EBENEZER HENDERSON (1784-1856):
MISSIONARY, TRAVELER, TEACHER, BIBLICAL SCHOLAR.
HIS LIFE AND WORK IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GREAT MISSIONARY AWAKENING

A Thesis Presented to
the Faculty of Divinity
in the Department of Church History
University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
James Hendrix Glassman

October, 1957
(June, 1958.)
To
MY WIFE, BETH

MILLERS FALLS
EZERASE
COTTON CONTENT
One hundred years have elapsed since the death of Dr. Henderson and ninety-nine since the publication of his Memoir. No detailed study of his labors has appeared before the British public since that time. In recent years Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic writers have dealt with his importance to their own countries. After investigation into the influence that Dr. Henderson exerted upon the countries of Northern Europe, it is the author's firm conviction that a new study is warranted "in his own country".

In pursuing his researches the author has traveled in many of the places where Dr. Henderson labored. No warmer reception was received than in Iceland. To express individually my debt of gratitude to all who have assisted in the accomplishment of this work both in Great Britain and abroad would fill a volume. I would, however, make particular acknowledgement to Dr. Hugh Watt of New College, Edinburgh, for having suggested the study.

The thesis form is based upon Campbell's thesis manual and the spelling upon Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, fifth edition.
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CHAPTER I

EBENEZER HENDERSON
EARLY LIFE IN SCOTLAND 1784-1805

I. INTRODUCTION

The life and work of Ebenezer Henderson is the story of the Great Missionary Awakening in the North of Europe. He was born on the eve of the earlier stirrings. He grew up in the maelstrom of rising missionary interest and activity. And before he was twenty-one years of age he had become identified with many of the religious movements which characterized the period. To see his place, therefore, in its proper perspective it is necessary to understand something of the rise of those home and foreign missionary enterprises in Great Britain during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth which had special bearing upon his life, or with which he was ultimately to work.

Protestant missionary exertions from the time of the Reformation until the end of the eighteenth century were, with the exception of the Moravian missions, comparatively limited. Latourette suggests six reasons for this:

First of all, in the initial stages of the movement, Protestantism was so engrossed in making a place for itself against Roman Catholicism, in working out its own theological positions, in controversies among its various leaders, and in effecting an organization, that its members had little leisure for concern for non-Christian outside of Western Europe.

In the second place, perhaps partly as an unconscious outgrowth of the latter position, several of the early leaders of Protestantism disavowed any obligation to carry the Christian message to non-
Christians. Thus Luther and Melanchthon both believed that the end of the world was so imminent that no time remained to spread the Gospel throughout the world. The new [sic] Testament command to 'preach the Gospel to every creature' Luther held had been binding only upon the original Apostles, and he maintained that the proclamation of the Christian message throughout the earth as a preliminary prophesied by the New Testament to the end of the age had long before been accomplished.

A third cause—and again this is really a subdivision of the first—was preoccupation with the wars which arose out of the separation of the Protestants from the Roman Catholic Church. These conflicts were particularly acute in Germany, France, and the Netherlands. Protestants were fighting for their very existence and had little leisure for anything outside Western Europe.

A fourth reason was the comparative indifference of Protestant governments to spreading the Christian message among non-Christians...

In the fifth place, Protestants lacked the monks who for more than a thousand years had been the chief agents for propagating the faith. Even when they were interested in giving the Gospel to non-Christians, Protestants did not have ready at hand machinery for spreading it among non-Christians...

The sixth and chief reason why in general Protestants were not active in propagating the faith among non-Christians was that until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they had relatively little touch with non-Christian peoples. Almost none of the Protestant churches bordered upon Moslem territory. Not until the rise of the British and Dutch sea power did Protestant peoples have much direct commercial contact with non-Christians. Of the Protestants only the Dutch and the British had substantial numbers of non-Christians under their political control in the New World and the East, and, with the exception of the Thirteen Colonies, until the rapid growth of British power in North America and India in the second half of the eighteenth century... neither British nor Dutch colonial possessions covered much territory.¹

However, at the close of the eighteenth century there was an awakening in missionary interest among Protestants which increased greatly during the ensuing century. This new enthusiasm for propagat-

ing Christianity was the result of at least four influences. The first was the Evangelical Awakening in England, which began with John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield in the middle of the eighteenth century. Through the exertions of these and other men revitalizing currents entered the religious life and thought of England and other parts of the Kingdom. The idea of the worth of an individual soul was intensified, and "all the world" was looked upon as a mission field. The second was the geographical discoveries of Captain James Cook between the years 1768 and 1779. In consequence of his voyages to the South Pacific an entirely new world was opened to the West; interest was stimulated in the lands and peoples across the sea; and a sense of the larger responsibility of the Church to the non-Christian world was incited. The third influence was the imperialistic and repressive character which the East India Company assumed in the second half of the eighteenth century, arousing thereby a national conscience in behalf of the abused and neglected peoples of the East. The fourth influence that operated as a stimulus to missions during this period was the American and French Revolutions. (This was particularly true of the latter.) Among the many humanitarian ideals to which they gave rise was the assertion of the right of all men to the Gospel of righteousness and peace. The prevailing view of the brutishness of the "heathen" and of their insusceptibility to conversion yielded to a Christian optimism and enthusiasm, which regarded them in all their degradation as "capable of being saved and needing to be saved."1

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1 Vide, Gustav Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time, pp. 74-81.
a result of these influences Christianity began to put forth vital and expansive energies which had, for the most part, lain dormant from the time of the Reformation.

In England, what was at first called the Missionary Society, and later the London Missionary Society, was organized in 1795 by a group of evangelical ministers of various denominations. Inspired by the Baptist work in India and led by David Bogue of Gosport, the Society took as its object the propagation of Christianity "among heathen and other unenlightened nations." In 1799 the Religious Tract Society was instituted in London through the exertions of George Burder of Coventry, whose private tract enterprise had terminated with the failure of his London publisher. Formed on non-sectarian principles, the Tract Society had as its exclusive function the preparation and circulation of evangelical tract literature. And, in 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in London as a result of a proposal made to the Committee of the Religious Tract Society by Thomas Charles of Bala, whose ministry in Wales had been hindered by a prevailing dearth of Welsh Bibles. The "sole object" and fundamental principle of the new Institution was to encourage "a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment." Each of these Societies had an important place in the life and work of Ebenezer Henderson. But, with the exception of a general interest in missions which

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the first of these tended to excite, they pertain, essentially, to his later ministry.

There was one other institution, however, which began in England that effected his earlier life, viz. The Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen (the Baptist Missionary Society), organized at Kettering in 1792 through the exertions of William Carey, whose Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, together with his sermon on "Expect great things from God. Attempt great things for God," led to its formation. Henderson never sustained an official relation with this group, as he did in later years to the aforementioned Societies. Nevertheless, the precedent set and the procedure followed by Carey in his mission to India became both a source of encouragement and a guide when Henderson prepared to embark upon his own mission in 1805.

While these and other exertions were being put forth in England, a similar awakening was in process in the North. In 1793 a Religious Tract Society was formed, viz. the Edinburgh Society for Publishing Religious Tracts. Early in 1797 the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society was instituted. Both were organized through the efforts of John Campbell, afterward of Kingsland. Between the years 1797 and 1805 there followed a succession of religious projects in Scotland

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1 Missionary enterprises prior to the year 1792 had been, to a greater or lesser extent, connected with the state. The formation of the Baptist Society marked a new era in the history of missions—an era distinguished by the exertions of "associate organizations" for the spread of Christianity. Eugene Stock, Herbert Thomas Andrews, and Alexander James Grieve, "Missions," The Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th ed.), XVIII, 565-86.
which are linked with the names of James and Robert Haldane, the main
instigators and promoters of the undertakings. The summer of 1797 was
the beginning of a new era in itinerant evangelism throughout Scotland,
with James Haldane as the central figure. Late in the same year a
home missionary effort came into existence under the title of the
Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. The year 1798 marked the
beginning of the tabernacle movement in Scotland, out of which the
Congregational (and later Baptist) Church arose. In 1799 a theological
seminary was begun under the liberal sponsorship of Robert Hal-
dane. As a cornerstone to these enterprises, several young men, includ-
ing Ebenezer Henderson, were sent out as missionaries in 1805 by the
Tabernacle Churches in Edinburgh, independent of the existing societies
in Scotland for that purpose, in an effort to conform more closely to
the pattern of the "primitive" church.

1Both the Glasgow and Edinburgh Missionary Societies had been
established in 1796, but the influence of each upon the early life of
Ebenezer Henderson was only of a general nature. This is the most
that can be implied by the speech of Henry Grey at London, March 16, 1819,
in behalf of the Edinburgh Missionary Society: "Talents for usefulness
have been brought to light, by means of our Society, that would other-
wise, in all probability, remain inert and unknown. Our Pinkerton, our
Henderson, our Paterson, have appeared here with honour and acceptance;
and whatever services they have rendered, or may yet be allowed to
render, to the general cause of Christianity [sic], may be considered
as having been elicited by the discerning eye and fostering care of
the Edinburgh Missionary Society." The London Christian Instructor,
or Congregational Magazine, II (1819), 255. Thus Henderson's col-
league, John Paterson, wrote in 1823: "... with the Edinburgh Mis-
sionary Society we never had the honour to be connected." John Paterson,
A Letter to the Rev. J. H. Morris, A. M., p. 83. During Henderson's later missionary travels, however, he rendered assistance to the
Scottish (formerly Edinburgh) Missionary Society's work in Russia.
It remains only to add that the voice for these religious movements in England and Scotland was provided through two periodical publications, *The Evangelical Magazine*, which was first published in London in 1793, and *The Missionary Magazine*, which was begun in Edinburgh three years later. The period of the Great Missionary Awakening, then, is the setting, and it was on the threshold of this awakening that Ebenezer Henderson was born.

