor-in-chief, no one will question. "The co-operation of competent patristic scholars in Great Britain and the United States is assured." The form and finish of the work is not only satisfactory, but is of superior order, and the promise in the first volume of this first series is more than verified in its successors. Such a library, thus placed within the easy reach of our ministers and intelligent laymen, is worthy of our American enterprise and American patronage. RANSOM B. WELCH.

DIE CANONES JACOB'S VON EDESSA ÜBERSETZT UND ERLÄUTERT, ZUM THEIL AUCH IM GRUNDTEXT VERÖFFENTLICHT. Von C. KAYSER. 8vo. Leipzig: Heinrichs; New York: B. Westermann & Co.

In Paul de Lagarde's "Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimæ" (Lipsiæ, 1856) were first published, from a famous Paris (Syriac) manuscript of about the ninth century, the Canons of James, or Jacob, of Edessa (who flourished in the seventh century). They were repeated by T. J. Lamy in his "Dissertatio de Syrorum Fide et Disciplina in Re Eucharistica" (Lovanii, 1859). The general interest of these Canons was too great to suffer them long to remain buried in technical works; and now Pastor C. Kayser has published a German translation. The work is critical and excellent. The text that underlies the translation is based on the same Paris manuscript, but emended from the other extant manuscripts in London, Paris, etc., of which Kayser gives a careful account. The translation proper occupies only thirty-six pages; but the additional matter—viz., the Life of Jacob, with an account of his writings and a dissertation on the genuineness and authenticity of these Canons, and a body of very rich and masterly notes—swell the German portion of the work (with its Syriac quotations) to one hundred and eighty-five pages. The accompanying Syriac text, thirty-one pages, consists chiefly of text not published elsewhere. One portion of this is matter supplied from other manuscripts where a leaf is missing in the Paris manuscript, and consequently not found in either Lagarde or Lamy. The missing portion consists of questions and responses 31–34; Addai Philoponus being the questioner, and Jacob the respondent. How desirable it is to have this portion supplied will appear from the following extracts:

"31. *Addai.*—When an unbaptized infant is in danger of death, and its mother carries it in haste even to the field, to a priest who is at work there, where there is no stream, and no basin, and no water-vessel, if there is only water there for the priest's use, and necessity requires haste, what is proper for him to do?——*Jacob.*—In necessity like this it is right for the priest, if water happens to be with him, to take the pitcher of water and pour it upon the infant's head, even though its mother is holding it in her hands, and say, 'I baptize such a one' (literally, such a one is baptized) 'in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.' (Here the 'basin' is the same word used in the Peshitto for Gideon's bowl, Judges vi. 38, the 'basons' of Exodus xxiv. 6, and sundry other kindred places. The 'water-vessel' is a stone receptacle such as we see at drinking fountains, holding from a pint or so to a few gallons. Kayser cites Ezekiel xxxvi. 25 as a parallel to this baptism.)

"33. *Addai.*—Can the water of baptism in any way be made common?——*Jacob.*—The holy water of baptism can in no way be made common, not even when the priest has washed his hands in it after baptizing, for he washes them because of the smeariness of the [baptismal] oil; nor even when many have been baptized, and the water thereby becomes diminished so that some more must be added; nor even when it stands over night and remains till the next day, for sometimes a child is baptized in it after it has stood over night; and not even when the baptismal basin is broken and the water is spilled out, does it become profane or common."

This, however, is one of the least interesting portions of the text. Throughout, however, in translation, introduction, and notes, the book is full of interesting and valuable matter, and nowhere padded. ISAAC H. HALL.

GESCHICHTE DER REFORMATION IN DEN NIEDERLANDEN VON IHREM BEGINN BIS ZUM JAHRE 1531 von Dr. J. G. DE HOOP-SCHEFFER, Prof. in Amsterdam. Deutsche Originalausgabe herausgegeben von Dr. P. GERLACH. Mit einem Vorwort von Dr. F. NIPPOLD. Pp. 563. Leipzig (S. Hirzel), 1886.

A valuable contribution to the History of the Reformation in Holland, but confined to its first period, from 1520 to 1531. The author gives first an account of the state of the clergy and people before the Reformation and the preparatory movements. The Low Countries were subject to Charles V., who inherited them from his father, as he inherited Spain from his mother. No favor could be expected for Protestant opinions from a grandson of Isabella the Catholic. He was a faithful son of the Roman Catholic Church, and approved of the papal bull of excommunication, which condemned Luther and his writings. But when he was elected German emperor and convened his first Diet at Worms, he felt that he must pay some decent regard to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, the protector of Luther, and allowed the heretic to appear before the Diet in May, 1521, where he made his memorable testimony and refused to recant. After his departure the Diet issued the Edict of Worms (May 26th), which gave legal force to the papal bull and pronounced the ban of the empire upon Luther as an obstinate and convicted heretic.

This edict was carried out in the Low Countries under the eyes of the emperor, and Luther's writings were burnt and forbidden. Thus began that fearful persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands which culminated in the atrocities of Duke Alva under the reign of Philip II., son of Charles V., and one of the gloomiest bigots and tyrants known to history. But the persecution was overruled by Providence for the political emancipation of Holland from the tyranny of Spain and the triumph of the Reformed Religion.

The book is divided into three sections. The first describes the origin and

spread of the Reformation in Holland down to 1522 ; the second, the conflict from 1522 to 1525 ; the third, the suppression of the Reformation from 1525 to 1531.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

WILIBALD PIRKHEIMER'S STELLUNG ZUR REFORMATION. Ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung des Verhältnisses zwischen Humanismus und Reformation. Von LIC. THEOL. P. DREWS. 8vo. Leipzig, 1887. New York : B. Westermann & Co.

The author is to be congratulated upon his theme. Pirkheimer, whose shaggy head and striking face are familiar to us, thanks to Dürer's pencil, played a prominent part in the Humanistic movement. It was worth while, therefore, to inquire how he stood toward that far greater religious movement which excited so much attention in his day. His life was mostly spent at Nuremberg, near which city he was born, December 5th, 1470. His father was a member of the city council, and a man of wealth. Pirkheimer made good use of his opportunities. By travel and by prolonged residence in Italy he became cosmopolitan in his tastes. He drank in the Renaissance enthusiasm for the classics, and in his learning rivalled Erasmus. He was, however, more a diplomatist than a literary man. His writings are few, and are mostly translations from the Greek, quite evidently made for his own amusement primarily. His wealth enabled him to keep open house to all scholars, and thus he made the acquaintance of every Humanist passing through Nuremberg. His library was the wonder of the city, and the envy of his learned friends. It contained every book on the classics published in Italy, and the best books published elsewhere. He was consulted upon learned matters by persons throughout Europe, and reigned as intellectual king of Nuremberg. He was indeed a great man, and basked in the sunshine of prosperity, and swelled with the praises so lavishly bestowed upon him. By family ties he was closely linked to the Church of Rome, for six of his seven sisters and three of his five daughters were nuns ! Like Erasmus, however, he hailed the Reformation, only, like him, to refuse to cast in his lot with the Protestants, when the time came to choose between the Old Church and the Older Church.

Herr Drews has no love for Pirkheimer. In fact, he seems to take satisfaction in presenting the reverse side to the picture so charmingly given by Hagen in his *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Wilibald Pirkheimer* (cf. Bnd. 1, especially pp. 260–277) ; for while conceding to him learning, eloquence, statesmanlike ability and professional morality, he brings the proofs to show that he was hypocritical, dead to spiritual truth, unchaste, quarrelsome, and a moral coward. In fact, Pirkheimer was a man personally unworthy of respect, however in some respects desirable to know. It was his wealth, both in purse and learning, and the splendor of his life which drew people toward him. Self-interest made them his clients, but they did not love him when they really knew him.

In the early days of the Reformation period, Pirkheimer, like the other Humanists of Germany, appeared as the defender of Reuchlin and Luther against the stupid and malicious monastic attacks. He won great repute by flaying alive Dr. Eck in a Latin satirical dialogue, *Eccius dedolatus* (Erfurt, 1520). Eck did not, of course, fancy being " polished off " after such a fashion, and soon after took revenge by putting Pirkheimer among those excommunicated by the Papal Bull of that year directed against Luther and his friends. This conduct greatly surprised Pirkheimer, and he hastened to assure the authorities, temporal and spiritual, that he had been named rather because he had offended Eck than because he had been prominent in defending Luther. After much deliberation, argument, and intercession on the part of the Nuremberg council, he was allowed by Dr. Eck to make peace with the Church, but ere his submission

reached Rome he had been a second time excommunicated, and from this second decree he was never formally released, although no action against him in consequence seems to have been taken.

As the Reformation progressed he withdrew more and more from the Protestants, for he found little comfort in the purer faith, and was destitute of spiritual enthusiasm. Still he mediated between Luther and Erasmus, and took Luther's side against the Zwinglians. The disturbances of the time pained him, as they interfered with his personal comfort. When the new doctrines permeated Nuremberg, and led to the abrogation of monasticism, he was fairly driven into a defence of the cloister wherein his sisters and daughters lived, in order to save himself greater unrest. The Reformation had gone too far for him. It had not stopped, as Erasmus and the Humanists generally joined with him in desiring, with the correction of acknowledged abuses and the assertion of liberty of thought. It had unsettled doctrines and divided Christendom into hostile camps. He was unable to go back, for he had put himself on record as opposed to the unreformed Church of Rome, and over him hung the papal bann. He could not go forward, for he had no interest in spiritual things. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, Zwingli's doctrine of predestination, were things not discerned by his fleshly mind. So in the miserable middle way, which he found neither safe nor pleasant, he stumbled along until he died (December 22d, 1530), with a prayer, says Erasmus, for the welfare of his country and the peace of the Church upon his lips.

