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ART I.—*Die Kirchengeschichte des 18 und 19 Jahrhunderts, aus dem Standpunkte des evangelischen Protestantismus betrachtet, in einer Reihe von Vorlesungen, von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach.* Leipzig. 8vo. Vol. I. 1848. pp. 511. Vol. II. 1849. pp. 467.

OTHER works of Dr. Hagenbach have made him sufficiently known as a writer of comprehensive views and unusual sprightliness. This, rather than what the Germans love to call depth, is at the bottom of his popularity. Yet he is decidedly a German; looking on the world's history and the world's geography as finding their central region in central Europe; but with a kindly, liberal, and even all-embracing welcome to the rest of the earth. Without being a Hegelian, or even in all details a follower of Schleiermacher, he shows both in nomenclature and opinion the influence of the modern philosophy. Without being one of the churchly orthodox, or anything like a Puritan, he has a warm side towards pietism, and even goes to insular Great Britain, to seek and applaud what is good in Methodists. So far as sentiment, feeling and philanthropy are extant in evangelical religion, he gives it his hand, and is

- ART. II.—1. *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the sixteenth century.* By Thomas McCrie, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.
2. *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the year 1807 to the year 1814.* By Col. W. F. P. Napier. The fourth edition. 3 vols. Brussels.

A notice of Col. Napier's work in this Review may not seem out of place, when the Peninsular War is viewed in connection with the conduct of Spain at the Reformation. As a narrative of military operations, these volumes could have no claim on our attention; as a chapter in the history of God's righteous retribution on the persecutors of his saints, this record deserves the consideration of every pious reader. We yield to none in our abhorrence of war. We look with disrelish on its honours, and we feel their perfect antagonism to the honours coming from God. But with these feelings however strong, no man is more ready than the liberal and consistent Christian to hold in proper reverence the defender of his country and the patriotic dead. The sentiment of Pericles over his countrymen fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian War touches the feelings of every generous heart. "It is a debt of justice to pay superior honours to men who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country though inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour." There is inlaid deep in the nature of man, a principle which awakens in us peculiar emotions towards those who have made sacrifices of life or exposed themselves to peril for asserting the rights of man, or defending the public from danger. This principle is the incentive to some of the most glorious deeds of the men of this world; these emotions are among the noblest of our fallen nature. Implanted in the heart by divine wisdom and like every other impulses, good when properly controlled, this endowment becomes a source of evil when under the direction of a mind eluded by the ignorance of sin and fired with phrensy from absence of the fear of God. This feeling it is,

which when raised, refined and fortified by the Holy Spirit, leads to the most exalted appreciation of the character of Jesus Christ as the captain of our salvation,—as one who in loving his church and giving himself for their redemption, has shown a magnanimity below which the best instances of human patriotism fall as far as the littleness of man falls below the infinity of the Godhead. Aware of the value of this sentiment and willing to leave it in full operation when held in check by heavenly grace, we feel the good sense of the Duke of Wellington's language that a victory is a calamity which can be equalled only by a defeat. War is the greatest of calamities; a field of battle shows the highest development of depravity. The thirst of mankind for military glory springs from the perversion of a noble principle of our nature and is one of the strongest delusions connected with sin.

He "who sees a God employed in all the good and ill that checker life," views history as something more than a series of facts for interesting the imagination or instructing the captains and governors of the world. The most mighty and fearful revolutions among men may seem to the ungodly to spring only from political causes and to issue in nothing more than political results; but to the better instructed and more penetrating mind of the believer, these changes are like the wheels in the prophetic vision, which though dreadful, yet had the spirit of life in the wheels and whither the spirit was to go they went without turning when they went. The spirit within the intricate and sweeping wheels of human revolutions, is the spirit of the Most High who ruleth in the kingdom of men and giveth it to whomsoever he will. "There is a principle of movement emanating from God himself in all the changes among nations." To pious, thoughtful minds the world's history instead of offering as to the ignorant crowd, a confused chaos, appears a majestic temple, which the invisible hand of God erects and which rises to his glory above the rock of humanity. Shall we not acknowledge the hand of God in those mighty nations which arise and give a new destiny to human affairs? Shall we not acknowledge his hand in those heroes who spring up among men at appointed times; who display activity and energy