II. PRE-SEMINARY YEARS IN DUNFERMLINE 1784-1803

**Birth and Family.** Ebenezer Henderson was born on November 17, 1784, at the "Lind of Saline," about three miles northwest of the town of Dunfermline in Fifeshire, Scotland. The sacrament of baptism was administered four days later by James Husband, minister of the Queen Anne Street Church of Dunfermline.

His father, George Henderson, is said to have been descended from a nephew of Alexander Henderson, the guiding spirit of the sect.

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1 Birth and Baptism Records of the Erskine Church of Scotland, 1754 to 1799.

2 Ibid.

3 His Niece, *A Memoir of the Late Ebenezer Henderson, Astronomer and Antiquarian*, pp. 1-2. Alexander Henderson never married. By his testament, registered and confirmed on November 9, 1646, he appointed George Henderson, a nephew, who had attended him during the later years of his life, as principal executor and heir. Designated sums of money were left to other relatives in the family, including the nephews Robert and James Henderson. Commissariat of Edinburgh, Testaments, LXII, folio 323v. Vide, John Aiton, *The Life and Times of Alexander Henderson*, pp. 616, 561-64. Present records are incomplete by which the exact line of descent "from a nephew of Alexander Henderson" to George Henderson, the father of Ebenezer Henderson, can be determined.
ond reformation in Scotland. Traditionally, the name of Alexander Henderson has been linked with the Hendersons of Fordel. This tradition is supported by a contemporary portrait of him in the possession of that house,¹ and the fact that his remains were laid in the burial ground of that family in Greyfriars' churchyard, Edinburgh.²

Early in life George Henderson was left an orphan and was brought up on a farm under the care of a friend of the family. At the time of the birth of Ebenezer Henderson the father was recorded as an agricultural "labourer."³ During the later years of his life he was overseer of the estate of Thomas Purvis in the vicinity of Dunfermline.⁴

In 1766 George Henderson married Jean Buchanan, who is said to have been of the family of George Buchanan,⁵ the noted Scottish historian. Of the seven children recorded on the family register Ebenezer was the last. Three brothers and a sister had died, two of the brothers in the year 1777, and the other brother and sister in 1783, leaving only a brother, John, and a sister, Margaret, as survivors when

¹James Fringle Thomson, Alexander Henderson the Covenanter, p. 15.
²Aiton, op. cit., p. 87. The monument to Alexander Henderson at the present burial site was erected by George Henderson, one of the aforementioned nephews. Ibid., p. 606.
³Birth and Baptism Records of the Erskine Church of Scotland, 1754 to 1799.
⁵His Niece, op. cit., p. 2. George Buchanan, like Alexander Henderson, was unmarried. His genealogical connection is with the family of Drumkiln. William Buchanan, A Historical and Genealogical Essay upon the Family and Surname of Buchanan, p. 72.
the youngest son was born.¹

The Name "Ebeneser." The summer of 1783 was one of unusual
grief for the Hendersons. Within a ten day interval a daughter, a
son, and the sister of George Henderson, who resided with the family,
died in quick succession. It was after this season of calamity that
in November of the following year the last child was born. The hopes
of the family were expressed by the father when he said: "Jean, woman,
ye see God has not forgot us: He has helped us hitherto, and He will
support us, and be our strength in a' times comin'; see we'll jist ca'
the child, Ebenezer."²

It has also been suggested that the name was given in honor of
the "truly venerable and Rev. Ebenezer Brown of Inverkeithing."³ However,
Henderson's daughter rejects the idea in the Memoir of her
father:

Many have been under the impression that the appellation was
bestowed in honour of the late Rev. Ebenezer Brown, the highly es¬
teeed minister of the Secession Church in the neighbouring parish
of Inverkeithing. The latter, it is true, often spoke of Dr. Hen¬
derson as his 'namesake,' but he may not have meant to use that
term so literally as to imply that he regarded, or thought he had
reason to regard him as a nameson; nor in writing to him did he
make any allusion of the kind.⁴

Whatever may have been the true occasion for the name, the im¬
port of the Scriptural appellative became a source of constant encour¬

¹Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 3.
²Ibid., p. 4. The name is taken from the Hebrew of 1 Samuel
7:12: יִבְנֶגֶר, i.e. the stone of help.
³The Dunfermline Journal, May 28, 1858, p. 4, col. 2.
⁴Thulia S. Henderson, loc. cit.
agement to its bearer, even as Henderson wrote upon his arrival in
Iceland in 1014: "Here I would erect a fresh monument to the praise of
Divine goodness, and inscribe upon it my usual motto, 'Hitherto hath
the Lord helped me.'" 1

Religious Environment. George Henderson, the father, had, for
several years prior to the birth of his youngest son, served in an
official capacity in the Queen Anne Street Church of Dunfermline, a
Secession body which in its earlier years had been under the pastoral
care of Ralph Erskine.2 In the spring of 1776 he was elected and or-
dained to the office of deacon.3 Four years later he was listed as an
elder.4

At a period shortly after the birth of Ebenezer Henderson the

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1The Eleventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society,
1815, Appendix, p. 57.

2Ralph Erskine, with whom the congregation originated, was or-
dained to "the collegiate charge of Dunfermline parish" in August,
1711. In 1737 he joined his brother, Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling,
and others of the Secession, who had been suspended from the Establish-
ment four years before as a result of their protests against the Pa-
tronage Act and because of certain theological differences. With the
breach in the Associate Synod over the Burgess Oath Ralph Erskine be-
came an advocate of the Burgher cause. He died in 1752. The best
known of his published works are his "Gospel Sonnets," or spiritual
songs. Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Pres-
byterian Church, 1733-1900, 1, 347-49. During the years of Ebenezer
Henderson's youth the church was under the pastoral care of James Hus-
band, who became a leader of the New Light Burghers in 1799. Ibid., 1,
349-50. Today the Queen Anne Street Church bears the name of Erskine
Church of Scotland in honor of its first and most noted pastor.

3Session Minutes of the Erskine Church of Scotland from 18th
April 1776 to 6th Jan. 1780, No. 4, pp. 4, 6-7.

4Session Minutes of the Erskine Church of Scotland from 21 Au-
gust 1783 to 7th February 1788, No. 5, 29th June, 1780.
family moved to Waukmill, situated about three miles southwest of Dunfermline. Having removed from the congregation of the Queen Anne Street Church, George Henderson served "for several years" as an elder in the Limekilns Church.1 In 1790 he moved once more, this time to Lochend, about two miles north of Dunfermline, which was "within the bounds" of his former congregation, and at which church he was again received as an elder.2

That George Henderson fulfilled the responsibilities of spiritual leadership acceptably is testified to at the time of his re-election to the office of elder in the Queen Anne Street Church on February 25, 1802:

The Session proceeded to deliberate on the mode of proceeding in the Election of Elders, & considering that George Henderson, nominated by the 7th district, was formerly elected to the office of Elder by this Congn, was ordained to that office, & had discharged the duties thereof to the satisfaction of all concerned, until in the course of Providence he removed to the neighbouring Congregation of Limekilns, they judged a new election of him unnecessary, but agreed to propose to the Congn to concur with the district & Session in inviting him to resume his seat in the Session & exercise the office of Elder among them.

Next, agreeable to the above resolution of Session, he [the moderator] stated to the Congn the case of Geo. Henderson, & desired such as saw it their duty to concur with the quarter inviting him to resume his seat in the Session and exercise the office of Elder among them, to signify their concurrence by holding up their right hand, when a great shew of hands appeared; He then

1The Dunfermline Journal, loc. cit. The Limekilns Church was organized in 1782, being composed of "a large proportion" of people who had been members of the Queen Anne Street Church. The first minister was William Haddin, who served the church for more than thirty-five years. Small, op. cit., I, 370.

2Session Minutes of the Erskine Church of Scotland from 14th Feb. 1788 to 31st Dec. 1806, No. 6, pp. 77, 265-66.
desired such as were against inviting him as above, to signify their dissent by holding up their right hand, & not one hand appeared against him.\textsuperscript{1}

A more personal testimony of the father's Christian character is given by Ebenezer Henderson when in later years he wrote that it was the "wonders of redemption, which chiefly employed his thoughts."\textsuperscript{2}

This religious environment was not without its influence upon the younger Henderson. Thus, in his heart-searching letter from St. Petersburg early in 1817 it is recorded:

\begin{quote}
... my soul was melted within me at the retrospect of the imperfections, shortcomings, and guilt, with which my past services have been chargeable. That I had not acted up to the privileges with which I was favoured from my earliest youth. ...
\end{quote}

\textbf{Early Schooling and Trades.} Ebenezer Henderson's earliest formal schooling was at Dunduff, termed a "road-side" school,\textsuperscript{4} and located a mile southeast of the Lind. From there he was transferred to a school in Dunfermline, which was under the supervision of John Reid, Clerk of the Session in the Queen Anne Street Church.\textsuperscript{5}

As to other schooling at this time Henderson's daughter says:

\begin{quote}
It is stated, but only on one authority, that he also attended the Grammar School in the afternoon of the day; that there he was under the tuition of Mr. Peter Ramsay; and that he steadily maintained his place as dux of the Latin class. If he entered the school at all, it is not likely to have been at so early an age. He may possibly have joined the class at a later period, when an-
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., pp. 263-64. At the same time John Henderson, the brother of Ebenezer, was elected and ordained to the office of elder as well. Ibid., pp. 265, 274.