These are the principal points covered by Herr Drews's book, and they receive very elaborate handling. The style is rather heavy, and the pages are filled, not to say loaded, with long quotations, translated, however, from Pirkheimer's writings and letters, and from other sources. The book has no index, not even a table of contents, and the notes, with few exceptions, are at the back. These are very serious defects, and all the more to be regretted since the book has very solid merits. It is the fruit of much patient investigation, and its materials have been drawn from a wide field. The author has gone to the sources, and formed independent judgments. He has not attempted to write a biography of Pirkheimer, but to set him forth as a representative Humanist face to face with the Reformation, and to answer the question, How far could Humanism take up with Protestantism? His conclusion is the same as that to which all serious students must come: Humanism as such had but a preparatory part in the great deliverance from the soul bondage of the Mediæval Church. It awoke the slumbering past. It exorcised the demon of ignorance. It ushered in the *Zeitgeist*. It quickened the pulses of all life. It laid great stress upon morality. It ridiculed religious monstrosities. But it did not tend to produce a spiritually-minded man, nor the stuff of which martyrs are made. Not Pirkheimer, with his wealth, his culture, his eloquence; not Erasmus, with his learning, his wit, his refinement; but Luther, with eyes full of holy fire, and Zwingli, bent on declaring the whole will of God, were the leaders of the Reformation. The latter were also learned men, but the Spirit of God moved in them and made them turn from the dry bones of classical study to the living Word of God, from which they drew their inspiration to lead the people to evangelical truth.

SAMUEL M. JACKSON.

We notice the following in the department of History:

Brief Institutes of General History. By Professor E. B. Andrews, D.D., LL.D. (Boston: Silver, Rogers & Co.) This is a valuable compendium of history, containing, in compact and comprehensive form, a vast amount of material, with a rich selection of authorities. It is in the German *Lehrbuch* style, and is suited for the use of college students. It is not so well adapted for general read-

ing or lower grades of instruction. The living teacher will be necessary to supplement these *Institutes*, and make them attractive and useful even to students. ——*Tempel und Palast Salomo's, Denkmäler Phoenikischer Kunst.* Von Dr. Thomas Friedrich. (New York : B. Westermann & Co.) This is an important contribution to the study of the temple of Solomon, but it is too theoretical a reconstruction to meet with the approval of Biblical scholars. The idea that the גזית, with its three cedar-wood stories, was within the stone walls of the temple is against the essential principle of sanctity that rules the entire construction of the tabernacle and temple.——*Die Heiligen. Ein Beitrag zum geschichtlichen Verständniss der Offenbarung Johannis und der altchristlichen Verfassung.* Von Dr. C. H. Manchot. (Leipzig : Veit & Co. ; New York : B. Westermann & Co.) This is an interesting attempt to show that οἱ ἅγιοι, in the Apocalypse of John, indicate a body of holy men, embracing the apostles, prophets, and teachers of the apostolic Church. This was a brotherhood organized by the apostles, and devoted to the care of the poor and sick, to evangelization in all its forms, and which had the government of the churches in its hands. It subsequently gave way to the organized ministry of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The author examines with great care all the passages of the New Testament, and the literature of the apostolic and sub-apostolic age. He maintains that ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are not the same in the epistles of Clement, and that 1 Tim. v. 17 gives two kinds of presbyters. The author does not convince us of the correctness of his theory. At the same time he calls attention to a number of important facts that indicate that there was a growth in the organization of the Apostolic Church that can be traced in its progress even in the writings of the New Testament ; and he gives evidence alongside of the recent discussions of Harnack, Hatch, Lightfoot, and Sanday, that the whole subject of the origin of the Christian ministry needs a more thorough investigation than any one has yet given to it ; and that for the most part the polemic between the churches on these matters should be suspended for the present, and that all sides should unite in a search for the exact truth.——*Kirchengeschichtliche Studien. Hermann Reuter zum 70 Geburtstag gewidmit von Theodor Brieger, Paul Tschackert, Theod. Kolde, Fried. Loofs, und Karl Mirbt.* (Leipzig : J. C. Heinrich ; New York : B. Westermann & Co.) These historical papers by the pupils of Hermann Reuter not only do honor to the teacher, but also to his pupils. I do not know anywhere of a more valuable collection of historical monographs, all of them based on fresh investigations, and with rich fruit in new materials of history. These papers treat of the MSS. of Irenæus, of the legal questions connected with the conflict between Henry IV. and Gregory VII., of George von Polentz, of several contributions to the history of the Reformation relating to Cochleus, Adrian, John Denk, and Luther, with documents never before published ; of the Torgau articles and the Fragment of Augustine's de arte rhetorica. These are just the sources of history that are invaluable to the scholar.——*Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria, with Cettigne in Montenegro and the Island of Grado.* By T. G. Jackson, M.A., F.S.A. Three Volumes. (Oxford : Clarendon Press ; New York : Macmillan & Co.) These volumes will be a delight to students of history and of architecture, and to all who are capable of enjoying a rich, full, and scholarly work. The author is an architect, and he dwells fondly upon the choice and varied specimens of architecture that abound on these north-eastern shores of the Adriatic, where Latin, Greek, Slavonic, and Turkish forms of civilization met in conflict and left their traces in construction, destruction, reconstruction, fusion and confusion. The well-chosen illustrations with which the volumes abound give ample evidence of the existence of native genius in Dalmatia, as well as of the gifted hands of Latin, and especially of Venetian architects and builders. The author is also a

historian. He writes with the vigor of one who knows the facts and understands how to group them and handle them. We doubt whether any section of the earth has had a more eventful history than Dalmatia, unless it be the land of Palestine. The author appreciates his theme, enlists our interest, and satisfies us. We have seldom read a book with more pleasure.——*The Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany.* By Rev. James I. Good, D.D. (Reading, Pa. : Daniel Miller.) Dr. Good has given us a much-needed book, based upon a careful study of the sources of his history, and also upon a personal inspection of the principal cities and towns in which the history has taken place. This gives a graphic simplicity and power to the work that is a rare excellence. It is evident that Dr. Good is an enthusiastic writer of the history of the Church in which he was born, and of which he is an honored and successful pastor. His enthusiasm, however, while it adds to the interest of the book, on the other hand detracts from its value. For while the author is an open-minded, straightforward man of generous impulses and catholic spirit, yet he is so earnest and enthusiastic that he sometimes becomes, as it seems to us, unconsciously a partisan. We think that in some respects the author is more of a Puritan than a Reformed Churchman of the seventeenth century would have been. There is doubtless truth in the statement that Calvinism was a second reformation on the Continent, as Puritanism was a second reformation in Great Britain ; yet there is danger in carrying the parallelism too far, and it seems to us that this is what Dr. Good has done. In our judgment, it is not a correct historical statement that " the Reformed Church, then, was a reformation of the Lutheran Church of that age." The Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church had different origins in history and different principles in accordance with these origins. The Reformed Church is in no historic sense and in no logical sense a reformation of the Lutheran Church. Certain Lutheran lands were won over to the Reformed Church through various influences, some of them political, some of them by the bridge of Melancthon and crypto-Calvinism, owing to the intolerance of the Anti-Philippists, as the author has so admirably shown in many places in his book. But he has not given a single instance in which Lutheranism became Reformed by any revival in itself independent of external influences. The Lutheran and the Reformed represent two distinct types of doctrine, two distinct phases of piety, and two distinct theories of Church life. They both originated in the Reformation, and are twin brothers of Protestantism. They both have had their development. The saddest thing in the history is this fraternal war, which prevented the extension of Protestantism in Europe, which paved the way for the success of the counter Reformation of Romanism, and which would have totally ruined the Protestantism of entire Europe if it had not been for little Holland and the great Swedish captain. The author is none too severe upon the intolerance that was pushed to an extreme on the basis of the Formula of Concord. But he does not go far enough in his history to show the ruinous intolerance that prevailed no less in the Reformed Churches on the basis of the Canons of Dort. These two symbols of Protestant Scholasticism, which are now, both of them, dead documents so far as the Continent of Europe are concerned, are responsible for a vast amount of intolerance and strife in Protestantism, and also for that decay of Protestantism which was the inevitable result of the restriction of its freedom of thought. We would call attention to the irenic men whom Dr. Good happily does not overlook. It ought to be the glory of the Reformed Church that she has had so many of these, such as Bucer and David Pareus, Berg and Dury. All honor to the Elector of Brandenburg, who proclaimed liberty of conscience in his dominion in 1614, and to the theologians of his University of Francfort, like Pelargus, Franck, and the Bergs, and to the great unknown with a kindred spirit, Rupertus Meldenius, who laid down those principles of Union, which

were first realized in the present century in the Evangelical Church of Prussia, and which, it is to be hoped, will erelong influence the entire Protestant world.

We would thank Dr. Good for the excellent book that he has given us. It ought to have a large circulation not only in the Reformed Church of the German branch, but in all branches of the Reformed family.——*August Neander. Erinnerungen von* Philipp Schaff. *Mit einem Bildniss.* (Gotha: Friedrich August Perthes, 1886), 76 pp. This is a translation of the Reminiscences of Neander, which form a part of Schaff's *Three Biographies: St. Augustin, Melanchthon, Neander* (New York, 1886). The author has revised the translation and enlarged it by personal reminiscences of Leopold von Ranke, and a complete list of Neander's works, and the sources for his biography. It is expected that such a biography will appear before or at the time of the centennial of the birth of the great church historian, in 1889. The German edition is adorned with a good picture of Neander, representing him in his study gown surrounded by patristic folios.

C. A. BRIGGS.

III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

SYSTEM OF THE CHRISTIAN CERTAINTY. By Dr. Fr. H. R. FRANK, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Second Edition Revised and Improved Throughout. Translated from the German by Rev. Maurice J. Evans, B.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886.