beyond the ordinary limits of human strength; and around whom individuals and nations gather, as if to a superior and mysterious power?"* Viewing God as the animating spirit of history and his purpose of love to our race, through Jesus Christ as its leading principle, the believer studies it for the exhibition there had of the character of sin and the illustration there given of redeeming love. The holy angels might have reasonably desired to know more concerning the nature of sin, as they gazed on those morning stars falling from heaven into the blackness of darkness. In the progress of events on earth, they have seen one page after another unfolded in the annals of guilt, and by these bitter results from a single act of disobedience, have felt the goodness of divine justice in such prompt punishment of transgression. They desire to look into the mysteries of redemption, into the nature of the curse from which there is deliverance, as well as into the mode of escape and the glory to which we are thereby exalted. The history of the church is the line of light running through the whole history of human affairs; the design of God is the golden thread by which alone we can find our way through this perplexing and inextricable labyrinth. The Bible is the Rosetta stone which gives the key to the mysterious records of past ages, and without which their full import would be as unintelligible as were formerly the hieroglyphics of Egypt. One of the ends answered by prophecy, running as it does from the fall to the final triumph of redemption, is a standing assurance of the presence of God in earthly things and of the fulfilment of his designs in all their revolutions.

The scriptures furnish the only trustworthy knowledge of antiquity down to the Old Testament narrative. Profane history does run back beyond this period, but what remains when we subtract the gross amount of fable? While admiring the classic simplicity of the father of history, and fascinated with his narrative, we feel his stories are worth little more as history than the stories of any good old man, until he reaches the period when his authority was virtually personal observation. We have always been willing to pay great

* Merle D'Aubigné.

regard to the veracity of Herodotus, receiving with allowance the materials drawn from tradition in a barbarous age, and taking as reliable the records of his own immediate knowledge. The tradition of the elders is at best a delusive guide. And so thought this honest chronicler. But when he reaches the events of his own age, the burning of Sardis, the campaigns of Marathon and Platea, we feel ourselves receiving facts from an honest man who had the best means for gratifying his wish to record the truth for the instruction of coming ages. About the time when profane history becomes worthy of credit, the history of the scriptures closes. At the foundation of all history do thus lie these divine records, one object of which was to teach unbelieving man the doctrine of a providence in earthly things—of God as the animating soul of history. He who begins the study of history aright by beginning with the scriptures, must receive this fundamental truth; and carrying with him the thread of prophecy, as advancing in his researches, he can never overlook this principle in any subsequent investigations.

As contributions to the general fund of history, works may be valuable in which the facts cannot be relied on, though the portrait of human nature is true. Besides their excellence as the finest creations of genius, the works of Homer and Shakspeare merit study for their faithful picture of the character of sinning man. For this end the Iliad and Odyssey are invaluable, even though the incidents therein embodied are imaginary. They may not be a history of facts, but they are a history of human nature; they teach not so much what men did, as what men were, in that early, barbarous age. All the writings of Pagan antiquity have an interest for the Christian, beyond their literary value. Their mythology, their philosophy, their dramatic literature, no less than their historical annals, are prized by the pious mind which while threading out the providence of God, is eager to know what were the peculiar phases of human depravity, in different circumstances, under different influences, and under different dealings of the King of Kings. While therefore a history like this of Col. Napier may deserve attention as a literary production, the Christian will read it with interest as a chapter in the history

of sin. The shield of Achilles though made for defence on the field of battle and useful more directly for the soldier, exhibited in the combination of the metals, in the sculpture, and in the scenes thereon portrayed, interesting themes for the student of ancient customs and for every refined imagination. Achilles might have admired the shield as a splendid piece of armour; its classic beauty and picture of ancient times are the cause of our admiration. And this history, though the narrative of a bloody contest and intended as a treatise on the art of war, may be valuable to the military man for its military knowledge, while others may prize it as a literary work of real genius, as a graphic delineation of the righteous retribution of God on a nation drunk with the blood of his saints, as a casket containing some of the most beautiful gems in the literature of England.

To this work the author brought the best qualifications. A captain of five year's standing at the beginning of the Peninsular war and serving to its close in his regiment or on the staff, related to distinguished officers and enjoying access to the papers of eminent French generals, as well as gathering information from Wellington himself, he has been able to reach the truth as near as possible, and give his descriptions the faithfulness attainable by an eye witness only. In all that relates to the movement of armies and description of battles, he stands unrivalled. In these things he is not surpassed by Thucydides. In these volumes there are many details and many disquisitions on military operations, which may not be interesting to the general reader. The state of Spain was such a chaos, that the narrative of the doings of the Spanish armies can hardly be understood without effort; and cannot be made interesting with the touches of even this writer's genius. But in following the operations of the English army from its first advance under Sir John Moore and under Wellington, to its last conflict under the walls of Toulouse, we feel unflagging interest in the combinations of the commanders and are delighted with the masterly pictures of the historian. Southey's history of the Peninsular war was a failure. No person would wish to read it after acquaintance with the pages of Col. Napier. A summary of the events here recorded may be