\textsuperscript{2}Thulia S. Henderson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 9. \textsuperscript{3}Ibid., p. 212.

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. 12. \textsuperscript{5}Ibid.
xious to attain a knowledge of the language, and able to bear the expense for himself.1

Two years at Dunfermline, therefore, after one year and one-half at Dunduff, appears to have been the total of his early schooling.2

During the closing years of the century Henderson undertook two trades, viz. that of "clock-and-watch-maker" under his brother's care, and that of "boot-and-shoe-maker" under the supervision of Thomas Morrison.3 It was in the period of his tradeswork under the latter that he was being prepared for his life work.

Spiritual Awakening. There were several influences that led to a spiritual awakening in Henderson's life. Those which demand particular consideration are: (1) the influence of religious tracts, (2) the influence of Sunday Schools, and (3) the influence of itinerant preachers. How far these were instrumental in his conversion, if, indeed, he had not already been "born again" as a result of earlier parental or church instruction, cannot be determined. But, that they effected in him vital, practical, and more Biblical Christian living, is evidence that a real experience in grace had been wrought.

The Edinburgh Society for Publishing Religious Tracts was instituted in July of 1793.4 However, it does not appear that there was

1Ibid., p. 13.  
2Ibid.  
3Ibid., pp. 13, 15. Thomas Morrison was a grandfather of Andrew Carnegie, the noted philanthropist of more recent times. His Niece, op. cit., dedication page.  
4The Missionary Magazine, VIII (1803), 381. Its purpose was to publish small religious pamphlets "at a cheap rate, for gratis distribution." Ibid., VIII (1803), 382. The Society was begun primarily through the exertions of John Campbell, who was, at the time, an iron-
any public distribution of tracts in Scotland before the tour of Charles Simeon and James Haldane through Fife and the Highlands in the summer of 1796. On this tour "The Friendly Advice" was scattered in the streets and highways along the way. Thereafter tract distribution became an extensive project throughout Scotland.

The evidence that religious tracts must have made a serious impression upon Henderson in his early life, although it is nowhere specifically stated, is based upon the fact, that, immediately upon arrival in Denmark at the beginning of his mission abroad, he not only distributed English tracts, but had tracts translated into the Danish language for distribution throughout that land. With reference to this John Campbell wrote in December, 1805:

We were particularly glad on hearing that you had got tracts translated into the Danish language; they will live longer than you, and be always with their possessors. Might not you endeavour

Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane, p. 135. Cf. The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XIV New Series (1835), 605. James Haldane was converted in 1794 while stationed at Gosport with the British navy. Between the years 1796 and 1805 he made evangelistic tours throughout Scotland. In 1799 he became pastor of the first church to be known in Scotland as "Congregational." Nine years later, when he announced a change of sentiment on baptism, the Baptist Church in Scotland was born. Alexander Haldane, op. cit.

2Ibid., p. 135.

According to the report of the Edinburgh Society for Publishing Religious Tracts in 1605, forty-three pamphlets had been printed from the time of its commencement, "consisting of about 108,000 copies." The Missionary Magazine, VIII (1803), 361.
to establish a Tract Society, for publishing and dispersing tracts over the whole kingdom.¹

That he did, in fact, follow this suggestion will be evident from the study of his later work in the North of Europe. One of the early influences, then, effecting his spiritual life was that of religious tracts.

The second influence referred to was that of Sunday Schools. While there had been Sunday Schools in Scotland before 1797, the first extensive promotion of the work came with the formation of the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society² and the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home³ in that year. The suggested method for conducting

¹John Paterson, The Book for Every Land, p. 10.

²The Society was begun in March of 1797 through the efforts of John Campbell, in order to give exertion to the desire for the "revival of religion at home, and for the success of the Gospel abroad." The schools were open to those "of every denomination." The Missionary Magazine, II (1797), 186, 242-43, 575-76, and James Ross, A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland, p. 46. Cf. An Essay on the Instruction of the Rising Generation, in the Principles of the Christian Religion. With an Account of the Origin, Progress, and Present State, of the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society, and the Rules of that Institution, pp. 23, 29. In 1798 the Antiburgher synod, while it did not "absolutely condemn" the Sunday Schools, cautioned its people regarding countenancing any schools where irregularities to their principles were infringed upon. John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, pp. 393-94.

³This Institution was formed in December, 1797, for the purpose of encouraging Sunday Schools, promoting the reading of Scripture, circulating religious tracts, and establishing "libraries of books on practical religion." Itinerant preachers, schoolmasters, and others, were employed to carry out the work. The Missionary Magazine, III (1798), 60, 62-63. Cf. An Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, from Their Commencement. December 22, 1797 to May 16, 1799, pp. 6, 11-12. The brothers, Robert and James Haldane, were two of the leading promoters of the Society, which Orme says, "was never designed to promote Independency; as its founders at the formation of it were not themselves Independents." [William Orme,] "Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Present
the Sunday Schools was as follows:

Children to be admitted from eight to any age. — The sole object of the schools is religious instruction; and no part of the time to be employed in reading. — The schools to meet from six to eight on the Sabbath-evenings. . . . To begin with prayer, . . . then repeat four or five verses out of the scriptures, appointed at the last meeting; the teacher to explain these, and to show the importance of the truths contained in them, and to press these upon their consciences; then a couple of questions from the Shorter Catechism, with their proofs, repeated, explained, and applied; one child saying the answer to the question, another the first proof, and so on; then a few verses of a psalm, repeated, explained, and applied. After this, a short address, both to the children and their parents, and all present, either by the teacher, or . . . by one of the visitors; the whole to conclude with a short prayer, and singing. The scholars are also allowed to commit to memory, a chapter of the Bible, or a psalm, and repeat it before the talks are begun. . . . Sometimes one of the great doctrines of the Gospel is given out, and the scholars on the following evening prove it by passages of scripture, committed to memory. . . .

With respect to Dunfermline a remark is made by William Ballantine, one of the early itinerants of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, dated April 16, 1798:

State of Independency in Scotland," The London Christian Instructor, or Congregational Magazine, II (1819), 603. In 1794 Robert Haldane, an ex-naval officer with large property holdings, was "aroused from the sleep of spiritual death by the excitement of the French Revolution." Impressed with Carey's work in India he proposed a similar mission in 1796, which was to be financed by himself, and which was to include three ministers: David Bogue of Gosport, William Innes of Stirling, and Greville Rwing of Edinburgh, besides himself and a printer. However, after repeated refusals of his application for admission into India by the East India Company, he turned his attention to the promotion of religion in his homeland. Alexander Haldane, op. cit. Cf. Robert Haldane, Address to the Public, Concerning Political Opinions, and Plans Lately Adopted to Promote Religion in Scotland. With reference to "Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools," the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed a resolution in 1799 warning the people of "the danger of encouraging, or listening to the addresses of . . . Missionary or Itinerant Preachers" from the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1799, Abridgment, sess. 8.

1The Missionary Magazine, II (1797), 243.
talked with one from Dunfermline. He gave a very pleasing account of the state of religion there. They have a Sabbath-school. He requested some plans of the Society and pamphlets to disperse at Dunfermline.¹

In October there were six Sunday Schools in the parish of Dunfermline, all of which were described as "flourishing."² Of these six schools, there was one in which were enrolled the names of Ebenezer Henderson and Douglas Causer, who were noted "as having borne the palm for diligence and attention,"³ and who may have been among those referred to by Ballantine in his account of the work in Fife in December, 1798:

A good many schools were begun, several of which are kept up, and doing well. Serious impressions too were made in the minds of some, especially young people, which appear to be abiding.⁴

The third influence mentioned was that of itinerant preachers. In 1797 James Haldane and John Aikman, who were laymen at the time, preached throughout the north of Scotland.⁵ Their meetings were fre-

¹ In Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, from Their Commencement, p. 21.
² The Missionary Magazine, III (1798), 479.
³ Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 17.
⁴ In Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, from Their Commencement, p. 66. One of the first catechists of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home to travel through Fife was James Hill, who, in 1805, was requested by Henderson and Paterson as a desirable replacement for them in the work which they had begun in Denmark. The Missionary Magazine, XVII (1812), 122. Infra, p. 42.
⁵ Vide, [James Haldane, John Aikman, and Joseph Rose,] Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles, in Autumn 1797. Preaching tours had been undertaken in Scotland before 1797, but always by ordained ministers. Even in the preceding year, when James Haldane accompanied Charles Simeon of Cambridge on a similar journey, the preaching had all been done by the latter. Rose, op. cit., p. 50. Thus, in 1798 the Antiburgher synod
quently held at the village greens or market crosses. The procedure was followed in the ensuing years both by lay-evangelists and ordained ministers, of which it is recorded concerning Dunfermline:

... between 1797 and 1804, "a great many itinerant preachers of celebrity visited Dunfermline, and preached in the open fields; the minds of people then were much disturbed by 'wars and rumour of wars,' and not a few believed that the 'beginning of the end' was at hand; religious truths were everywhere pondered over, and many were converted to the faith."  