The author of this book does not mean by the system of Christian certainty the system of Christian truth, the exposition and vindication of which is the task of dogmatics; nor does he mean simply certitude of salvation, which the Christian may have without having addressed himself to the work of asking for the Why of his faith. According to the writer whose work is before us, there is given in Christian experience a certain dogmatic content which vindicates itself in the terms of certitude to the Christian believer. The systematic exhibition of this dogmatic content as involved in religious experience is the burden of the present volume. The Christian certainty that is the theme of the volume embraces certain immanent, transcendent, and transient objects of faith. The discussion proceeds by affirming first the Christian certainty in relation to the immanent objects of faith, this being followed by a chapter on the opposition of Rationalism; and then the Christian certainty in relation to the transcendent objects of faith, this again being followed by a chapter on the opposition of Pantheism. In a second volume we presume—though this is not promised—the transient objects of faith, together with some antithetical error, will be presented. The book is the product of much thought and learning, but the discussion is tedious and the style very uninviting. Those who are interested in the very important question concerning the basis of Christian certitude will find helpful hints scattered through the volume, but we do not think that they will find in it a satisfactory solution of the problem.

Like all writers who overstate the subjective side of the case in giving the reasons for the hope that is in them, this author underestimates the objective presentation of evidence. He has no sympathy with apologetics; speaks after the style of Kant of the "proofs" of the Divine existence; and goes so far as to say that we endanger our principle that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, when we try to convince the unconverted. Thus: "If apologetics, as ofttimes happens, addresses its establishment of the Christian truth to the opponents of the same, and in general to those standing outside thereof, in

order to overthrow their objections and teach them something better, it forgets that it runs the risk at the same time of surrendering an important article of this truth—namely, that it is, at least in its centre, to the 'natural man' foolishness, and cannot cease to be foolishness to him so long as it continues to be what it is."

The central position of the work is that the regenerated man as a new creature in Christ Jesus has experimental knowledge not only of his new life, but by implication also of sin and guilt—these being the immanent objects of faith; and not only so, but that these immanent objects of faith involve by logical consequence the transcendent objects of faith, such as the atonement and the relations of the Triune God to the Christian in the work of salvation.

There is much in the discussion of these topics that is worthy of very careful study, and even when we do not follow assentingly along every page, we at frequent intervals fall upon suggestions that are very fruitful. The close relation between the ethical experiences of the Christian and his belief in what the author calls the transcendent objects of faith is very clearly presented, and is a subject that calls for very careful consideration by those who are watching the movements of religious thought in our own day. Defective views respecting the atonement and false conceptions regarding the divinity of Christ will very frequently be found to have their origin in inadequate ideas respecting the nature and the guilt of sin. The author well says: "It is, indeed, undeniable that the fact of the atonement, the substitutionary satisfaction of Christ, became very early an object of the anti Christian attacks; and one might conclude therefrom, externally regarded, that this portion of the Christian truth, which belongs not to those which are immanent, were touched earlier than these, or at least simultaneously with them, by the opposition. But in point of fact and in reality the matter stands rather thus: that after the distinctness and certainty regarding human sin and guilt, after the understanding of the removal of the relation of unrighteousness and guilt—a removal of necessity preceding all deeds of human rightousness—has been lost, then first the foundations are given on which the denial or misapprehension of the redeeming work builds itself up."

F. L. PATTON.

LEHRBUCH DER RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE. Von P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, Dr. und ord. Professor der Theologie in Amsterdam. Erster Band. (Large 8vo, pp. x., 465.) Freiburg im Br., 1887. Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr. New York: B. Westermann & Co.

This volume belongs to the collection of Theological Manuals issued at Freiburg, the first of which, Holtzmann's "Introduction to the New Testament," was noticed in the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW for April, 1886. But one other volume in the Series, Vol. I. of Harnach's *Dogmengeschichte*, had appeared before the publication of the "History of Religion," which we have now to notice. If the Series maintains the high level of these first volumes, it will be of great value. The Series professes to be non-partisan, while strictly and in the highest degree scientific. The meaning of such a claim is often so perfectly transparent that no one need be deceived by it. Just as in certain quarters nothing is "natural science" that is not naturalistic, so in theological science we often know what sort of freedom from partisanship to expect from those who most vehemently protest that their presentation of fact and truth is absolutely colorless. We shall expect to find in many of the volumes of this Series a very high order of ability and scholarship, and shall judge of the freedom from partisanship and of the type and quality of the science in each work by itself.

Our author's work is to be mainly historical, half of the present volume and the whole, we presume, of the second, being devoted to a description and history

of the world's religions. Judaism and Christianity are not to be included in this survey. These systems could not be adequately treated here, and, moreover, demand a treatment of their own. "The Science of Religion and that of the Christian Religion go their own ways and follow their own ends" (p. 7). These systems are therefore dealt with only in the introductory parts of the present volume, especially in the "Phenomenological part" (pp. 48–170), and dealt with incidentally.

The author gives us first a "General part" (pp. 1–47), in which he treats of the science of religion, considered by itself and then in its relation to the doctrine of evolution, of primeval history, of prehistoric archæology, of the origin of religion, the classification and the chief forms of religion. Of course it is only the most condensed view that can be given within the limits that are available. The presentation is in the main exceedingly judicious, and often very satisfactory. The author sets aside many of the most positive *dicta* of naturalistic science especially as not proven, and many of its methods as out of place on these subjects. With respect to much of the early Biblical history, he declares his preference for a symbolical or allegorical interpretation, such as we are obliged to resort to in dealing with the legends of other peoples (p. 14). He holds that "neither the animists nor the mythologists hold the key to the riddle of the origin of religion" (p. 33), and in respect to the relation of religion and morality takes the ground that, being equally universal and equally primitive, "in their origin divided, they have later united; that the religious relation in the course of its development moralized itself" (pp. 33, 34). We simply indicate the author's positions on a point here and there of the many that he touches in passing. These suggest his scientific quality.

In his second division, the "Phenomenological part," he touches under nearly twenty heads the topics that belong to a study of religion as objective, including, among the last, religious writings, forms of doctrine, mythology, and the relations of religion to morality and art. Here again multitudes of points are treated that are of great interest and importance. The author has a rare power of condensation, as well as of clear and intelligible statement. Whether we agree with him or not, we cannot refuse to recognize his breadth of view and his intended fairness.

An "Ethnographical part" (pp. 171–231) describes from the point of view of anthropology and ethnography the races and families of man, whose religious systems the author describes in detail in the fourth, the "Historical part," which in the volume before us treats of the Chinese, Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians, and Indians.

The bibliographical paragraphs which introduce successive sections, wherever required, are full and rich, and show an unusual breadth of knowledge, with a disposition to concede that there may be wisdom which is not German or Dutch. The author knows that he is doing a work not attempted in similar form before, and very properly asks that the fact be borne in mind in estimating and using his volumes. He has produced a work characterized by many excellences, and meeting a serious want in our theological literature. It is everywhere instructive, and in those particulars in which we disagree most decidedly with its conclusions, it renders us the important service of showing us what an unusually cautious scientific expositor holds to be tenable, or established in theory or fact.

CHARLES A. AIKEN.

IS THERE SALVATION AFTER DEATH? A Treatise on the Gospel in the Intermediate State. By E. D. MORRIS, D.D., LL.D., Lane Theological Seminary. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

One benefit which the truth obtains from the rise of error is a yet stronger

statement of itself, and a stronger defence. The recent revival of Universalism in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States has drawn forth from the Church, in all its denominations, a large number of tracts and treatises in support of the historical faith. Among these, this volume of Dr. Morris is one of the most valuable. His argument in refutation of a redemption from sin after death is derived from Scripture, from the Creeds, from Systematic Theology, and from the Christian Experience.

The argument from Scripture makes nearly one fourth of the volume, and is a good example of careful exegesis. The Word of God is not handled deceitfully, but the texts cited are explained by the context, and without torture. Scripture interprets scripture. The Old Testament as well as the New is drawn from in support of the tenets of eschatology. The author finds the ideas of immortality, resurrection, and a final judgment in the elder Revelation. We think that the Scripture argument would have been more impressive if the *words* of the passage had been more uniformly given, instead of only the chapter and verse. This seems to us to be a defect in the modern mode. The old theologians, in their argumentation, are careful to put down the text of Scripture, so that the reader can *immediately* see if it has any force in supporting the writer's position —whether it is pertinent and probative. The present style is to assert that the Bible teaches thus and so, and to give only the place where the passage is to be found. The reader too often does not verify the quotation, and if he does, the impression is not so vivid, owing to the delay and the intermission of time. Any one will feel the truth of this by reading a few pages of Calvin's or Turretin's Institutions, and remarking how very many are the texts which are cited not by numbers, but word for word. These old divines were mighty in the Scriptures, as the old lawyers are mighty in the law, because they reasoned out of the Scriptures as the latter reason out of the reports and codes. And there is uncommon reason for giving the *ipssissima verba* of Revelation in an argument against Universalism, because so very much depends in this case upon what God has actually said he will do.

The second argument against the extension of redemption into the next world drawn from the universal consensus of the creeds is compactly stated. The author rightly infers that a tenet which has never, in the nineteen centuries of the Church's existence, been incorporated into any of the ancient œcumenical symbols, or any of the principal denominational creeds of modern Christendom, cannot be a Biblical tenet. To suppose that it is is to suppose that the Church of the past has not understood the Bible.

The third argument from Christian Theology is kindred to that from the Christian Creeds. The creeds are the condensed substance of the dogmatic systems, as these are the condensed substance of the Bible. The theologians of the various churches have drawn of the creeds of the churches, as the jurists of the various nations have drawn of the constitutions and codes of the nations. The relation of the Augsburg Confession, the Second Helvetic, and Heidelberg Catechisms, to the dogmatic writings of Luther, Calvin, and Ursinus, and their coadjutors, is precisely like that of the Code Napoleon to the legal treatises of the French jurists, or of the Constitution of the United States to the political writings of Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and Jefferson. The notion that a religious creed is not to be made by theologians, but by the newspapers and public opinion, is absurd.

Dr. Morris contends that the results to which the systematic students of Scripture in the patristic, mediæval and modern churches have arrived are trustworthy, and have a presumption in favor of their correctness which is not to be set aside without stronger reasons than are given by the advocates of a future redemption. That the great body of theologians, Augustinian and semi-

Pelagian, Calvinistic and Arminian, have been mistaken in not finding future redemption in the Word of God is improbable.