found in Alison's history of the French Revolution. In that revolution, the war in Spain was an episode. One defect of Alison's work arises from its being written not without research, but without sufficient study and before time enough had passed for getting at the whole truth. No man, whatever his genius, could write an impartial history of such a momentous period so soon after its close. It has been well said that truth lies at the bottom of a well, and never is more time required for lugging it out than after a great battle or a great revolution. Able men have spent years in making a record of portions of that great conflict; which occupy a small space in the volumes of Alison. Had Siborne's history been published before the completion of Alison's work, his account of the Waterloo campaign would probably have been different in some essential particulars. In many places he has adopted, perhaps unintentionally, the glowing sentences of Napier. In his forty-ninth chapter, he has however given a better account of the causes leading to the war. Napier's descriptions have the richest coloring and a perfect finish. The language may sometimes strike us as odd and as verging towards the grotesque, yet we are never able to say that anything should be withdrawn, that anything can be added. With the simplicity and faithfulness of reality, some of his pictures remind us of the strange but magnificent coloring of a landscape viewed through a prism. No finer descriptions can be found than the retreat of Sir John Moore, the storming of Oporto by Soult, the passage of the Duero, the battle of Talavera, the charge of the fusilier brigade at Albuera, the rout of Vittoria, the siege of Saragossa, the storming of Badajoz and of St. Sebastian. The chapter describing the manœuvres preceding the battle of Salamanca together with that great overthrow, is the master piece of the whole work and unsurpassed if not unequalled by any historian.

There is a remarkable impartiality in the pages of Col. Napier. In this he has set an example worthy of all imitation and all praise. While a deadly animosity existed between the French and Spaniards, the English who did not behold at every step the slavery of their country and destruction of their homes, felt no such exasperation. They went to

the strife as to a combat of honour for measuring their strength with the invincible conquerors of Europe. Throughout this history, the same feeling is seen in the author, which led the English and French soldiers to meet like friends at the streamlet running between the hostile armies, during the cessation in the battle of Talavera, and the soldiers of the two hostile camps to mingle in friendly intercourse on the banks of the Duero. A relief is felt in reading an author whose impartiality can be trusted; to whom we can listen, not as to a special pleader but as to a candid judge. A compliment has been paid him in the charge of the Tory party in England, that he has written by far the best French account of the war. He fulfills the words of Cicero: "*Quis nescit, primam esse historię legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo? ne qua simultatis? Hęc scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus.**" By how few are they practised. With the best intentions, how difficult for human nature warped by prejudice and beset with the blinding influence of error, to reach the whole truth in history and set it forth with candour. This magnanimity towards France does not however prevent Col. Napier from giving utterance to rancorous and unworthy feeling towards some other countries, especially the United States. These expressions uncalled for, few in number, and perfectly isolated, should be struck from the work as blemishes. Had we the space, we have not the will to enter into controversy with him when he speaks of Washington as "not comparable to either Cromwell or Bonaparte," and gives as proof of his having less real love of liberty the fact of "bequeathing his black slaves to his widow." Men's moral perceptions and feelings have no less to do than the intellect, in determining their judgments. The man who can speak thus of Washington, shows a defect in his moral constitution, which disables him from appreciating that noblest excellence in which moral worth is the leading element. We leave our author to settle this dispute, with the philosopher of France,* who says, "Washington did the two greatest things which in politics

* *De Oratore*, ii. 15.

† Guizot.

man can have the privilege of attempting ;"—with those of his own countrymen who feel that "Modern history has not so spotless a character to commemorate—that, it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amid transatlantic wilds, to such a man,"* that "He is the greatest man of our own or of any age, and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and in virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."†

We might reply that in judging of ability we seek answers to three simple questions : What has the man done ? With what means ? At what expense ? With a few battalions of unpaid, unclothed, undisciplined militia, held together at the most discouraging times only by personal affection for himself, Washington wrought out the independence of a great nation ; organized a form of government entirely new ; established on a firm basis a mighty and flourishing empire ; left his impress, not on his country and his age alone, but on his race ; and bequeathed to posterity the legacy of an example of perhaps greater value than his republican institutions. No commander ever achieved so much for mankind, with such slender means, and at so small an amount of human suffering. His military operations, though on so limited a scale, compared with the campaigns of the old world, show nevertheless very great ability. The remarks of this historian on Wellington's intended march to Torres Vedras after the battle of Vimicro, apply to Washington ; "The statue of Hercules, cast by Lysippus, though only a foot high, expressed the muscles and bones of the hero more grandly than the colossal figures of other artists."