The first itinerant preachers who are known to have influenced Ebenezer Henderson visited Dunfermline in 1799. On May 7th and 8th of that year James Maldane preached in the town "to a good congregation."  

Six weeks later Greville Ewing preached there on two occasions, using as his text in the first instance: "... except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."  

This sermon "was long remembered, and was followed by the most salutary effects on many."  

declared itself against attending upon, or giving countenance to, "public preaching by any who were not of their communion." M'Kerrow, op. cit., p. 393. To the same effect the Relief synod decreed that no minister of their church should open his pulpit to any person who had not attended "a regular course of philosophy and divinity in some of the universities of the nation," and who had not been "regularly licensed to preach the gospel." Gavin Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Principles of the Relief Church, p. 405. A year later the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed an enactment against receiving or countenancing "unqualified Ministers and Preachers" in any place under their jurisdiction. The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1799, pp. 13-14.


2The Missionary Magazine, IV (1799), 460.


4Ebenezer Henderson, op. cit., p. 540.
On July 16th Rowland Hill preached in Dunfermline "to about 2000 people, from the words—'The great day of his wrath is come,' when 'many a waverer was brought into the fold.' He also preached on the following morning. That Henderson heard and was spiritually stirred by these "itinerant preachers of celebrity" is asserted in his nephew's Annals of Dunfermline:

In the year 1800, the following young men in Dunfermline formed themselves into a Religious Society for Prayer, Praise, Reading the Scriptures, and for Recitations, viz. Adam Kirk, Thomas Morrison, Douglas Cousin, Ebenezer Henderson, David Hatton, David Dewar, William Malden, Richard Cosman, and Archibald Harley. They met once a-week in Poor's School, east end of East Port Street: and the meetings were frequently attended by many of the inhabitants. These young men had become seriously impressed with the importance of a religious life, by having heard the discourses of the Haldanes, Ewing, and Rowland Hill, &c.

Several years later, while writing from abroad, Henderson himself implies that he had heard the last named preacher by describing one of the local pastors as "truly the Rowland Hill of Denmark." Early Church Fellowship. A new religious enterprise was undertaken in 1798 by Robert Haldane with the opening of "the Circus" in

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1Ibid., and Hill, op. cit., p. 26.  2Ibid.
3Ebenezer Henderson, op. cit., p. 544.  Henderson seems to have referred to this "Religious Society" in his own Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia: "It was with feelings of no common, but melancholy interest, that I had pointed out to me the grave of Douglas Cousin, with whom in early life I had taken sweet counsel about the things of God, and joined in the prayers regularly presented by an association, of which we were members, for the spread of divine truth, and the extension of the kingdom of God among men." p. 464.

4Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 167.
Edinburgh. This was the beginning of the tabernacle movement in Scotland. Before long tabernacles were built in Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Aberdeen, and most of the larger towns. The Dunfermline tabernacle was completed in 1801, of which the following account is given:

A few persons at this place having been desirous of enjoying what they esteemed a pure and scriptural communion, and at the same time to have a place open for the use of any faithful gospel ministers who might visit them, united some time ago in fellowship for these purposes. They have built a house capable of containing nearly 500 persons. They have been visited by different ministers from the south, and others; and during the course of the last year have had regular preaching from the preachers who studied under Mr Swing. They lately united in giving a call to Mr Peter Grant, who had laboured amongst them statedly for nine months, and on Tuesday, the 22d December last, he was set apart to the pastoral office.

It was with this church that Henderson is presumed to have been "enrolled on the list of avowed disciples." And, it was at this time that he is said to have become a Sunday School teacher.

Volunteer Corps. Great Britain was seriously confronted by the prospect of war in the spring of 1803. M'Kerrow says of this:

1. Struthers, op. cit., p. 391. The Circus was formed into a church in December of 1798. This was a measure which Robert Haldane says, "at first we had no intention." Vide, Robert Haldane, op. cit., p. 71. Orme adds: "... as the forms of Presbytery admitted of no union or co-operation with such a society as the church formed at the Circus, it unavoidably stood alone. ..." [Orme,] op. cit., 601.


3. The Missionary Magazine, VII (1802), 44. Because of the inability of the church to support a pastor Peter Grant left in 1803, and most of the members became Baptists. Ross, op. cit., p. 226.


... the country was thrown into a state of great alarm, in consequence of Bonaparte having renewed his threats of invasion, which had been suspended by the short peace of Amiens. Formidable armaments were assembled on the shores opposite Great Britain, and nothing seemed to be wanting but a favourable opportunity for carrying the intended descent into execution.¹

To repel this threatened invasion Volunteer Corps were raised throughout the United Kingdom, and in May Ebenezer Henderson joined.² But by summer the crisis had passed, and with it the enthusiasm for volunteering:

Aug. 29. The check which has been given by Government to the spirit of volunteering has excited a variety of speculation and not a little murmuring. If the danger of invasion is really as great as has been represented, it is difficult to account for the policy of the measure.³

As a result the length of his service was brief, for by the end of summer he was enrolled in a theological seminary.

III. SEMINARY YEARS IN EDINBURGH 1803-1805

Henderson's formal preparation for Christian service was provided through the theological seminary originated and supported by Robert Haldane.⁴ The initial class had been assembled in 1799 under the care of Greville Ewing, first in Edinburgh and then in Glasgow,

¹McKerrow, op. cit., p. 623.
²Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 21.
³The Edinburgh Evening Courant, August 29, 1805, p. 3, col. 2.
⁴This institution was a natural outgrowth of Robert Haldane's previous efforts, being occasioned by "the desire for the preaching of the gospel in many places, which could not be gratified by any of the existing means." [Orme,] op. cit., 602. Cf. Robert Haldane, op. cit., pp. 61-62.
but by the time of the fifth class the seminary had been re-established in Edinburgh.¹

Admission to the Seminary. Through the medium of the Missionary Magazine² applications for admission to the seminary were periodically invited. But the applicants were received only after strict inquiry was made "into the evidence of their being truly converted to God," and after it was ascertained that their "sole reason" for pursuing the ministry was to promote the glory of God and the good of the souls of men.³ To this Robert Haldane adds:

The greatest care was taken in the selection, both as to character, knowledge, and gifts; and whenever anything respecting the first of these appeared improper, or upon examination deficient in the others, they were not received.⁴

Further, upon admission the students "solemnly declared, that they considered it would be their duty, while they continued to preach the gospel, to work with their own hands, if necessary, for their support."⁵

¹Ross, op. cit., pp. 100-101. The first class consisted entirely of men who were Presbyterian in sentiment. Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 228.

²The Missionary Magazine, a Periodical Monthly Publication, Intended as a Repository of Discussion, and Intelligence Respecting the Progress of the Gospel throughout the World was the first magazine of its kind in Scotland. It had an extensive circulation during these years and was a powerful agency for the promotion of missionary enterprise both at home and abroad. Ross, op. cit., p. 47. Greville Ewing, the first editor, left the Establishment in 1798 and became pastor of the Glasgow tabernacle the following year. His later work was with the Congregational Union of Scotland and the Glasgow Theological Academy. Vide, Matheson, op. cit.

³The Missionary Magazine, IV (1799), 432.

⁴Robert Haldane, op. cit., p. 83.

⁵Robert Haldane, Remarks on a Late Publication by Mr Greville Ewing, Entitled, Facts & Documents, p. 89.
By the year 1803 Henderson's interest in the ministry had been aroused, first, apparently, through the "Religious Society" of which he was a member, and second, through the encouragement and "influence" of Thomas Morrison. Thus, he says: "... I removed to Edinburgh in order to go through a course of studies preparatory to the work of the ministry for which employment I had conceived a very ardent desire."2

Training in the Seminary. The training received by the members of this class is well summarized by William Lindsay Alexander in his Memoir of the Rev. John Watson:

As the fourth class had not completed their work when the fifth was organized, the two were wont for the first year... to meet in the same place, which was a part of the ground floor of the Tabernacle. The number of students in both classes amounted to about sixty. They were supported by Mr Robert Haldane, and received from him for that purpose L. 24 a-piece for the first year, and L. 30 for the second, besides their education and medical attendance when required. Each student also was provided from the same source with the books used in the class, viz. Murray's English Grammar, Fulton and Knight's Pronouncing Dictionary, Walker's Rhetorical Grammar, Swing's Greek Grammar, and Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament and LXX., Wilson's Hebrew Grammar, Pike's Hebrew and English Lexicon, a copy of the Greek New Testament and of the Hebrew Old Testament. Free access was moreover secured for the students to a large and well-selected public library; a teacher of French was provided for those who were willing to acquire that tongue; and... they received instructions in church music...

The students assembled in these two classes were from all parts of Scotland, and many of them were from Ireland. They were divided, according to their respective countries, into three bodies, Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Irishmen; and a student from each body was appointed to act as censor, to watch over the sayings, doings, and opinions of his fellows, and to report any thing particular that might occur to Mr Haldane...