The fourth and last argument is derived from the Christian Experience, or Consciousness. This also is cognate with the argument from the creeds and theology ; for the religious experience of Christendom is formed by the creeds and doctrinal systems of Christendom. It is because Christians know and believe certain creeds and read and reflect upon certain books that they think and feel as they do upon matters of religion—that is, that they have a Christian consciousness. They experience their creed. All consciousness, be it religious or philosophical, issues from opinions of some kind. The infidel consciousness differs from the Christian consciousness, because the infidel creed and books are different from the Christian. Thus it appears that the Christian experience, the Christian dogmatics, and the Christian creed are modes of the same thing—namely, Christian *truth*. The last two are Christian truth in a theoretic form ; the first is the same truth in a practical form—that of experience.

Dr. Morris takes this view of the subject, and clearly shows that the "Christian Consciousness," to which the advocates of a future redemption so confidently appeal, is against them. The sixth chapter, in which this is done, is as conclusively reasoned as any part of the volume. It is a discriminating and timely definition of a much-abused and misapplied term. The Church has no reason to fear an appeal to the Christian Consciousness, provided a spurious consciousness is not palmed off for a genuine one. When the Judaizers appealed to the law as the source of justification before God, St. Paul said to them : "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law ? *Cursed* is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them" (Gal. iv. 21 ; iii. 10). The Apostle took them at their word, and stated the nature and effect of the law, from which they expected to obtain salvation, so plainly that they immediately saw that it would yield them nothing but damnation. In like manner, when error in any of its forms appeals to the Christian Consciousness for support, let this consciousness be delineated in its real nature and its true source in Scripture, and a confident appeal may be made to its decision by the advocate of truth. This work has been well done by Dr. Morris.

This treatise is valuable and important not only intrinsically, but also incidentally. It is the product of a professor of theology in one of the oldest and most influential seminaries of the Presbyterian Church. It indicates the type of doctrine and the tone of teaching that prevail there, and in this church generally. It is sometimes said by those whose wish is father to the thought, that the orthodox nowadays do not believe their orthodoxy, and that the clergy of this advanced age take the form of sound words with a reservation. Such treatises as this of Dr. Morris effectually refute such an assertion. The candor, judicial fairness, yet serious tone of living conviction and implicit confidence in Divine revelation characteristic of it evince that the truth of God is still intrenched as profoundly as ever in the intellect and heart of his ministers, and of those who are called to educate and train his ministers. WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD.

The following books have also been received :

Of the Doctrine of Morality in Its Relation to the Grace of Redemption. By Robert B. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D., Warden of St. Stephen's College, Annandale, New York. 12mo, pp. 331. (New York : Thomas Whittaker, 1887.) A series of academical lectures, written in the simple style suited to their original destination, the object of which is to show that "morality is of the nature of man, while the Church is the minister of grace." Strong ground is taken for a natural system of morals ; Christianity did not create a new system, it did not

even announce a system which it especially enjoined ; "if we should classify all the virtues named in the New Testament, we should not have a complete system of morals." It adopted the already current natural system ; and all it did was to shed new light on its details and impart power to realize it in life. The psychological chapters in which the constitution of the soul and the nature of conscience are discussed are admirable examples of simple explanation of abstruse truths to young minds. The theological chapters are less satisfactory ; what is said as to how Christianity gives power to live morally is even saddening in its externality ; we do not even hear whether there be any Holy Ghost.——*My Confession, and the Spirit of Christ's Teaching.* By Count Lyof N. Tolstoï. Translated from the Russian. 12mo, pp. 242. (New York : Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1887.) Here we have additional aid in understanding the great Russian novelist's amiable, but unreasonable and dangerous fanaticism. The first part of the volume is an autobiographical sketch of the origin and growth of his religious life, forming a suitable prelude to the more dogmatic exposition of its chief outlines in "My Religion." The second part is a fragment which is further described as "a commentary on the essence of the Gospel," but which is really only another of the multitudinous apocryphal gospels, the design being apparently to commend the Count's teaching to simple readers by placing it in the mouth of the Lord.——*Tolerance.* Two Lectures Addressed to the Students of Several of the Divinity Schools of the Protestant-Episcopal Church. By Phillips Brooks, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. 16mo, pp. 111, 1887. (New York : E. P. Dutton & Co.) Dr. Brooks discourses in these lectures in his usual delightful manner on a theme especially worthy of his powers. In view of our Lord's command, however, we dare not brand with him the "tolerance of policy"—"the leaving of the tares for the wheat's sake"—as a tolerance which has "something base about it." And, on the other hand, the kind of tolerance which Dr. Brooks most admires, "the tolerance which grows up in any man who is aware that truth is larger than his conception of it, and that what seem to be other men's errors must often be other parts of the truth of which he has only a portion," appears to us no tolerance at all, but catholicity of spirit. We are not "tolerant" of known or suspected truth ; true tolerance comes into play only when we are confronted with what we recognize as error ; and this is the reason why, as Dr. Brooks admirably argues, there can be no real tolerance in a mind which has no strong convictions and no firm grasp on truth. By the way, Dr. Brooks is in error on p. 78 ; our Presbyterian Church will stand this test.

B. B. WARFIELD.

IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

THE APPEAL TO LIFE. By THEODORE T. MUNGER. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The purpose of this book is given in the Preface—viz.: "To set forth the identity of the Faith with the action of man's nature in the natural relations of life ; to show that the truth of God is also the truth of man." This is very like a clipping from Drummond. The fundamental error of Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" seems to be embosomed in the avowed purpose of Munger. Each sets out to show the "*identity*" of law in the natural and spiritual world ; or that "the truth of God *is* also the truth of man." Each succeeds in showing *analogy* —only this and nothing more ; varied, beautiful, often brilliant, but simply analogy.

The reason for this "Appeal to Life" is stated to be the excess and faultiness of the two prevalent methods of presenting the Gospel: the dogmatic method, as the author styles it, or the worship of a system; and the text-buttressing method, or the worship of a text. The dogmatic method "interprets the revelation through credal forms." The text-buttressing method quotes and matches single texts, and demands for them arbitrary acceptance. These two methods, it is frankly confessed, are "entrenched in sentiments that are not only to be respected, but maintained." The one grows out of a demand for order and consistency; the other, out of a reverent and docile respect for revelation. But there is a better method of presenting the Gospel—a *vital* method, says Munger; that is, "Truth set in the light of daily life and the real processes of human society." It does not reject dogma, but regards it "*as liable at any time to be set aside*"! It does not reject a specific statement of revelation, but regards the quoting and matching of texts for a truth as having its analogy "*in the childish task of arranging the parts of a dissected map, and so discovering a country!*" Manifestly the "vital method," so called, takes a good deal of swing to itself, and means to make room for a large liberty. According to its dictum, eighteen centuries of sifting and conflict have given us no certainty as to a single dogma; and to demand a "thus saith the Lord" for a belief or a theory is narrowing and "childish"!

"The thing to be done at present," says the author of this "Appeal to Life," is "not to crowd upon men a system, nor to bind them down to a hard, literal reception of texts; but to show the identity of the Faith with the action of man's nature in the natural relations of life." The first ten sermons of this book are expressly avowed to be efforts in this direction.

Now, if all that the author means by this "vital way" of presenting the Gospel is implied in what he says of Christ's teaching—to wit, "If Christ can interpret a shepherd to himself as he seeks a lost sheep, he can easily make him understand God seeking lost men; the truth of God immediately allies itself with the truth of the shepherd," then he is only saying that to which the most zealous advocate of dogma and the most rigid stickler for texts would at once and heartily respond, "Amen!" But, then, all this thunder in the Preface about "the thing to be done at present" by this third and "vital method" is superfluous. What is true and substantial in the method is not new. And if there be anything new in the hazy indefiniteness and fog of this method, it is not true.

We will not need to go far in our search through these sermons to find the ample warrant for this conclusion.

The first sermon has for its title, "The Witness from Experience," and is based upon the parables of the lost sheep, the lost piece of money, and the lost son. The author here finds striking illustration of what he deems the "vital" way of presenting the Gospel. Christ appeals to the daily experience of the people, "to the way in which shepherds and housewives and fathers every where acted and felt" when they lost sheep or money or sons. "The shepherd seeking a lost sheep is God saving a world. A woman rejoicing over her found money is the joy of God and angels over repenting sinners."

Now, if by this and much more of the same sort it is simply meant that the yearning, seeking, and welcoming love of men for what they have once lost is *analogous* to the love of God for the lost sinner, and that this way of presenting the Gospel is the "*vital*" way, then clearly we have nothing new, or justifying the somewhat remarkable imputations and claims of the Preface. The distinctions the author there seeks to make between other methods of preaching and his own not only "*seem* slight," as he admits, but *are* slight. Take Arnot on these same parables, and he more than matches Munger in the sympathetic emphasis and power of pathos he puts into these wonderful stories illustrative of

God's compassionate and yearning love for the lost. Yet Arnot was no prophet of a new method, setting aside the "traditional" and the "dogmatic," but one of these very dogmatists against whom we have this "appeal to life."

In what he calls "Christ's Treatment of unwilling Sceptics," as found in his conversation with the two disciples on their way to Emmaus, our author claims another example of the "vital" way of presenting the Gospel. He says: "Christ has not joined these two men merely to show them the fact of his resurrection, and so drive them into a belief by a physical process." "Why does not Christ come and spread before us his pierced hands and offer them to the touch of our faith? *Not in such ways is faith wrought.*" Jesus "might have said at once, 'Your fears are groundless; I am the Christ.'" But he "wished to put a broad and rational basis under their faith." "So he began with Moses and all the prophets, and expounded unto them the Scriptures concerning himself." But how was it with Thomas? Was not Christ's "Reach hither thy finger and behold my hands" a rational method of dealing with an unwilling sceptic? What answer did it get? Thomas's struggling soul shot at once up through the haze and fog of unbelief into the God-light of that revelation hour, and grasping the *person* of Christ in the *fact* of his resurrection, he said, "My Lord and my God!" And millions since have as instantly and as fully swung to divine moorings under the flashing revelation of the meaning of "the print of the nails," as Thomas did.