In these volumes Col. Napier has raised a monument to the genius of Wellington, which shall stand when Westminster Abbey with its memorials is in the dust. The time has passed for disparaging the abilities of this great English commander. The publication of Col. Gurwood together with this work and Captain Siborne's history, has laid open his character and conduct in a way without a parallel among public men, and shown

* Alison.

† Brougham.

that ignorance only or unpardonable prejudice can deny him the possession of great abilities. Any efforts hereafter made to disparage his talents, can only discredit the authors.

If the Duke of Wellington's career does not establish the claim to greatness, no series of public acts can entitle any man to such claim. Without mentioning his distinguished conduct in India and his success as a diplomatist, we find him commanding in person at sixteen pitched battles in Europe, against the ablest lieutenants of Napoleon, finally against the emperor himself,—and in every case triumphant. No enemy ever took from him a piece of cannon and found himself able to keep it. Good fortune may help a weak man to a single victory; nothing but science and a masterly intellect could carry a man onward as conqueror through such overwhelming difficulties during a period of years. By the readers of this history, the character of this great leader of the armies of Protestant England will be fully appreciated,—his powerful abilities, his piercing sagacity, his exalted moral courage, his wonderful endurance under provocation, his magnanimous contempt of party vilification, his unbending firmness in carrying out well matured plans, his tact in blending and persevering in union the most jarring political materials, his talents as a statesman, his genius in the field, his eagle glance in detecting the error of an enemy and promptitude in improving it with energy, his courage tempered with judgment, his enterprise with caution, his seeming rashness with far-reaching forethought, his obstinacy with daring, his gigantic vigour in sustaining the weakness of three inefficient cabinets while leading the Anglo-Portuguese army in triumph through the Pyrenees. They will find his success was not the accidental gift of fortune, that he triumphed in other battles besides the overthrow at Waterloo. A strong illustration of the vastness of Napoleon's genius appears in the contrast presented by his marshals when viewed in comparison with the Emperor. By his side they seem ordinary men; yet they were equal to the greatest then existing in Europe, hardly inferior to the greatest celebrated in history. They seem below their true stature because standing around the Colossus. Yet these marshals were decidedly inferior to Wellington. One by one did their

master send them to try their skill in arms against the champion of England; one by one were their lances shivered and themselves laid prostrate and helpless at his feet. Of all the great intellects produced in that age of giants he alone is worthy to stand by the side of Napoleon; and if indeed he is second to Napoleon, the second place is held by Wellington alone.

For the evils suffered during those wars, there must have been a reason. The curse causeless shall not come. Judgments are not inflicted without cause by the Judge of all the earth. During the commotions of the French Revolution, no countries suffered more than France and Spain; no country suffered less than England. The revolutions of that period were connected more or less directly with the Reformation. The American Revolution was but the winding up of the conflict which had brought Charles I. to the scaffold. The battle was for civil and religious liberty; it was fought not for England and America alone, but for the benefit of mankind. No cause ever had such advocates and leaders. It is the glory of liberty as here established, that to such a man as John Milton was allotted by Providence the intellectual and literary part of the conflict; and that Washington the counterpart of Hampden, ended so gloriously what Cromwell had so well begun. No political movement in the annals of our race ever furnished four men of such purity and grandeur of character. Milton pleaded the cause in the presence of posterity no less than of Europe, and in unrivalled prose which yet leads captive the reason, fires the imagination, and stirs the depths of the soul; Hampden was the great parliamentary leader of this movement; its soldiers were Cromwell and Washington. While the principles of the Reformation thus triumphed in England, and more perfectly among the sons of England on American soil, far otherwise was it in France and Spain.

The true cause of the Reformation lies deeper than the revival of learning, the discovery of printing, or the sale of indulgences. It was the resurrection of the soul from the torpor of the dark ages, by the power of religion through the Spirit of Him who is the resurrection and the life. We are no be-