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2Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen in the archives of Göteborgs kungliga vetenskaps- och vitterhetssamhälle, January 21, 1809.
The course of study pursued in this seminary extended over two years, with a vacation of six weeks in each year, and embraced, besides English grammar and rhetoric, the elements of Greek and Hebrew, and lectures in systematic theology. The English department was under the charge of Mr. Stephens. . . . Their teacher in Greek was Mr. Thomas Wenyas. . . . Mr. Aikman was their instructor in theology for the first year, and Mr. Cowie for the second; the latter also giving lessons in Hebrew. . . . Some of the students, finding the disadvantage of being ignorant of the Latin, set about acquiring it in addition to their prescribed studies, and in this they were aided by one of their own number, Mr. William Walker, who was already master of it. Besides attending the lectures of the tutors, and preparing for them, the students had to compose essays and sermons, sometimes upon prescribed subjects, sometimes upon subjects chosen by themselves, which were given in for criticism to Mr. Balfour or one of the tutors. They were accustomed also on one day in each week to engage in the exposition of a passage of Scripture appointed for that purpose; each student in rotation offering his remarks upon a portion of it, and the tutor following up the whole by such criticisms and explanations as occasion required. On Sabbath the senior students were often sent to assist neighbouring ministers or supply vacant churches; and several preaching stations were regularly kept up by them in Edinburgh and the vicinity.1 In such exercises the junior students were but sparingly engaged; but by way of compensation they were required to go through a certain amount of historical reading in the works of Mosheim, Milner, Rollin, and Robertson, on which they were liable to be examined. The amount prescribed was not less than 600 pages a week. . . .

During the summer vacations those students who were deemed competent for such work were sent out, sometimes alone, more frequently in couples, to itinerate in different parts of the country, preaching the gospel as they had opportunity.2

Summer Tour. At the close of the first session, in the summer of 1804, Ebenezer Henderson, in company with John Mercus, a classmate,

1 An exercise in which the students frequently participated was that of "exhortations." It normally took place during some part of the Sunday worship service, in the following manner: "The officiating pastor for the time, stands up and says, 'If any of the brethren have a word of exhortation, we shall be glad to hear him.' Then one rises, and speaks a few minutes; then another; and sometimes a third. After this, the pastor preaches." J. W. Morris, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, p. 131.

was sent on one of these tours. Several years later he wrote of this:

By a too close application to study I rather endangered my health, so that I was under the necessity of quitting the academy for some months in the summer of 1804. During this interval I undertook a tour to the Orkney Islands, in which I not only improved my health, but had many opportunities afforded me of communicating instruction to the destitute inhabitants, in the great doctrines and duties of religion.¹

Hercus' reminiscences of the tour are recorded in the Christian Herald for 1819:

It is now fifteen years since I first visited that part of the country, in the character of a preacher, along with our much esteemed and highly honoured friend, Dr. Henderson. We were then both very young, and but ill qualified for the important work of preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ; yet I trust we had the glory of God, and the salvation of souls at heart, and in point of attendance we met with much encouragement.²

Henderson returned to the seminary in the autumn of the same year and resumed his theological studies.

Sandemanian Issue. During these years repeated charges were brought against the Haldane students that they were imbued with and promulgated the principles of Robert Sandeman. Writing nearly a century later Ross repeats the charge: "... Sandeman's views found favour with many of the students who attended the theological classes maintained by the Haldanes early in the century..."³ Alexander says with reference to this question:

... the writings of Sandeman, Eking, and Glas were at this time much in favour with those who had the direction of the Seminary, and were by them industriously circulated among the stu-

¹Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen, op. cit.
²The Christian Herald, VI (1819), 350.
³Ross, op. cit., p. 50.
dents. Two parties were thus formed in the class, the one avowing and advocating what they took for Sandemanianism, and the other standing by the old forms of opinion in regard to the points in dispute.

The point chiefly agitated between these parties respected the nature of saving faith, whether or not it was identical with bare knowledge of the truths of the gospel. The affirmative in this question was maintained strenuously by Mr. Cowie in his theological lectures, and unspARINGLY enforced in his criticisms upon the exercises of the students.

To which of these parties, if either, Henderson belonged at this time is uncertain. But of his general view toward this, or "any creed," his daughter says:

No one who knew Dr. Henderson's freedom from all extravagance of opinion, will suspect him of having subscribed to Glasite doctrines in full; and none who knew his freedom from the trammels of party-prejudice, will suspect that any hue and cry against an ism could hinder his extracting from any creed what it might contain of good and true.

This observation is substantiated in Buck's Theological Dictionary under the title of "Sandeman," which article was prepared for Henderson's edition of the work in 1833:

Though we conceive Sandeman was egregiously mistaken, and not more at variance with the known phenomena of the human mind, than

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1 Alexander, op. cit., pp. 44-45. Sandeman's distinctive doctrine was on the nature of justification by faith, which he contended "had nothing to do with a different manner of believing from what takes place in the common concerns of life; but that it consists wholly in the things believed," viz. "nothing more nor less than 'the bare belief of the bare truth,' witnessed or testified concerning the person and work of Christ." Charles Buck, A Theological Dictionary (Henderson's ed. 1833), p. 843.

2 That he was sympathetic, at least, with certain aspects of the Sandeman doctrine is apparent from his letter of April 12, 1806, from Elsinour: "Several of our hearers in both places begin to think—the great matter is, if they be brought to think aright." The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 207.

with the calls and invitations of the Gospel, in representing faith as something in which the mind is absolutely passive; and though there are various things in his writings relative to the doctrine of assurance which will not bear to be tried by the test of Scripture; yet there are, perhaps, after all, few writers who have more contributed to lead to simpler and more accurate views of the nature of faith, to sweep away the cobwebs which mystified the subject of a sinner's obtaining justification before God through the righteousness of Christ, and to detect and expose the evils of trampling, carnal and worldly systems of religion.1

Observations on the Training and Students. To the remarks that have already been made concerning the Haldane seminary of Henderson's years, two general observations should be added. The first, which relates to the training and quality of men who studied in the seminary, is made by Robert Kinniburgh, who was himself educated under the system:

Although, in consequence of the urgent demand for labourers, the young men were sent out with more meagre attainments than would have been proper in other circumstances, yet among them were very many who would have done honour to any of the religious bodies of the day. — Dr. Struthers, speaking of these seminaries, says: — "Among the 300 sent forth from these classes, before they were altogether given up, there were some choice spirits who, having got a start in learning, pushed on their private studies with vigour, and obtained success." This is quite correct. There were "choice spirits" among them, some of whom subsequently made attainments in actual scholarship, equal to and beyond the attainments of many who boast of their university education; while others of them, although they did not aspire to be erudite scholars, yet, by diligent application, rose to eminence as preachers and writers. Speaking generally, those sent out from the seminaries were men befitting the times in which they lived. They were raised up in mercy to a perishing world. And if they did not succeed in drawing multitudes to their chapels, it must be ascribed, in a great measure, to the unbending principles which they ever maintained.2

The second, the observation of William Lindsay Alexander, is

1Buck, op. cit., pp. 843-44.

similar, although adapted to an imaginative setting:

Had some haughty academic strayed into the lower room of the Tabernacle whilst the class was at its work, one can easily fancy the look of contempt with which he would have eyed the raw and unpolished rustics of whom it was chiefly composed. . . . And yet, had some one privileged to look into futurity been at his side, he might have sought to repress his insolence by addressing him thus:—

"... To the eye that looks only on the outward appearance this may indeed seem hopeless work; and yet here is a seed-sowing from which the world shall have good fruit; here is a casting of bread upon the waters which shall be found many days hence. There are men here who shall approve themselves fitted to do work of which the world shall own itself the better, and the full worth of which only eternity shall measure."

After a distinctive notice of one, and then another, as they sat side by side in the classroom, attention is called to yet a third:

"Look once more at that youth on whose ruddy cheek the finger of care seems never to have rested, and who, with beaming eye and countenance all over radiant with triumph, is showing to his neighbour a copy of the Elzevir Greek New Testament which he has had the good fortune to secure at a book stall on his way to the class:—that little Elzevir will become the foundation of a noble library rich in every department of oriental and biblical lore, and in its joyful possessor, Ebenezer Henderson, thou seest one who, after a quarter of a century spent in the north of Europe in the work of Bible distribution,—after exploring Iceland and pursuing his biblical researches from the Ultima Thule to the shores of the Caspian, shall return to assume the presidency of a theological institution in the British Metropolis, and to employ his leisure time on works that shall place him in the first rank of biblical scholars at home, and spread his name in foreign universities as 'one of the most learned of English theologians.'"

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1 Alexander, op. cit., p. 54.

2 Even in these years Henderson's greatest interest and abilities were perceivable. He was thus described by James Kennedy, a classmate, as "more of a linguist than of a theologian." Another says he was "more given to literature than to divinity." Thalia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 24.