A reference to one more sermon must suffice. Its title is, "Faith Essential Righteousness," founded on the Scripture statement that Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. The author does not leave us in doubt about his meaning. He says: "When the relation of character to conduct is fully understood, it is seen that faith *is* righteousness; the flower of character grows from the root of belief." He says again, Abraham's faith "was counted to him as righteousness because, *being real, it yielded righteousness*"! And after picturing Abraham's trust in God up to the last point of obedience in the sacrifice of Isaac, he says again: "Shall not this faith be counted as righteousness? *What shall the future life of such a man be but righteousness?*"

There can be no mistaking all this. The author means that the righteousness counted to Abraham was his own personal, inherent, essential righteousness, *potentially* in him when he believed, and proved and prophesied by his faith. His faith evidenced *a state of soul* from which righteousness would inevitably spring; so that his faith was essential righteousness, and counted as such. In other words, Abraham, in being justified by faith, was justified by his own righteousness. And this, Mr. Munger declares, "is the great principle which St. Paul elaborated, and which became the key-note of the Protestant Reformation!"

But where is Christ in all this rational method, this "vital way" of presenting the Gospel? Faith in him is no longer the instrument, but the ground of our justification. The righteousness is not his, but our own. God has set him forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, not to show his righteousness, but to develop ours; which is very much the same as saying a wound is not healed by the *plaster applied*, but by our applying the plaster. Our appropriating faith does the business, not the Christ we appropriate. That "full faith in God leads to Godlike action" is true, for faith without works is dead; but it does not follow that a man is justified on account of this *result* of faith. If so, he is justified by works.

But enough has been cited to make it manifest that this vital method of presenting the Gospel needs some vital modifications to make it square with Scripture.

All through the book, along with much that is poetic in form and conception and tender and noble in feeling, there is a vagueness and looseness that is the prevalent vice of the new theology. What, for example, must be the view of inspiration that can be adjusted to a conception of Paul as one "who often begins a logical process, but forgets it or uses it carelessly or inconsequently, and finally falls back on intuition and assertion"?

Think of the immensity of the egotistical assumption claiming that to be the Christ-like method of preaching the Gospel which involves such views of justification and inspiration, while relegating the orthodox of all the Christian centuries to the company of the Pharisees! And think of the strength of the pinion feathers and the weakness of the steering feathers of the imagination that has gotten a man where he can honestly say (p. 40): "We are standing to-day in the midst of this theological wreck [Calvinism], its ruins around us, its dust filling the air, and the question on many lips is, Where is the Christ? Has he perished with the system?"

HERRICK JOHNSON.

FIFTEEN YEARS IN THE CHAPEL OF YALE COLLEGE. By NOAH PORTER. 1871–86. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888. Crown 8vo.

This book is in Dr. Porter's best vein of thought and diction. This simple statement implies high commendation. Eighteen discourses compose the volume. Of these, fifteen may be properly characterized as Baccalaureate Sermons, covering a period of fifteen years, and discussing the following topics: Christ a Witness to the Truth (1872); The Conquest over the World ('73); Obedience the Condition of Knowledge ('74); Christianity an Ethical Force ('75); The Fruit that Shall Remain ('76); By Faith ye Stand ('77); The Light of the World ('78); The New and the Old Commandment ('79); Agnosticism a Doctrine of Despair ('80); Seek First the Kingdom of God ('81); The Evil Heart of Unbelief ('82); The Fight of Faith ('83); In Understanding be Men ('84); Success in Life ('85); The Christian College ('86).

The other three discourses have special historic interest: I. On Leaving the Old Chapel ('76); II. On Entering the New Chapel ('76); III. Christian Worship ('76), the occasion being the first Sunday of regular worship in the Battell Chapel, September 17th, 1876. All these discourses were delivered in the chapel of Yale College during the presidency of Dr. Porter. Some of them were also delivered at other places, as the noticeable and noted one, "The Christian College," which was given at Yale in 1886 and at Wellesley as early as 1880. The themes are profound and practical. The treatment is philosophic, but plain. The spirit is Christian and catholic. The discourses are positive, but not partisan; trenchant, but tolerant.

The first two and the last are placed in the volume in their proper order, so as to include the rest, since, in an important sense, they comprehend and condition the intervening discourses. Intentionally or unintentionally, the fifteenth and last Baccalaureate seems to condense and summarize the thoughts so fully elaborated in the preceding discourses. The mere mention of the main points in this grand Baccalaureate will indicate its immense scope and importance:

1st. The ideal Christian college should continue and supplement the functions of the family and the Church.

2d. Christianity needs the college to improve its own spiritual quality, and enlarge its attractiveness and power.

3d. The college should be Christian in order to elevate and improve the quality of our science and culture.

4th. A vigorous Christianity is required in our colleges and universities to counteract and overcome evil tendencies which are active in the science and culture of our time.

5th. Christianity must control the college in order to exclude its antagonist or rival, in the form of some false religion.

The author's strength is signally manifest in maintaining and defending these truths. The book is specially adapted to interest and help college students, while it cannot fail to be interesting and helpful to every reader. R. B. WELCH.

PARISH PROBLEMS. Hints and Helps for the People of the Churches. Edited by WASHINGTON GLADDEN. New York: The Century Company. 8vo, pp. xii., 479.

This is an admirable book. It is so full and comprehensive that it may be regarded as an encyclopædia of parochial work. Dr. Gladden modestly styles himself the editor, but he is much more than that. He has contributed twelve important chapters to the work. There are in all twenty-four writers, most of whom are popularly recognized as specialists with reference to the subjects here assigned them. The Table of Contents indicates a careful arrangement of the manifold themes treated. There are nine general divisions: I. The Pastor's Call; II. Parish Business; III. Parish Buildings; IV. The Pastor at Home; V. The Pastor at Work; VI. Helping the Pastor; VII. The People at Work; VIII. The Sunday-school; IX. Worship.

Each of these general divisions is treated in several chapters, none in less than six, and only one in so many as seventeen. The book professes on its title-page to be for the people rather than for the pastors; but really it is for both. Many a minister would be greatly improved by reading carefully this condensation of the best thinking and of the most mature experiences of men who have been successful in the work of the Church. The general impression which the book leaves upon one's mind is that it contains a great deal of sanctified common sense which is wholesome alike for preachers and for hearers. Of course there are here and there some things to which objection may be made. So comprehensive a book must be vulnerable at some points. On p. 59 we find an account of extraordinary autocracy in Church discipline, which is fairly startling in its summary way of disposing of a large minority. We are told that certain men in the Church, "and they were leaders, too," being dissatisfied with the pastor, waited upon him, and requested him to resign. Whereupon the energetic man delivered this *ex cathedra* judgment:

> "Now do you get about your business; leave the church, or I'll turn you out of it, and I'll turn out or discipline every man and woman in the church that dares to interfere with me in my ministry. Go at once, or you will repent of it. The minister forthwith cleared out some forty of these disturbers, who, had they been permitted to have their own way by a timorous, nervous man, would have kept that pastor, and probably his successor, in torment for many years."

This is indeed heroic treatment, and we have tried to conceive of circumstances so extraordinary as to justify such a high-handed proceeding; but our imagination fails us, and we can but think such conduct on the part of a pastor utterly inconsistent with any idea or order of Church government of which we have ever heard. Naturally there is a great deal said in this book about woman's work, which under various organizations has become of late so large and important a part of the whole work of the Church. But Dr. Gladden gives us one excellent chapter on "Man's Work in the Local Church," in which he says some excellent and most timely things upon the disposition of business men to feel that by giving money they may be exempt from the obligation to work.

The eighth general division treats of the Sunday-school. Under this head there are ten chapters: five by Dr. J. H. Vincent, three by Dr. A. F. Schauffler,

one by Dr. A. E. Dunning, and the last one, "On the Sunday-school Music," by W. F. Sherwin. There is a great deal of valuable suggestion in these chapters, and very little to which one could object. The delicate, difficult, and most important subject is most admirably handled. We specially like the tone and spirit of Dr. Schauffler's chapters. His criticisms are bright and keen and timely, and his suggestions are as judicious as they are spiritual. Of course we do not agree with what he says on p. 369 with reference to Church history, "Would that our theological seminaries would spend less time in teaching the Church history of one thousand years ago, and more time in showing the students how to shape the Church history of one thousand years hence by wise methods of work to-day." The printer by mistake has put an interrogation mark at the end of that sentence, but the mark corresponds well with our feeling. We question the wisdom of the first part of the sentence, but agree heartily with Dr. Schauffler in the desire that in our seminaries there may be more instruction as to the wisest methods of work. All the seminaries are seeking this end; but at the same time they are trying, as they should, to do more and better work in the department of Church history. What Dr. Schauffler says about Christmas and Easter celebrations in the Sunday-school is most timely and excellent.

The thought which is left in our minds after a careful examination of this comprehensive book is that the rapid multiplication of organizations within the Church is a sign of the times which demands thoughtful consideration. What a formidable list of these organizations we are getting! Of course there is power in organization, but there is also in it peril. Too many heads in a parish will make friction, if not collision. Rivalries and jealousies and then dissensions may come with these manifold subdivisions of Christian work, and then the rightful leadership of the pastor and of the elders will be sacrificed. There surely is need of caution just at this point. Too many captains may spoil a company for good service in the army of the Lord. THOMAS S. HASTINGS.

BREAD IN THE DESERT, AND OTHER SERMONS. By RANDOLPH H. MCKIM, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New Orleans. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

In the Preface to this handsome volume we are told that these sermons were given to the press in obedience to the wishes of the author's late parishioners in Holy Trinity Church, Harlem, whom Dr. McKim had served as their rector for eleven years. The volume must be a pleasant and profitable legacy and memorial to that congregation, by whom the author was, and still is, greatly beloved. There are seventeen of these sermons, evidently carefully selected. They are practical and thoughtful in character and catholic in spirit. In structure the sermons show the hand of a true workman. In style they are easy and elegant, with frequent illustrations well chosen, and with other signs of careful adaption to popular impression, while through all of these sermons one sees very clearly the warm-hearted and earnest pastor seeking the spiritual good of his people. After reading these sermons it is easy to understand why the church in Harlem loved its rector, and was so unwilling to let him go. New Orleans is certainly to be congratulated upon having secured such a preacher, at once so scholarly and so evangelical. THOMAS S. HASTINGS.