lievers in the doctrine that truth alone regenerates the impenitent heart, or that any measures, any combinations however secret, can arouse mankind and make their condition permanently better without an energy from on high. The human mind was quickened into activity by the power which rouses the slumbering energies of nature at the return of spring. The Reformation had breathed into it a living soul; the living principle of that soul was the Spirit of God; the truth by which it was to live was religion, the word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. That great movement was caused by the influence of the same Spirit who on another occasion, when darkness was upon the face of the deep, moved upon the face of the waters. In both instances, while the Holy Spirit was the moving power, the word of God was necessary for bringing forth light and all the subsequent development. All mental activity and wisdom come from Him who put wisdom and understanding into the heart of Aholiab and Bezaleel. Ex. xxxvi. 1. He is the Father of lights, of all varieties of knowledge, every good gift intellectual as well as religious among men cometh down from Him. And one of the humiliating things impenitent men will have at last to acknowledge, is that with all their pride of intellect, their boasted talent was entrusted to them by God. It is important for God to show that every thing, all wisdom and all triumphs of religion, is owing to the Holy Spirit; to make mankind no less than Christians, feel that all their springs are in Him. The expression "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church," is often used as though martyrdom carries within itself some efficacious power for religion. The history of the church during the early persecutions, so far from proving this, shows in the strongest manner, there must have been some divine influence for sustaining successive generations of believers amid such agonies. The fate of the Reformed religion in France and Spain shows that without the Holy Ghost martyrdom will only destroy the church. By withdrawing the Spirit to a degree, after the triumphs of Christianity in the fourth century, and allowing things to sink down as in the dark ages, a demonstration was given that the success of the Christian religion over Paganism and Imperial Rome was

owing not to the inherent excellence of its doctrines but to the divine power which first gave those doctrines success on the day of Pentecost; and that when the power was withdrawn, even those truths so pure and heavenly, will be ineffective for the regeneration of man and set aside for the corrupting adulterations of error.

Thus quickening the human mind into activity the King of nations furnished all the means for the incitement of that activity and for its use. Such was the invention of printing, the revival of learning, and the other great disclosures of that time. The Reformation came at last to furnish the religious principle necessary for leading and directing the mighty movement. In countries where the Reformation has triumphed, there has been a great energy observable in the human mind; in nations where its progress was checked, the public mind is seen lacking this enterprise and vigour. Thus invigorated, the soul could not be content to lie still. It began to make efforts for bursting the grave-clothes of spiritual and political despotism with which it was bound hand and foot. Religion was intended to act on human liberty by beginning in the heart as a grain of mustard seed, and by moulding men's views and desires, to prepare them for using their free will in political things. There may be a setting free of the mind, while political servitude continues. The plan directed by wisdom is to liberate the mind first, and put it under the guidance of religion. Pure religion is the pillar of fire and of cloud that must go before the mind, whether of single persons or of masses, in its march from the house of bondage, through the wilderness of revolution into the promised land of the free. At the foundation of the whole, lies the doctrine of justification by faith alone, by the free act of the soul without dependence on the power of another or subjection to the rule of an ecclesiastical noble. This doctrine did at once shake the mind loose from slavery to priestly power. It gave man the right to act for himself in the business of his salvation, without subjection to any one but God. The intervention of the church, the vicarious action of the priesthood, with penances and the whole train of superstitions, were at once seen to be so many means for keeping the mind in chains.

The Reformed faith took deep root in France, and exhibited a pleasing apostolic aspect unsurpassed in any other country. Notwithstanding violent opposition, the atrocities of St. Bartholomew's, and the oppressive policy of Richelieu, the Reformation enjoyed a legal existence in France till the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The habits of mind formed during the period of one hundred and fifty years, by their religious disputes, and the struggle of the Protestants against tyranny, were favourable to independence of thinking and to the gradual advancement of liberty. When the Reformation was at last suppressed, in 1685, the public mind, habituated to so much freedom and disputation, was cut off from the sanctuary of the Reformed religion, and disdaining to take again the old chains of papal domination, fled for refuge to the only alternative, philosophical and atheistical speculation. The nation retained the energy and mental liberty of the Reformation without the conservative moral influence of its religious doctrines. The effect was like that which might follow from tearing up by the roots the moral sense in a man of powerful frame and vigorous mind. And how could any country afford to lose what France then lost? Without considering those who were murdered, nearly a million of the best blood of the country sought safety in exile; property to the value of one hundred millions of dollars was taken to foreign lands; and the exiles gave a most important impulse to the manufacturing and commercial interests of great Britain. The injury to France from this one act of persecution, was as great as would have resulted from several civil wars.