Missionary Enterprise. Even before Henderson had entered the Haldane seminary a new missionary enterprise was in the planning. 1 Indeed, in February of 1803 the churches in Edinburgh under the pastoral care of James Haldane and John Aikman 2 had adopted resolutions re-

1 In 1796 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had rejected certain overtures relative to either receiving collections for the existing missionary societies or "adopting any particular measure, in relation to the object of the Overtures" at this time. The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1796, Abridgment, sess. 8. The Antiburgher synod passed a resolution in the same year against the "constitution" of missionary societies, as formed of people "widely different in their religious profession and communion, not only of private Christians, but of ministers... claiming a power in common of directing all the affairs of the mission," and testified against "publicly" co-operating with these societies "in their present state." McKerrow, op. cit., p. 384. On the other hand, the Burgher synod gave its "heartly approbation" to the design of the London Missionary Society, assuring individual support, even though it could not "as a body" promise pecuniary aid, because it was "engaged in other missions." The Baptist and "other missionary institutions" were treated in a similar spirit. Ibid., p. 575.

2 The historical development of the two Tabernacle churches in Edinburgh at this time is as follows: the Edinburgh Circus was opened as a place of public worship in July, 1798, with Rowland Hill as the first of a succession of visiting preachers. In December of the same year the Circus was formed into a church, based upon Congregational principles. James Haldane was ordained as pastor in February, 1799. In May of 1801 John Aikman was ordained in the Circus as co-pastor with Haldane. Two months later, upon the completion of a new building, the Circus became the Tabernacle Church. Haldane and Aikman served together in the Tabernacle until the opening of the North College Street Chapel in May, 1802, at which time Aikman became pastor of the Chapel, while Haldane continued as pastor of the Tabernacle. Vide, The Missionary Magazine for these years. During Henderson's residence in Edinburgh "he laboured diligently in connexion with the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Aikman." The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXXVI (1856), New Series, 466. Today the Tabernacle is the Duncan Street Baptist Church, while the Chapel is the Augustine-Bristo Congregational Church. Vide, [J. W. Derwent,] Historical Account of the Tabernacle Church, Leith Walk, and Duncan Street Baptist Church, Edinburgh, and Abijah Murray, The Story of Augustine Church 1602-1877.
specting their intention of sending missionaries "to the Heathen."

Their purpose was to promote a missionary enterprise which would follow the New Testament pattern more precisely. Thus:

The formation of a Missionary Society, seems to imply a deficiency in the constitution of the church of Christ, as if it were not competent for such to use all the means necessary for spreading the gospel. But, in the New Testament, we read of missions sent out by churches, and we hear of no other societies engaged in the work.¹

But, it was to be "in addition to" what was already being done by others, rather than in opposition to existing missionary societies.²

The resolutions go further:

Under these impressions, the Churches . . . call upon such as are willing to devote themselves to the work, to come forward. The pastors shall examine those who apply, shall give in a report to the churches on the most favourable field for their exertions, and shall lay before them whatever information they can collect on the subject.

The funds necessary for carrying on this plan, to arise from collections, subscriptions, donations, &c.

On the last Friday of every month, they will assemble for prayer for the success of the gospel at home and abroad.

They appoint their pastors to write circular letters in their name to their sister churches, to acquaint them with their plan,

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¹The Missionary Magazine, VIII (1803), 190.

²Ibid. That this principle was followed, at least in the beginning, is borne out by Andrew Fuller's remarks with respect to his visit in Edinburgh shortly before Ebenezer Henderson and John Paterson were sent out by the churches to India in 1805: "On Lord's day evening, July 6, I made a collection at Mr. Haldane's Tabernacle, where nearly four thousand people attended. I was given to expect but a small collection, as the Tabernacle churches were then sending out two missionaries to Tranquebar. There were however a great many Kirk people present, who were very cordial, and helped much, as was supposed, to augment the sum, which amounted to one hundred and twenty six pounds." Morris, op. cit., p. 134.
and to invite them to turn their attention to the state of the heathen, and to consider and communicate what they think may be done for their relief.1

These resolutions met with the approval of those in the "sister churches," and responses were soon received in answer to the call:

Mr Paterson,2 who had studied under Mr Ewing, had it in view, from the time he began his studies, to devote himself to the work of preaching to the heathen. When his studies were finished, he went to Cambuslang, and by his instrumentality a church was planted there. The members were much attached to him, and were earnestly desirous of his remaining amongst them, and becoming their pastor. Although he had not lost sight of his original design, he consented to this, partly from the prospect of usefulness there presented, and partly from not finding any of his fellow-students, who were disposed to accompany him abroad.

At the time when the above resolutions were printed, he had been some years at Cambuslang. The prospect which this afforded him of going out in a way which he judged to be more scriptural than any other he had heard of, revived all his former desires. Connected with this, his intimate friend, Mr M'Lae, pastor of a church at Kirkcaldy, who, in consequence of his marriage, had for a time dropped his original intention of devoting himself to the service of Jesus in foreign lands, was now equally desirous of embarking in the same cause. Having consulted together, they informed the churches in Edinburgh of their desire to go abroad to preach the gospel, and at the same time mentioned India as the sphere they wished to occupy. This proposal met with the cordial approbation of the churches. . . .3

However,

1The Missionary Magazine, VIII (1803), 190.

2John Paterson was born near Glasgow in February, 1776. His earliest church connection was at Duntocher, in the parish of Old Kilpatrick, a church of the Burgher synod under the pastoral care of William Watson. Impressed by the operations of the London Missionary Society, he entered the University of Glasgow in 1798 in preparation for missionary work, but in 1800 he transferred to the Haldane seminary. After more than twenty years of labor abroad in Bible, tract, and missionary work, he returned to Scotland, where he served as a correspondent of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the London Missionary Society. Paterson died in Dundee in July, 1855. Vide, Paterson, op. cit., and The Scottish Congregational Magazine, V New Series (1855), 263-64; VIII New Series (1856), 1-5.

On more mature consideration, it was found, that the expense [sic] which would be incurred by sending Mr M'Lae's family to India would be very great, and that his wife and children might probably be exposed to many inconveniences on their first arrival. It therefore appeared expedient, that the idea should be given up, and that Mr Paterson should proceed to India, accompanied by an unmarried brother, if such could be found suitably qualified.

Mr Ebenezer Henderson, who was at that time studying in Edinburgh with a view to preach the gospel, in which, during an interval of his studies, he had been engaged the preceding summer in the north of Scotland, offered himself as a companion to Mr Paterson. The churches, after being satisfied of his qualifications for the work, and finding that Mr P. was very desirous that he should accompany him, unanimously received him.\(^1\)

Further particulars regarding John Paterson's desire for Henderson to accompany him in the mission are given in *The Book for Every Land*, in which it is stated, that, while Paterson was in Edinburgh,

... he was requested by Mr. Haldane to endeavour to procure, from among the students then attending the class ... some one who should be a fitting associate for him in the missionary work. In the discharge of this delicate duty, he was guided to the selection of Mr. Ebenezer Henderson, then a young man of twenty-one years of age, and with whom he had no previous acquaintance, but whose "fine, manly countenance, good figure, healthy appearance, and a forehead which indicated no want of talent," led his sagacious observer to say, as he surveyed the assembled class, "That is the man for me." This choice the experience of after years tended only more and more fully to ratify and approve.\(^2\)

Henderson's own account of his entry upon the mission is given twelve years later:

When I originally devoted myself to the Redeemer's service, and entered on a course of study preparatory to engaging in it, I had no specific station or sphere of labour in view; but was determined, in reliance on His promised grace, cheerfully to proceed to whatever place He should be pleased to point out to me, whether at home in my native country, or among the heathen in a distant land. Accordingly, when our dear brother Paterson requested me to accom-

\(^1\) *Ibid., XI (1806), 265.*

\(^2\) *Paterson, op. cit., pp. xvi-xvii.*
pany him to India, it was a matter of no great difficulty for me to give my consent to his proposal. 1

Departure for Denmark. On the evening of August 27, 1805, a meeting was held in the Edinburgh Tabernacle, at which time Ebenezer Henderson and John Paterson were "ordained to the office of Missionaries." 2 At the same time a document of recommendation soliciting "friendly assistance," and signed by James Haldane, John Aikman, and William Stephens of Edinburgh, Greville Swing of Glasgow, and Robert Little of Perth, was given to each. 3

Their ultimate destination was Tranquebar. 4 However,

... as it was thought desirable they should see and advise with Dr. Carey, they were furnished with a letter to him from Mr. Fuller, who was at that time in Scotland, and were directed to go, in the first instance, to Serampore. This was the more easy, as, in consequence of the privileges then enjoyed by the East India Company, it was only in Danish vessels, and by landing at Danish settlements, that missionaries could pass from this country to

1Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 37. To the Secretary of Gottenburgh's Royal Society of Arts and Sciences Henderson wrote in 1809: "On the completion of my studies ... I was induced to make a tender of my services to a Society in Edinburgh whose object was the propagation of the Christian Religion in foreign countries. After previous examination I was accepted along with Mr. Paterson. ... " Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen, op. cit.

2Ibid., and Paterson, op. cit., p. xviii.

3Ibid. The churches, in sending these men forth, considered themselves "as merely discharging the incumbent duty of assisting them in their endeavours to promote the glory of Jesus," and to realize the desire they had of devoting their lives to missionary exertions. But, it was added: "We are not bound to them, nor they to us, by any promise or worldly tie whatever; but, while mutual confidence continues, we shall esteem it our duty to forward their designs." The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 274.

4Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen, op. cit.
India; so that they must, at any rate, have sought their sphere of labour by way of Serampore, or its immediate vicinity. For the same reason they had to go, in the first instance, to Denmark.

The 28th of August Henderson and Paterson boarded the Fame in Leith harbor, and the following day they sailed for Denmark.