CHRISTIAN FACTS AND FORCES. By NEWMAN SMYTH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is a sheaf of sermons gathered, as the author says, from his last year's ministry, and dedicated to the memory of the beloved dead of his flock, whose lives evidenced the vital Christian faiths he would confess. Doubtless the con-

fession is voiced in this volume of sermons. And certainly some of the vital truths of life are here touched. We doubt if it will be thought by unbiassed readers that any new light of value is thrown upon our fundamental beliefs by these discourses. They betray the excellencies and the defects that have marked the previous productions of the same author. It is hardly possible, however, that the volume will make anything like the impression made by "Old Faiths in New Light," or by others of the author's earlier works.

The reader will find here the same pleasantness of style and the same genial and generous catholicity of spirit to which the author has made him accustomed. He will find, too, the same indefiniteness, and even more than the old lack of energy and verve and climax. The thought is graceful rather than forceful, never once bearing the reader along with a mighty vehemence. But it is frequently poetic, sometimes philosophic, always subdued, calm, and tender. Not a drop of bitterness is in the book. A profound regard for the Christ of the Scriptures is apparent all along the pages, albeit there is frequently betrayed an inadequate conception of the profounder relations of His life and work to our being and destiny.

Turning for illustration to "A Study for a Doctrine of the Atonement," which is the title of one of these discourses, we find the author undertaking to show why Christ "must needs suffer," by showing what we must needs do or suffer in forgiving those who trespass against us. He calls this "the vital method in which we may study the doctrine of the atonement of Christ for the sin of the world." And he finds three definite truths in such study. First, *there must be penitence or confession on the part of the person who has done us wrong*, or there can be no actual forgiveness of the wrong done. Secondly, human forgiveness involves a painful knowledge of the wrong which has been inflicted. You cannot forgive a friend if you have never known and felt the hurt of his unkindness. Thirdly, the suffering of the injured person must be so discovered to the wrong-doer that he can know it and have some appreciation of it, in order that forgiveness may be granted and received.

Doubtless there are three essential conditions in any act of human forgiveness. The wrong-doer must repent of his wrong, and the one wronged must be conscious of having been wronged, and must disclose his injury to the wrong-doer before forgiveness is possible. The first of these needs especially to be emphasized; for repentance is regarded by many as an arbitrary condition of forgiveness, when its necessity in order to pardon is laid in the very structure of our moral nature. We find no fault with these conditions in the human relationships. It is to the *application of these conditions to Christ* that we object. Our author says, Christ, "identifying Himself with our sinful consciousness, *makes a perfect repentance for sin* and confession of it unto the Father." Christ also "realizes the cost of the sin of the world." And still further, He "reveals to the world what its sin has cost." The last two conditions are fulfilled in Him beyond a doubt. But in what justifiable sense can Christ be said to have made "*repentance*" for sin? "Penitence for the wrong done," the author rightly says, is vital to forgiveness. But is it conceivable that Christ could realize anything like this? There is not an element of repentance possible to the Son of God, even as a substitute for the sinner! He could suffer. He could know the cost, and make the sinner know it. But though He was "made sin for us," He had no sin to repent of. He could have no new *view* of sin, no change of *feeling*, nor of *conviction*, nor of *conduct*. He "*bore*" our sins. He atoned for them. How could He repent and make confession of them as if He were their guilty and criminal doer! "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" is the cry of conscious innocence suffering in some mysterious way for the guilty; but it is not the cry of penitence.

The boasted "vital method" of unfolding the Gospel fails here, as it fails wherever it grapples with a profound, fundamental truth of God, from undertaking to make "the supernatural most natural." The mysteries of the cross are not all to be fathomed by the plummet with which we go sounding the depths of our poor human relationships.

There are other features of these sermons that deserve attention. "The Great Requirement," the title of a sermon on the text, "Take up the cross and follow me," is defined to be *the Christian law of sacrifice;* but the reader must traverse three fourths of the track of the sermon before he will learn what this law of sacrifice is, and then he will find it to be no new law at all to which he has been led by this protracted and labored and high-promising prelude. Newman Smyth rarely, if ever, goes early and vigorously to the heart of his theme.

"The Beginnings of Discipleship" has some capital thoughts on what Jesus required of men when He first met them. "The Positiveness of Jesus" is a discourse of merit on the *verities* of our Lord, and the author voices a profound conviction when he says "that Christian unity is to be realized up on the high plane of this positiveness, and along the line of these great spiritual affirmations of Jesus Christ." HERRICK JOHNSON.

SEAMEN'S MANUAL FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WORSHIP. 16mo, pp. 199. New York: American Seamen's Friend Society.

This little book is published anonymously. We violate no confidence in saying that if the secretary had announced the names of those whom he has called to his aid in its preparation, their fitness for the work that they have severally undertaken would be at once recognized. Twenty-four pages are taken up with forms of worship for the Lord's day, for daily worship, and for special occasions. These are either taken from the Book of Common Prayer, or composed with excellent taste and judgment after this model. The collection of hymns consists of 171 well-chosen hymns, with a few chants and doxologies. The hymns are of sterling value, being for the most part such as have most widely and permanently commended themselves to Christ's people in Great Britain and America for their evangelical character and their fitness to be used in the "service of song." A very few of the more recent evangelistic hymns are included in the collection. The 130 tunes are of the same substantial and approved quality. The collection meets a real want, in both its parts, and cannot fail to find favor. No friend of the men of the sea need hesitate to aid in its prompt and wide circulation. CHARLES A. AIKEN.

BOOKS FOR PRACTICAL EDIFICATION:

Das Gespräch Jesu mit der Samarterin. Von F. L. Steinmeyer. (Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben.) Westermann & Co. send us a number of recent foreign publications. We notice first this little treatise, which is one of a series that the author is issuing under the title, "Contributions to the Understanding of John's Gospel." The first one treated of our Lord's sacerdotal prayer. The third will take up the Resurrection of Lazarus. Between these comes this careful review of our Lord's conversation with the woman of Samaria. In it the author shows the same curious proclivity to a threefold division of matter which was noticed in his work on the Sermon on the Mount. (See this REVIEW, VII., 195.) The introduction has three heads; the essay has three divisions, each of which, again, is distributed into three parts. As might be expected, this arrangement is arbitrary, being evidently suggested not by the character of the theme, but by the purpose of Dr. Steinmayer to fit all he has to say into a framework of this sort. But this does not interfere with the excellence of his treatise,

which abounds in nice criticism and acute suggestion. The author is familiar with the writings of his predecessors on the same subject, and is candid in his comments upon them. He treats the conversation and its results as an expressive manifestation of our Lord's prophetic office, and shows its relation to what went before and what followed after. His tone is always reverent and devout, and his lucubrations may be read with pleasure even by those who do not agree with him in all points.——*Handbuch für den Konfirmanden-Unterricht. Zweiter Teil.* Von Dr. Georg Harnburg. (Leipzig : Fr. Richter.) The first part of this careful manual for a confirmation class was noticed by us last year. The second is of the same general character. It takes up the second head of Luther's Small Catechism, the Creed, and treats its contents under the three persons of the Trinity, giving a clear and orderly conspectus of the main articles of faith. This is done with abundant citations of Scripture and with constant reference to the drift of thinking in our day, so that the matter is suited not only to the young, but also to maturer persons. It is gratifying to perceive that there is a call for such works.——*Ich lebe und Ihr sollt auch leben.* Von Hermann Peterson. (Leipzig : Bustorff.) This brochure contains six prelections upon the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians. The author, a pastor in Düsseldorf, writes with vigor and animation, and in a thoroughly evangelical spirit. On the vexed question of baptism for the dead, he rejects the notion that it means the reception of the ordinance on the graves of the martyrs as destitute of any historical basis, and also the fancy that it means a representative administration on behalf of believers hindered from receiving it before death as an irrelevant superstition, and considers it baptism in reference to the dead—viz.: the deceased member of that one body into which the sacrament introduces us ; and he makes the argument to be, if the dead rise not, what gain is it to come into such a fellowship, consisting of those who are already dead, and of others who are to experience the same fate and have no resurrection ?—a view which is clever, if not satisfying.——*Missions-stunden.* Von R. W. Dietel. IV. Heft. (Leipzig : Fr. Richter.) This new portion of Pastor Dietel's missionary narratives and addresses is like those which preceded it, full of information presented in a stirring way and calculated to awaken an intelligent interest in the great work of evangelizing the heathen world. All the hours in this *heft* are devoted to Southern Africa.——*Predigtentwürfe von Friedrich Schleiermacher aus dem Jahre* 1800. Von Lic. Dr. Friedrich Zimmer. (Gotha : A. Perthes.) These outlines of sermons are interesting as the work of so eminent a man, but they vary very much in character. Some are rich and suggestive, while others are quite commonplace, and all have a formal and precise aspect very different from the natural and easy progress of thought which characterizes the best specimens of English and American preaching. Yet one cannot deny the logical analysis, the fine unfolding of thought, and the richness of invention which the editor claims for these memorials of the celebrated preacher. Still, the student will value them more as a mental discipline than a model for imitation.——*Die Mission in der Schule. Ein Handbuch für den Lehrer.* Von Gustav Warneck. Dritte Auflage. (Gütersloh : C. Bertelsmann.) One cannot take up a publication of Dr. Warneck without large anticipations. In this case they are amply fulfilled. The book is designed to forward the cause of missions in the schools, and furnishes an admirable manual for that purpose. It first treats of its claims on the school, and then discusses its nature and methods, after which comes an intelligent survey of what bears upon the subject in the Old Testament, in the Gospels, and especially in the book of Acts. To this succeeds a fine sketch of missions through the centuries, then an exposition of the Catechism in relation to it, and finally a geographical conspectus of the matter. The book (183 pp., 8vo) is simply perfect. A translation of it would be very useful.——*Touto Esti*