In Spain the Reformed doctrines spread at first with great rapidity. In no country did they number among their adherents more persons of high ranks in society. According to one of the papal historians, "Had not the Inquisition taken care in time to put a stop to these preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wild-fire; people of all ranks and of both sexes having been wonderfully disposed to receive it." The terrible evils endured by the Spanish Protestants have become history. With such energy did the Inquisition guard its domains, that during the thirty-six years preceding the conflict of Luther with Tetzels, nearly two

hundred thousand persons were condemned, thirteen thousand to the flames; and during the eleven years Cardinal Ximenes was at the head of the tribunal, more than fifty thousand persons were condemned, and more than two thousand five hundred were burnt alive. There the auto-da-fé was legalized; and the emperor present on one of those occasions of blood, pledged himself by oath to its support. The same Philip II. declared that there was no safety in Spain for any one who harboured a thought at variance with the Romish faith, or who was not prepared to yield the most implicit and absolute obedience to the dictates of the Inquisition. Louis XIV. attempted to establish absolute power in France by suppressing religious liberty, while favouring mental activity in philosophy and science; Philip II. established despotism in Spain by stifling every kind of activity and improvement. Nor was it enough for the governments of France and Spain to root out the faith from their own soil. They determined to crush it throughout Europe. For this end they formed, with the countenance of the Pope, the famous Catholic League against Protestantism. With vengeance not glutted by the atrocities inflicted on those caught before escaping from their country, these tyrants were at great trouble and expense in employing spies, and in using other means, for arresting them in their retreats among foreign nations. Many were thus seized from time to time on the continent and handed over to the Inquisition. Afraid to make such attempts on the free soil of England, the Spanish rulers demanded that their Protestant exiles should be delivered up as criminals escaped from justice. To the honour of England, this deceit was seen through and those demands were refused. England had offered a refuge to Protestants of all countries who fled from persecution at the Reformation. Great offence was given to the Pope and the king of Spain by her so doing. This was one of the reasons given in the papal bull for excommunicating Elizabeth. With chagrin thus deepened by disappointed vengeance, and in fulfillment of the vow devoting his life entirely to the extirpation of heresy, Philip II. determined to subdue England; and for this purpose prepared the great Armada. The Protestants of Europe, no less than the Spanish monarch and the papists,

viewed this mighty effort with the keenest anxiety, as the event on the result of which depended the fate of the Reformed religion. Its defeat established England as the bulwark of the Protestant cause, gave liberty to the Low Countries, reassured the Huguenots in France, and broke for ever the power of Spain in Europe. Thereafter, history writes only her decline and fall.

The justice of God never appears to us more terrible and adorable, his wisdom more profound, than when nations and persons lying under guilt are made to punish themselves, and do this with a hearty good-will in pursuing their favourite sinful gratifications. France and Spain had leagued together for destroying the people of God; they were made to grapple with each other in deadly strife, as a retribution for their crimes. Had they come from the lips of a prophet, the words of John Knox could not have more perfectly foreboded the truth, when on hearing of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, shortly before his death, in a sermon from the pulpit of the Tolbooth Church, he desired the French ambassador to tell his master that sentence was pronounced against him, that the divine vengeance would never depart from his house, but his name would remain an execration to posterity, and none proceeding from his loins should enjoy his kingdom in peace, unless repentance prevented the divine judgments. The calamities which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. his humiliation by the victories of Marlborough, seem to have resulted chiefly by the reaction caused by his papal severities. Those severities made France what she was at the Revolution, and prepared the nation for scourging themselves, while acting as the scourge of their guilty companions in crime. "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." The king of France and the royal family received in the revolution only what the king of France and the royal family had in foregoing generations inflicted on the people of God. The procedure of the persecutors on St. Bartholomew's, and at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the domiciliary visits, the various modes of murder, are so much like the measures adopted in the Revolution, that a history of the one furnishes a portrait of the other. The agonies of France during the

reign of terror are a small part of what she endured. The suffering inflicted in that righteous retribution continued down to the end of the empire. Till the peace of Tilsit, the wars of France were chiefly defensive, yet were they not the less calamitous and exhausting to the people. The sanguinary scenes perpetrated by the mob in Paris and Lyons were less horrid than the many, many battle-fields on which rests such a blaze of glory. Not more than eight thousand persons perished in the massacres of September: the setting sun of Austerlitz alone saw twelve thousand French in their gore. In what respect was the amount of suffering less under the empire, than under the rule preceeding the consulate? Were the privations of the conscripts less than the privations of the inmates of the Abbaye? Did more die in those dungeons before coming to the scaffold, than died from privations in the bivouac and on the march? When the French army, on the march to Moscow, was reviewed at Wilna, within a week after entering the Russian territory, the troops were scarcely able to endure the sickening stench brought by the west wind from the innumerable carcasses of men and horses lying unburied along their line of advance. Were the lingering agonies of the wounded in battle, often under winter's frost, or summer's sun, less than the agonies of those who fell in the place Louis XV? Under the empire the able bodied men of France perished in her wars at the rate of more than two hundred thousand a year. The destruction of her youth during the twenty-five years of her revolutionary war, has so deteriorated the physical stature of the population, that at the present time, a large part of the recruits for the army are rejected as dwarfish or unsound, although the infantry standard has been lowered nearly four inches since the enlistment in 1789; and if the standard height of the French army were the same now as before the Revolution, half the men under arms must be discharged. Like a nation of old, their iniquity was full. As in the case of the Canaanites their judgments were none the less a retribution from God because inflicted in war by the hands of men, and when they too, like the Canaanites, supposed they were only defending their country.