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1 Application had been made to the directors of the East India Company for Henderson's and Paterson's permission to settle within their territories, but the request was "peremptorily" refused. William Jones, The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society, p. 310.

2 Paterson, op. cit., p. xvii. William Carey, whose zeal had inspired the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, had himself gone to India in 1793 in a Danish vessel, and ultimately had located at Serampore, a Danish settlement near Calcutta. Andrew Fuller, a Baptist minister at Kettering, was the Secretary of the Society. Vide, George Smith, The Life of William Carey.

3 Paterson, op. cit., p. xviii, and Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen, op. cit. There were seven missionaries in all sent to foreign countries by the Tabernacle churches. Besides Henderson and Paterson, Francis Dick went to Canada in June of 1805; Archibald M'Lae sailed for the United States in October of the same year; in 1806 Walter Balfour and Archibald M'Queen went to Nova Scotia, while James Reid was sent to Canada. The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 273-74. Later, Francis Dick ministered in Hamburgh, where Henderson supplied the pulpit of his chapel for a brief time. The Scottish Congregational Magazine, VIII New Series (1848), 195-96. Infra, p. 118, n. 3.
CHAPTER II

EDENEZER HENDERSON

LABORS IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE 1805-1825
FIRST JOURNEY ABROAD 1805-1810

I. FIRST RESIDENCE IN DENMARK 1805-1807

Voyage to Denmark. The Fame was one of a fleet in convoy which set sail from Leith across the North Sea, arriving fifteen days later at Elsineur.\(^1\) Aboard ship the missionaries were afforded opportunities of service, of which they wrote:

\[\ldots\] we have enjoyed opportunities of being useful to others. We had worship regularly, morning and evening, on board our own vessel; on which occasions we always gave a short address to the seamen from the passage we read. \ldots\] We preached to them three times during the voyage; dispersed a number of tracts among them \ldots\] Nor were our labours confined to our own vessel only. The Saturday after we sailed \ldots\] we, in company with the captain, went on board a vessel belonging to the fleet, where we distributed a number of tracts. \ldots\]

Thus you see \ldots\] we have not been altogether idle.\(^2\)

Early Impressions. The day after their arrival in Elsineur Ebenezer Henderson and John Paterson proceeded by coach to Copenhagen, which they reached on September 14, 1805. Their earliest impressions of religious life in Denmark were most unfavorable:

Copenhagen, Sep. 17. 1805. \ldots\] Here we are surrounded with thousands, but where to find a friend of Jesus we know not. Satan has his seat here. The Lord’s day is profaned in the most open


\(^2\)Ibid., X (1805), 443.
manner. The greater part of the people attend to their work; the shops in general are open, and traffic is carried on, even in the streets. What of their religion we saw, seemed to us to be altogether foreign to the simplicity which is in Christ Jesus.¹

A month later they wrote:

Before we left Scotland, we were given to understand that the Danes were a very religious people; but from what we have seen and heard, they are the very reverse. We do not suppose that there are any people that pay less attention to religion. . . . They have many large and elegant churches, it is true; but very few attend. Sometimes there are not above a dozen in a house that would contain as many thousands. We do not imagine, that, on an average, there are as many that hear sermon in this populous city on the Lord's day, as hear it at the Tabernacle in Edinburgh. The Sabbath is scarcely known here; the most of the mechanics are at work, and nearly all the shops are open. Those who do not choose to work, devote the day to pleasure. They generally go to the country in summer, and in the winter attend balls, masquerades and card-parties. If we walk the street in the evening, our ears are stunned with the noise of music and dancing at almost every door, ballad-singers in almost every street. In a word, all is mirth and jollity. None appear to us to be caring for the concerns of their souls; nay, their conduct declares, that they do not believe that they are immortal creatures, or that there is any hereafter.²

Again, in November Henderson observed with respect to the character of and response to the preaching of the Protestant clergy in Denmark and other parts of the continent:

The gospel which their clergy preach is not fitted for publicans or sinners; of course it cannot commend itself to the consciences of their hearers. The consequence is such as might be expected. If they be not amused with their eloquence, they turn away from them with indifference or disgust.³

The veracity of these observations has been affirmed from Danish sources. Thus, Koch, in his History of the Danish Church in the Years 1801-1817, after having referred to the “excesses” which charac-

¹Ibid., x (1805), 444. ²Ibid., XI (1806), 38-39. ³Ibid., XI (1806), 39.
terized this period of rationalism, concludes: "And the best evidence that the rationalistic sermon was on the wrong road was the empty churches."¹ Andersen speaks of this period in his Survey of the History of the Church in Denmark:

The number of church-goers was very minimal, and apart from certain minor Moravian circles and a local revival in the neighbourhood of Horsens ("the strong Jutlanders") positive Christianity was only preserved among individuals who were old-fashioned in their thinking. The quality of the would-be clergymen had suffered under the wide-spread doubt of the truth of Christianity and the contempt of the clergy. Many neologists rather considered the office as a livelihood, and otherwise defended themselves by saying that they willingly accommodated themselves to its requirements and were useful as "teachers of the people", [sic] pedagogues or pioneers on practical domains.²

The personal testimony of Jens Møller, professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen and Foreign Secretary of the Danish Bible Society, who, during these years "wavered between Kant's rationalism and German liberal neology," reveals the religious situation from the clergy's standpoint:

The minister who at that time wanted to be popular had to cease to be a minister; he had to pull down what he had been appointed to build up. . . . The minister who believed in the Bible and the deity of Jesus was regarded as either a hypocrite or a fool, and I did not want to be regarded as either of the two.³

¹L. Koch, Den danske Kirkes Historie i Ærene 1801-1817, p. 127. "Og det bedste bevis for, at den rationalistiske prædiken var slået ind på en fejl vej, var de tommes kirker."

²J. Oskar Andersen, Survey of the History of the Church in Denmark, p. 42.

Andersen concludes in his work on the Danish Missionary Society with reference to Henderson's and Paterson's observations: "Already soon after their coming to Copenhagen they were clear about how strongly the Christian and church life here was lacking depth and power."\(^1\)

Under these impressions Henderson wrote in January, 1806: "We pity the inhabitants of Bengal or Otsheite because they worship idols, but what better are Europeans who worship no god?"\(^2\) Accordingly, their conviction was that "there was as much need for a missionary in Copenhagen as in India."\(^3\)

Interim in Copenhagen. As to what they might do, even though they were to be in Copenhagen but a short time, is expressed in their letter of September 17, 1805:

We understand there is no English preacher here, though there are a considerable number who understand nothing but the English language. We are not without hope that this circumstance may be

\(^{1}\)Ibid., I, 24. "Allerede hurtig efter deres Komme til København var de klare over, hvor stærkt det kristelige og kirkelige Liv her savnede Dybde og Kraft." Paterson wrote in 1807 concerning the missionaries going out from the "College of Missions," which had been established in Copenhagen in 1714: "Those to Greenland are such young men as have no prospect of obtaining livings at home who embark in this mission in consequence of the King's promise to them, that if they spend 5 or 7 years in Greenland they shall be preferred to the first vacancies after their return. Of course they are at no pains to render themselves useful to the wretched inhabitants. The Tranquabar [sic] mission is not on a much better footing. . . ." Paterson's letter to George Burder in the files of the London Missionary Society, July 25, 1807. Thus, Andersen says: "... early they had gotten a clear picture about a number of conditions, even for example of the extremely defective operation of the Greenlandic mission." Andersen, Festskrift, I, 26. "... tidlig bar de faaet Klarhed om en Mængde Forhold—ogsaa f. Eks. om den højst mangelfulde Betjening af den grønlandske Mission."

\(^{2}\)The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 269.

\(^{3}\)Paterson, op. cit., p. 5.
the means of opening a door of usefulness for us, at least among our countrymen. We have already given away a few tracts, and have the prospect of distributing a number more. We have been making enquiry about the probable expense [sic] of having a tract published in the Danish language. . . . Thus, though our hearts be as much as ever fixed on preaching the gospel to the poor Hindoos in India, we conceive it our duty to be missionaries, wherever the Lord is pleased to cast our lot, however short our stay in that particular place may be.1

The idea of having a worship service for the English speaking people of the city was pursued, with the result that on "the very second Sabbath" they were in Copenhagen they met "a goodly number" in a private home which had been made available for that purpose.2 Soon the place of meeting was transferred to a "sale-room," where the attendance increased from "only 13" to "about 100" after three public meetings.3 Their hearers consisted "wholly of the genteel class," among whom were several naval officers and certain of "the natives" who understood English.4

Included in the latter were a number of Jews, of whom Paterson wrote in December of 1805:

There are some thousands of Jews in this city. We have wished much to be useful to them while in this place, but did not know how to obtain our desire. . . . we find that some of them had been hearing us the two last Sabbaths.5

Six months later Henderson re-emphasized this interest in work among

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1The Missionary Magazine, X (1805), 444-45.
2Paterson, loc. cit.
3The Missionary Magazine, X (1805), 526, and XI (1806), 273.
4The Evangelical Magazine, XIV (1806), 85, and The Missionary Magazine, X (1805), 526.
5The Evangelical Magazine, XIV (1806), 86.
the Jews:

I hope that the interest which the Lord's people are beginning to take, in behalf of this long deluded people, will be more and more increased. . . . Let us give the Lord no rest, till he make Jerusalem a praise in the whole earth.\(^1\)

Late in November, 1805, Paterson succeeded in establishing a preaching station at Elsineur, in addition to the one in Copenhagen. Thereafter he and Henderson alternated with each other between the two cities.\(^2\)

The publication of religious tracts in the Danish language was also carried into effect. The first of these, Morrison's "The One Thing Needful," consisting of 2,000 copies, was completed in September.\(^3\) Six weeks later they secured the printing of 1,000 copies of Fuller's "The Great Question Answered."\(^4\) During the week they distributed the tracts "as publicly" as if they had been in their homeland:

We were in the habit of visiting the Royal Gardens, where we would give a tract to every person we met; we took long walks into the country, and met on the roads multitudes returning from the market in town, to whom we never failed to give one of the little messengers of mercy.\(^5\)

The tracts were readily received and "read with interest by many," and

\(^1\)The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 344.