To Sôma Mon. Vier Abhandlungen über das Wort des Herrn, "Das ist mein Leib." Von W. Phillipps ; pp. 479 (*Ibid.*). This is an elaborate treatise, written with an irenical aim. The author thinks that while it is the right and the duty of every portion of the Christian Church to maintain, defend, and develop that part of the truth committed to it, it is also their duty to accept that statement of the truth in which their confessional views may find a harmonious adjustment. This he endeavors to ascertain, discussing the *identity* of the elements with our Lord s body, then their *unity*, then the sacramental bearing of the Church as Christ's *peculium*, and finally the efficacy of the sacrament. The work shows a great deal of learning and acumen, but does not reach its aim, as, indeed, how could it ? The Tridentine definition of Transubstantiation must needs cut off the least hope of reconciliation with any of the Reformed. Pastor Phillipps, with all his honesty and acuteness, seems to evade difficulties rather than surmount them.——*The Biblical Illustrator ; or Anecdotes, Similes, Emblems, Illustrations, Expository, Scientific, Geographical, Historical, and Homiletic, Gathered from a wide Range of Home and Foreign Literature on the Verses of the Bible. St. Matthew.* By the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) This volume is so fully described on the title-page as to need no further remark than that it is a most industrious compilation, from an immense variety of sources, of whatever can help to explain and enforce the teachings of the first Gospel. Opinions differ as to the wisdom of using so full an account of men's views on the Scripture, but there can be but one opinion as to the completeness and adaptedness of this book to the purposes for which it was intended.

TALBOT W. CHAMBERS.

V.—PHILOSOPHY.

PSYCHOLOGY. The Motive Powers, Emotions, Conscience, Will. By JAMES McCOSH, D.D., LL.D. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887.

This volume on the Motive Powers completes Dr. McCosh's psychological treatise, the first volume of which was published a year ago. Starting with a threefold classification of the Motive Powers into Emotion, Conscience, and Will, the first and larger portion of the book is devoted to the first topic. The author's treatment of the emotions is, perhaps, the most original feature of his book. He opposes the physiological theory which reduces emotion ultimately to a nerve shock or discharge, and claims that an adequate analysis will discover four separate elements. In the illustration with which the volume opens the author points out that all emotion has its primary spring in some appetence or emotive principle implanted in our nature. The appetences are classified into primary or connate, and secondary or acquired ; an example of the first being love of family and friends, of the second, a miser's love of gold. But besides these root-principles three other elements are necessary to give rise to an emotion —namely, the idea, the organic affection, and the conscious feeling. Next to the emotive principle, the most essential element is the idea. Emotion does not arise blindly or aimlessly, but in presence of some moving object or idea. Thus, in the illustration referred to above, the fourth traveller's grief burst forth only after he had grasped the idea of his brother's death. The organic affection or the nervous discharge, which manifests itself in the general diffusion of nerve-excitation throughout the system and in the external manifestations of feeling, follows the intelligent apprehension of the moving object or idea as its physical

accompaniment. The fourth element, the conscious feeling or emotion proper, may be considered a consequence of the concurrent action of the three factors already stated. Emotion has, the author maintains, mental as well as physical antecedents, and cannot be explained as a mere nervous phenomenon.

An elaborate analysis of the constituents of emotion is followed by a classification on the basis of the ideal or intellectual element which, as the author maintains, is essential to the existence of an emotion. Emotions are grouped according as they are aroused by animate or inanimate objects. The first group is subdivided into retrospective, immediate, and prospective emotions. Under the second head the doctor groups the æsthetic emotions, or feelings, aroused by the beautiful, the ugly, the sublime, the ludicrous. The chapter on Æsthetics is both fresh and interesting, containing many observations which betray the author's keen appreciation of the beauty of natural objects.

A brief reference to the remaining divisions of the volume must suffice. The moral powers are treated under the head of Conscience. Dr. McCosh refuses to regard conscience as either a purely emotional or a purely intellectual power. He insists that it contains both cognitive and motive elements. On the intellectual side it is an intuitive power cognizing directly the distinction between right and wrong and the moral quality of particular acts. The decision of conscience is accompanied with a moral emotion, a feeling of approbation or reprobation, according as the act is approved or condemned. The author does not believe in a derivative morality deduced from considerations of utility or founded on pleasure and pain. He is an intuitionist of a very pronounced type, stoutly maintaining that fundamental moral deductions are given in intuitive judgments of the moral faculty.

The last division of the book treats of the Will or optative power. The great function of will is choice. This may be either spontaneous or deliberate. To choice, whether instantaneous or after deliberation, some motive is necessary. But the author repudiates the current separation between will and motive. We may have impulses or incitements to actions. But these do not rise into the sphere of motives of choice until the will has assented to them and thus identified itself with them. The author declines to enter into the dispute of the ages over the freedom of the will. He has, however, very positive views on the subject. The fact that every act of will is accompanied with the conviction of freedom is, he thinks, sufficient evidence that the will is actually free.

The two volumes of McCosh's Psychology on the Cognitive and Motive Powers contain the ripened fruit of a lifetime spent in the study of mental philosophy. They are incomparable text-books for classes in colleges and high schools. They combine with a clear and untechnical style conciseness of statement and masterly analysis of topics. To these attractions we must add an unfailing supply of fresh and pertinent illustrations and copious notes on subjects cognate to the topics treated in the body of the volumes. ALEXANDER T. ORMOND.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALS. (Introductory Chapters.) By JOHN MATTHIAS WILSON, B.D., and THOMAS FOWLER, M.A. Pp. 133.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALS. Part II. (being the body of the work). By THOMAS FOWLER, D.D. Pp. 370. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1886, 1887.

The first part of this work, under the joint authorship given in the title, appeared in 1875. The second part, for which Dr. Fowler alone is responsible, was published during the year 1887. The volumes are handsome octavos, and present the attractive appearance for which the issues of the Clarendon Press are famous. After exhibiting in a very sensible way the relation of ethics to kindred sciences, the authors in part first proceed to a distribution of the material

of Theoretical Ethics according to the following plan, which is, to say the least, unusual: "The main divisions of Theoretical Ethics to be now treated may be enumerated as follows: the nature, development, and regulation of the feelings considered as self-regarding, sympathetic, resentful, and semi-social; the Reason in its relation to the feelings; the place of the Imagination in morals, and the construction of moral ideas; the Will and the question of liberty and necessity; the nature of moral Approbation and Disapprobation; the moral standard, or criterion of action; and, finally, the religious feeling in its bearing on moral conduct." To the discussion of these topics there is prefixed a somewhat meagre history of modern and especially English ethics. The topics themselves, as the chapter on the "Method of Morals," which closes the first volume, makes clear, are intended to represent the historical order in which ethical phenomena manifest themselves in individual experience. Adopting an *a posteriori* method of inquiry, the author seeks for the origin of fundamental ethical concepts in the springs of action commonly called the feelings. The second volume opens with an account of the self-regarding feelings; and the author closes his discussion of this topic by showing that these feelings, under the direction of intelligence, may lead to a very high type of morality—may, indeed, have the perfection of character as their object. This is not only true, but if it be asked what end a man should have before him as his chief good, it would be hard to find any other than his own moral perfection. Self-realization, in other words, is the goal of moral endeavor.

Next to the self-regarding feelings come the sympathetic, which the author regards as constituting an original element in human nature. The discussion of Sympathy is followed by a chapter on Resentment. The author holds that disinterested malevolence is not natural to man; that resentment always presupposes harm or injury; that malevolent feelings, though liable to abuse, may nevertheless be restrained, and with the growth of intelligence will be held in abeyance; and that the law of the land is intended to obviate the necessity for private vengeance. The relation of law to the resentful feelings in man is very clearly put; and now to complete the natural history of morals, it would be necessary for the author to derive justice and obligation from the law. The connection of ideas is not very close in this part of the discussion, and we do not think that the author has been more successful than previous empirical writers have been in accounting for the genesis of the idea of duty and obligation. It must not be supposed, however, that Dr. Fowler follows Bain in making a wrong act mean simply one that is punishable, though the discussion of the relation of morality to law might lead naturally to this conclusion. In subsequent chapters, after dealing with the semi-social feelings, the author proceeds to give his account of the genesis and growth of the moral faculty. We feel satisfaction —this substantially is Dr. Fowler's view—when we follow the higher rather than the lower impulse, and this satisfaction we call moral approbation, and it is the foundation of our idea of right and of obligation. The idea of "ought," according to this author, is not a simple and unanalyzable idea. "It will," he says, "always be found to attach itself to that course of conduct which, on reflection, we conceive to be the greater good; or, in other words, to be most conducive to the welfare of all those, ourselves included, whom it may affect." It will occur to many readers of Dr. Fowler to ask, however, whether the words "higher" and "lower" as predicates of actions do not already presuppose the idea of right, and whether the sense of obligation is not a very different thing from the feeling of satisfaction. I may have more satisfaction in following my altruistic rather than my egoistic feelings, but this does not account for the feeling of obligation, which takes no account of consequences.

Dr. Fowler's analysis of the feelings is interesting, and there are several chap-

ters in the second part of this work which show penetration and keen psychological insight; and it should be said, moreover, that while he attempts (without success, as we suppose) to give an *a posteriori* account of fundamental moral ideas, he does not found morality upon a purely human basis. Speaking upon this subject, he says, "Believing as I do that human nature had its origin in a Divine source, and that it has been divinely appointed to work out great ends in the economy of the universe, I regard the moral nature of man as a consummate example of the divine workmanship, and none the less so because it has been developed and is being developed still, instead of being an instantaneous product incapable of improvement or growth. Though, therefore, my ultimate reference in all matters of conduct is to the constitution of man's nature, it is to man's nature as God's work."

The closing chapters of the book deal with The Will and The Religious Feeling.