The dawn of day never lighted up a more glorious and

powerful empire than that of Spain at the accession of Philip II. On his dominions the sun never set. Besides possessions in the western world and in the Indies, he had for a time greater power in Europe than was ever held by Napoleon. His Spanish infantry was the terror of the continental armies; his fleets had control of the seas. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, this empire whose monarch had been pledged to the destruction of Protestantism, had fallen from the first rank among nations, and had the mortification of seeing the power once so abused, transferred to Protestant England. Many evils had been already suffered in the war of the Succession and other conflicts; a heavier retribution was soon to be received from an old confederate against true religion, by the armies of revolutionary France. On no countries overrun by them in Europe, did those armies inflict greater misery than on Spain. In Austria and Prussia, in Italy and Germany, subjected for years to the power of France, the fate of the government was decided generally by a battle or a campaign; and a kind of quietude was then enjoyed, though under an oppressive and exacting dominion. But in Spain, active hostilities were continued without cessation for seven years. The war had all the vindictiveness of a private quarrel. Her finest towns were subjected to the miseries attending a siege, and to the horrors of places taken by storm. The peasantry were murdered; the country was ravaged by fire and sword. In Catalonia, "Augereau endeavouring to frighten the people into submission, erected gibbets along the high roads, upon which every man taken in arms was hung up without remorse, which cruelty produced precisely the effect that might be expected. The Catalans more animated by their successes than daunted by this barbarous severity, became incredibly savage in their revenge; and thus all human feeling lost, both parties were alike steeped in blood and crimes." Speaking of Massena's retreat from Santarem, Col. Napier says, "Every horror that could make war hideous attended this dreadful march! Distress, conflagrations, death in all modes! from wounds, from fatigue, from water, from the flames, from starvation! On every side, unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance! I myself saw a peasant hounding on

his dog to devour the dead and dying." At the storming of Saragossa, "Upon the defenceless inhabitants, the storm of the victor's fury fell with unexampled severity. Armed and unarmed, men and women, grey hairs and infant innocence, attractive youth and wrinkled age, were alike butchered by the infuriated troops, whose passions were, not like the English soldiers, those of plunder or drunkenness, but the infernal, unrelenting spirit of vengeance. Above six thousand human beings, almost all defenceless, were massacred on that dreadful night which will be remembered in Spain as long as the human race endures. When the magistrates of the surrounding country were on the following morning brought into the town by Soult's orders, and marched through the streets to see what fate awaited those who resisted the French arms, the blood of the Spaniards, to use the expression of the French journalist of the siege, inundated the streets and houses." Such scenes as these were the ordinary occurrences of the contest. The misery of the war fell on all classes of the country; they were aggravated by continuance for so many years, and by the French system of warfare under the empire. "The mode in which they supply their armies is this: they plunder every thing they find in the country; they force from the inhabitants, under pain of death, all that they have in their houses for the consumption of the year, without payment, and are indifferent respecting the consequences to the unfortunate people. Every article, whether of food or raiment, and every animal and vehicle of every description, is considered to belong of right and without payment, to the French army."* In these miseries, the angel sent to pour out the vials on France and Spain might say to them in the words of Jesus Christ to Jerusalem, "Upon you is coming all the righteous blood shed upon your soil." Matt. xxiv. 25. On them fell these plagues, death and mourning and famine and fire, for "in them was found the blood of prophets and of saints." And strong is the Lord God who judgeth them, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at their hand.

In the hour of her distress, Spain was glad to seek assist-

* Wellington's Dispatches.

ance from England. Her miseries were inflicted by her old ally in persecution; to the retribution of that ally, she was made to minister. "It was that unhappy war in Spain which ruined me," said Napoleon: "the unfortunate war in Spain proved a real wound, the first cause of the misfortunes of France." Proud and contemptuous Spain was made to receive, to ask aid from a power whose strength was owing to the principles the inquisition had exiled. To the nation which had been the refuge of the persecuted protestants and the bulwark of their faith, was fulfilled the promise, "The sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee, and all they that despise thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet." Isa. lx. 14. The remarkable conquests of France, caused by the doings of popery and taking vengeance on popery in return, were first arrested on land as well as sea by Protestant England. Her money, her men, her forces were the salvation of the Peninsula. Without the battalions of England, the war could not have continued in the Peninsula for a year; without the supplies of England, the guerilla warfare of Spain could not have been sustained. Some idea may be had of the extent of her assistance, from the fact that "England expended more than one hundred millions sterling in her own operations, she subsidized Spain and Portugal besides, and with her supplies of clothing, arms and ammunition, maintained the armies of both, even to the guerillas. From thirty to seventy thousand British troops were employed by her constantly, and while her naval squadrons continually harassed the French with descents upon the coasts, her land forces fought and won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats, they made or sustained ten sieges, took four great fortresses, twice expelled the French from Portugal, preserved Alicante, Carthagen, Cadiz, Lisbon; they killed, wounded and took about two hundred thousand enemies, and the bones of forty thousand British soldiers lie scattered on the plains and mountains of the Peninsula." The career of England through the whole of those commotions was remarkable. The navies of France and Spain were annihilated by the fleets of England, at Aboukir and Trafalgar. The only country in Europe on which the armies of revolutionary

France did not set foot was England; the only important capital they did not enter was London. Egypt was taken from them by capitulation to the English. The first fortresses wrested from the empire of Napoleon, were Ciudad, Rodrigo and Badajoz, stormed by the English. The first rout of the imperial armies in a fair field, was by Wellington at Salamanca. The soil of that France which had been the terror of Europe, was first invaded by Wellington advancing from the Pyrenees. The army which put an end to that war of five and twenty years, by crushing the power of Napoleon, was the English army at Waterloo. These facts cannot be denied. There was not a single great overthrow inflicted on Great Britain during the whole course of the conflict.

Whence this triumphant success? It was conferred by the God of nations not on England but on the Protestant cause. The Jews were often prospered in peace and in war, when the word of Jehovah assured them the blessings were conferred not on them as a nation, but on them as embracing God's chosen people, the church. To us these triumphs of England have always been interesting, as the triumphs of Protestantism over its ancient persecuting foes. Nor is it a fact less worthy of notice, that France and Spain were ahead of England in laying the foundation of empire in Canada, Florida, Louisiana, Mexico, the islands of the Gulf, and in India; but of all these possessions they have been deprived by a race inheriting the blood of Britain and carry with them her Protestant religion and her better laws. By England, we do not understand the aristocracy alone; by the Protestants of England, we do not mean exclusively the established church. The aristocracy do not constitute the people of the United Kingdom, nor their ecclesiastical nobility the church. The policy of Great Britain had not been unexceptionable, she has national sins; but these things demonstrate that this success was given by Jehovah to this nation, as his blessings are bestowed on individuals, not because they are blameless, but because he has promised that even in the midst of human infirmity, a cup of cold water given to his disciples shall not lose its reward. The glory of England is her protestantism; this is her strength; this the foundation of her greatness.

This is the living soul which in her offspring the American nation, is developing so vigorous a youth and giving such promise of future grandeur and good to mankind. Those colonies only in America have been prospered which were founded as an asylum for persecuted protestantism: and they can hope for the continuance of prosperity no longer than while this palladium of the reformed faith is guarded with pious care. "And if that enthusiasm for the gospel; if that opposition to popery, those two distinctive characteristics of his mind, which Cromwell has imprinted on the people of Great Britain, should ever cease in England; if a fatal fall should ever interrupt the Christian course of that nation; and if Rome which has already ruined so many kingdoms should receive the homage of Old England;—then shall her glory become extinct and her power humbled to the dust."*

ART. III.—*Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock D.D.*

Founder and President of Dartmouth College, and Moor's Charity School. By David McClure, D.D. and Elijah Parish, D.D.

This memoir of Doctor Wheelock was published in 1811, but has been circulated within very narrow limits; yet from the character and services of the person to whom it relates, it deserves to be more general known. It has been remarked, that events of the age immediately preceding our own are commonly less familiar to reading men, than those of a remoter period; because their history is not commonly so soon written. On this account, it is probable, that the subject of this memoir is little known, except in New England. Many, who speak on the subject of foreign missions, seem to suppose, that these were scarcely thought of in the last century; and such will be surprised to learn, that a most important work was accomplished in reference to the conversion of

* Merle D' Aubigné.