F. L. PATTON.

VI.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES. Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, B.A., etc., sometime President of the Philological Society, with the Assistance of Many Scholars and Men of Science. Part III., Batter—Boz. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

The appearance of a Third Part of the Historical Dictionary of the English language, the publication of which has been undertaken by the University of Oxford, calls fresh attention to this great work. The story of its origin and progress runs through thirty years. Dean Trench, since Archbishop of Dublin, in 1857 proposed to the Philological Society that they should undertake the collection of materials for a complete dictionary. This material consists of quotations illustrating all the uses of all English words, with dates and references to the books from which they are taken. To obtain it all the books in the language were to be read, if possible. This work was begun with enthusiasm by several hundred readers, under the editorship of Mr. Herbert Coleridge. It was found that a large number of works of the early period were still in manuscript, and nothing satisfactory could be completed till they were printed. The Early English Text Society was organized, and printed a most important series of books. The quotations accumulated to indefinite numbers, and at length began to be spoken of by the million, and the slips of paper on which they were written to be reckoned by the ton. No publisher would print them. Mr. Coleridge and other leading workers died. The work seemed to have fallen from its own weight, and it lay in a heap for several years; but in 1878 Dr. Murray brought forward a plan of publication, prepared specimen sheets and laid them before the Clarendon Press of the University of Oxford in such form that the University undertook the expense of printing and publication. New interest was at once excited in reading for quotations, and arranging them for study. In 1883 the First Part appeared, A—Ant, pp. xvi., 352. At this time Dr. Murray and his helpers had in hand about three and a half millions of slips, selected by about thirteen hundred readers from the works of more than five thousand authors, at least twenty thousand separate works. The readers have volunteered from all parts of the world, Americans in fair proportion. The largest contribution is

from an Englishman, T. Austin, Esq., one hundred thousand quotations; the next is from Rev. J. Pierson, D.D., Ionia, Mich., thirty-six thousand; and among those having sent upward of ten thousand are two Pennsylvanians, Professor G. M. Phillips, of West Chester, Pa., and H. Phillips, Esq., Ph.D., Philadelphia.

By Dr. Murray's plan a selection is made from the slips, and only so much of each quotation is printed as is necessary. From the year 1150 to 1500 all the books are read, and every word is taken. Before 1150 the important Anglo-Saxon books are read, but only such quotations are printed as belong to words which survived beyond 1150. After 1500 a distinction is made between standard English and the dialects, and of course only a selection of books and other printed matter has been read. A separate series of quotations is made for each meaning of a word, beginning with the passage in which the word first appears in an English book, and coming down to that in which it is found latest. Dr. Murray has the *perfervidum ingenium*, delights in his work, and distinguishes every shade of meaning, so that the number of quotations used is very liberal. Under *bear*, the verb, there are eighty-two distinct meanings, and perhaps four hundred and more quotations. Under *bear*, the animal, there are thirteen meanings and fifty quotations, while Johnson has two meanings and four quotations. Under the verb *be* Johnson has thirteen quotations, Murray six to seven hundred. About one hundred and twenty-five thousand quotations are used in the three Parts now printed; there will be a million at least in the completed Dictionary. Each of these quotations has with it its date, author, work, page, or other exact reference; and it is given *literatim*, the exact spelling, capitals, and all of the first edition being preserved. These quotations constitute the body of the book, and its greatest value to scholars. It has, however, all the accompaniments of a complete dictionary. The typical or common spelling is pointed out, though other spellings are given and the dates of their currency.

The present pronunciation of all current words is given, and with a nicety of notation not approached in other dictionaries. Dr. Murray distinguishes sixty-six vowel sounds.

The etymology is of the same excellence. It displays the whole form history of each word back to its first appearance in English, and then in other languages as far as it can be traced in documents, and into the theoretic forms of pre-historic speeches as far as the current science of the latest neo-grammarians has gone. In all this Dr. Murray uses the advice and consent of the best-accepted German scholars, and the etymology of Grimm and Littré is old fashioned beside him. He also has the aid of eminent men of science and learning in determining the exact senses of scientific terms and words of difficult meaning. The Dictionary claims to "represent in a condensed form the accumulated knowledge of very many of the first scholars of our time," and to "be found in all respects abreast of the actual state of science"

In its plan it is certainly the foremost dictionary of the world. The German Dictionary of the Grimms is its forerunner and exemplar, but there has since been a great advance of scientific method in philology, and an immense gathering of materials for the history of language. The English language is the largest field for the use of this learning and science, and the New Dictionary claims to have it at command. Its form corresponds to its substance. Every resource of the printer's art is used to make the book not only convenient for use, but strikingly handsome. The general reader or the amateur philologist or picker-up of linguistic curiosities cannot look at this dictionary without admiration and delight. It is packed full of the most curious and interesting facts, presented in the most happy form. It is now four years since the first number appeared. The reviews of each successive part have been more and more laudatory. The London *Times*, the *Academy*, the *Athenæum*, vie with each other;

"a monumental work," "an achievement without parallel," "a great Enterprise of National Interest," seem to be meant for sober critical comment by these staid authorities. The philological reviews all over the world have commended it with few reserves. That it really is what it appears to be, a thoroughly good piece of work in the view of the masters of the science of language, and an indispensable part of the apparatus of every student of the English language and literature, may now be confidently asserted. F. A. MARCH.

LA CARITA OF ANDREA DEL SARTO IN THE CHIOSTRO DELLO SCALZO AT FLORENCE. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. 4to, pp. 23. London: The Fine Art Society, Limited, 1887.

The chips which Max Müller throws off from his workshop are always interesting, and this little pamphlet is no exception to the rule. In it he presents to our notice a very beautiful sketch, here reproduced by the collotype process, of the Caritá of Andrea del Sarto, a similar group to that in the cloisters of the Collegio dello Scalzo at Florence. The sketch is on a number of small sheets of very old paper carefully pasted together, and forming a picture 5 ft. 2½ in. x 2ft. 10 in. It was found to be inscribed, "*Abozzo di Andrea del Sarto*"—the first sketch of Andrea del Sarto. Face to face with it is given a reproduction of the fresco itself, so that we have a fair opportunity of examining the characteristics of each. In matters of detail the one is almost an exact reproduction of the other, though the differences of touch in the two drawings are so marked as to incline us to attribute them to different artists. The sketch is evidently from the hand of no mean artist, and exhibits more refinement and tenderness of feeling, though less technical ability, than the other. Can it be that we have here the original sketch of the artist? This is what Professor Müller wishes to believe, basing his hypothesis upon what we may term epigraphical evidence. He judges not so much from the style of the drawing as from what he calls the external evidence, such as the antiquity of the paper and the inscription upon it. Now this inscription, he tells us, was where the paste had almost obliterated it, was written with a hurried hand, and was scarcely legible. The chirography is not very clear, certainly not a decisive index of the date of the drawing. We may presume that the distinguished Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford is capable of judging palæographic evidence, but he is very guarded in assigning a date to this inscription. The nearest to an exact statement which he ventures to make is that "the very handwriting of the words, 'Abozzo di Andrea del Sarto,' is certainly *not of this century*." This leaves us in doubt whether to assign the drawing to the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century—not a very exact demonstration in favor of Andrea. We owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Müller for having discovered this very interesting, perhaps very valuable sketch, and for his glowing description of it. But when we remember that the known sketches of Andrea del Sarto are of a more linear and less finished character than this, it is safer to believe that we have here an early copy rather than the original sketch. Nevertheless, the copy, if it be such, is singularly attractive, and retains for us much which in the original fresco is peeling and dropping away. ALLAN MARQUAND.

We notice further:

A Collection of the Letters of Thackeray, 1847–1885. Pp. 189. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887.) These letters, which constituted so marked a feature in *Scribner's Magazine* for 1887, are here issued in attractive form, as they deserve to be, in an independent volume. They exhibit the great novelist

in a most delightful way. All that is genial and tender comes out in this correspondence, and will surely and effectually correct many impressions that have been formed in regard to him. The satirist, the supposed cynic, had a softer side to his nature, which drew strongly to him the friends to whom it was nowhere better presented than in such correspondence as this. His memory will be the sweeter with us all for these revelations.——*What to Do?* Thoughts evoked by the Census of Moscow. By Count Lyof N. Tolstoï. 12mo, pp. 273. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1887.) All that is most generous and chivalrous in Tolstoï is brought before us in these pages, while at the same time his radical and scornful opposition to what he often calls the "scientific science," and the practical injustice of the modern world in its dealing with social problems, is expressed with all the power and intensity that he can command. Anywhere else we should call such a man a "crank" of the first water. Money is only and utterly evil; the only good use that can be made of it is to get rid of it in the way that shall do the least harm to one's self or others. The only corrective of the social inequalities of our modern life is that every man should do the utmost by himself and for himself, and produce the most that he can produce, so as to bring the smallest number of his fellow-men into any possible relation of dependence upon him. The forms and measures of cleanliness, *e.g.*, on which we have come to insist, are "useless to everybody, and objectless, except for the purpose of separating one's self from others, and of rendering impossible all intercourse with them, when this cleanliness is attained by the labors of others" (p. 106). Moral: Go dirty, except as you can do your own washing. "Education consists of those forms and acquirements which are calculated to separate a man from his fellows" (p. 107). "Money accumulated itself represents violence" (p. 126). "Money is a new form of slavery, which differs from the old form of slavery only in its impersonality" (p. 129). Tolstoï has the courage of his convictions, and conforms his own life to his theories; he gives expression to them with his pen with a style of rare vigor. We wonder less after reading this volume that the government censor prunes his pages well before allowing them to appear among those whose circumstances and whose provocations are Russian.——*Life Notes; or, Fifty Years' Outlook.* By William Hague, D.D. 12mo, pp. 362. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1888.) Dr. Hague's fine personal qualities, his prominence as one of the foremost preachers, pastors, and counsellors of his denomination, and the wide acquaintance with men and affairs which began in the favorable conditions of his early life and was promoted by the changes incidental to his eleven pastorates in influential churches, give more than an ordinary interest to his life notes. His comments on men and things are very pleasant reading, and carry with them the weight which belongs even to the lighter work of such a man.

CHARLES A. AIKEN.