\(^4\)The Missionary Magazine, X (1805), 527. In Danish, Svar paa Hovedspørsmålet: "hvad skal jeg gjøre for at vorde salig?" The English tracts had been printed by the Glasgow Religious Tract Society. Ibid.; XII (1807), 484.

\(^5\)Paterson, op. cit., p. 5.
in turn were "handed about from one to another."\(^1\) By this means, Paterson concluded, some of the tracts undoubtedly found their way to "every part of the Island," and even to Norway.\(^2\)

Meanwhile, every exertion was made to secure passage to the East. Of this it is recorded in The Book for Every Land:

... there was only one vessel to sail for India that season, and all her berths were taken. We offered to go in the steerage, or in any place, providing the captain would only take us to India; but were told the only place we could get was to sleep on the bare deck under the canopy of heaven, and to this he would not subject any passenger on board his ship.\(^3\)

Henderson adds:

... the East India Packet which was just on the eve of sailing had already her complement of passengers, so that there was no possibility of getting out by her. We resolved, therefore, to spend the winter in Denmark, and take our departure for India by the Spring-Packet.\(^4\)

Henderson's and Paterson's activities during this interim in Denmark, as well as the acceptance with which they had been received, was noticed in a Copenhagen newspaper, dated October 19, 1805:

Messrs J. Paterson and E. Henderson, missionaries ... being detained here during the winter, have preached with very great applause. They have translated and printed 2000 copies of a religious tract, which they are giving away gratis. They are men of irreproachable character.\(^5\)

Change of Destination. "Such were the prospects of usefulness which presented themselves before us," Henderson later wrote, "that how

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\(^1\)The Missionary Magazine, X (1805), 527.  
\(^2\)Ibid.  
\(^3\)Paterson, loc. cit.  
\(^4\)Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen in the archives of Göteborgs kungliga vetenskaps- och vitterhetssamhälle, January 21, 1809.  
\(^5\)The Missionary Magazine, X (1805), 527.
much soever we were bent on proceeding to India, we could not think of abandoning our stations till we saw them occupied by others."¹ Having written the churches in Edinburgh on the subject, they received the following reply, a portion of which reads:

Edinburgh, Dec. 25. 1805. ... To us nothing appears more clear, than that the service in which you are now engaged, ought not to be abandoned. ... What consequences would result from genuine Christianity being introduced among the trading part of the North of Europe, and into the principal cities on the Continent? From your letters this appears to be practicable, and from the favour in the eyes of the people which the Lord has already given you, we think there is every reason to believe, that you will be able to prosecute this important work with greater advantage than any that might afterwards go out.

Considering therefore the sphere you now occupy, and the hopes of its extension, we are of opinion that it is impossible to find any other place where you can be of greater service in Christ's kingdom; of course we are most desirous you should continue there, until the duty of leaving it be made as evident as the contrary seems to be at present.²

Further, the pastors of the churches in Scotland argued that, while well directed exertions were already in India by established societies which occupied the principal stations, "the immense field" which seemed to be open to them was "totally neglected of all"—a field where they could proceed "without any danger of interfering with others."³ Finances were also a matter of consideration. Thus:

¹Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen, op. cit. Their intentions were noted by Paterson: "We hope, our preaching in this place will be the means of opening a door for some to succeed us; and may ultimately lead to the formation of a church of Christ here and at Elaineur. ..." The Evangelical Magazine, XIV (1806), 85. Supra, p. 17, n. 4.


³Ibid., XI (1806), 266.
In aiding you where you are, both with necessary support and with assistants, the churches here will have a vast deal more in their power than they would have, were you to go to India. ... the sum necessary to transport and settle you in India, with the additional expense [sic] of living in that country, would, we apprehend, in a great measure, preclude the prospect of reinforcing the mission, as well as prevent other exertions.1

To this reply Henderson addressed himself in January, 1806:

Previous to the reception of your letter, I conceived, that it would not be our duty to leave our present stations unoccupied; but then I had no doubt of some being found to supply our lack of service here. This, you say, is not at present attainable, and therefore I cheerfully comply with your request, to tarry here, at least for a season. When, however, our proceeding to India shall appear as manifestly the will of our heavenly Father, as at present our remaining here does, I trust I shall as cheerfully go there.2

But, although he acceded to the change of plan, Henderson remained "as much intent" upon the original mission as when he left Scotland.3

Removal to Elsineur. To facilitate the work and reduce expenses Henderson removed to Elsineur at the beginning of the year, 1806, while Paterson remained in Copenhagen.4 Worship services had been held in "a suitable hall" until then, with attendance ranging between six and twelve.5 Shortly thereafter the English chapel was secured as a meeting place,6 and by June the attendance had become "con-
siderably increased." Ultimately a Sunday evening service in Danish was instituted for the local inhabitants.2

A new sphere of service presented itself in the spring of 1806, of which Paterson wrote in April:

We have been applied to by some people here, and also at Elsineur, to take their children to teach them the English language. Mr Henderson would have begun before this time at Elsineur, but we wished . . . to know what you thought of the matter. The only objection we have to it is, that it will take up our time, which is so necessary at present to have, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the Danish, German, and French languages. Yet in Elsineur in particular it seems to be wanted and necessary, in order to give us access to the families of some of the leading people. And it is of so much importance to have an opportunity of instilling the first principles of religion into the young, I am of opinion, that we ought to attempt it. This will also partly lessen our expenses [sic] to our friends, and if necessary, I am persuaded, we might have as much teaching as would wholly support ourselves at least, and so put it in the power of our friends to extend their influence much further that they otherwise could do.3

The request was granted, and their success was such that they were able "from this time forward, to meet, in whole or in part," their own expenses until they "came to be supported by the Bible Society."4

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1 The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 301. Henderson and Paterson wrote in May, 1806: "... when a fleet happens to be detained, ... we may have a number of the seamen to hear. ... Elsineur presents a most extensive field of usefulness in the way of distributing religious tracts among the sailors." Ibid., XI (1806), 263.


4 Paterson, op. cit., pp. 10, 100. The earliest financial statement pertaining to Henderson's labors abroad is given in the "Abstract of Receipt and Expenditure on Account of Foreign Missions, to June 1, 1806" in the Missionary Magazine for 1806, p. 275. When, in 1808, controversies led to a division in the Tabernacle churches in Scotland, one wrote: "I hope that we shall show by our liberality that we all bear you upon our minds, and that the desertion of your cause by a few has only tended to enlarge our desires towards you." Thulia S. Henderson.
New Horizons. During these months in Denmark Paterson had been in correspondence with John Campbell in London, who, by the inquiries in his letter of December 26, 1805, suggested other areas of usefulness:

Are Danish Bibles scarce in Denmark, or in any particular part of Denmark? Are there any institutions for propagating the knowledge of Christ in any shape? Are there any itinerants in the darkest parts? Any means used for the religious instruction of youth? Are there many benevolent institutions? What is the state of religion in Norway? Are Bibles scarce there? Would Danish tracts be understood there? Supposing 50 or 100,000 tracts published at our expense, could they be got faithfully circulated in Norway? Have you any information respecting Sweden, Lapland, or Poland? By strict attention to these subjects, you may be the means of doing incalculable good, for the people in London are ready to undertake anything, with heart, hand, and purse, which the kingdom of our Lord may appear to require.1

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son, op. cit., p. 70. The following year gratuities were voted to Henderson and Paterson by the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society. British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 4. Commencing 1809, pp. 18, 34, and Religious Tract Society Minutes of the Committee Commencing May 11. 1809, No. 5, pp. 69-70. But, that they were not entirely abandoned by the ones who had sent them out between the years 1808 and 1813 is evident from Henderson’s and Paterson’s letter to the churches in July, 1812: "... allow us anew to return you our most cordial thanks for the interest you have taken in our mission, and the pecuniary aid you have from time to time granted. We hope ... you will not be weary of well doing. You must be sensible, that in consequence of the journeys we have already undertaken, and these which we have yet before us, our expenses [sic] for this year will be great. These, indeed, our friends in the South, at whose request we proceed on these journeys, have undertaken to pay: Nevertheless, our support during our residence in the places whither we go, must be supplied from another quarter, as our unsettled state puts it entirely out of our power to do any thing towards supporting ourselves." The Missionary Magazine, XVII (1812), 356. A few months later Paterson received the following communication from Edinburgh: "... every day convinces me of the difficulty of getting money here to answer your demands. ... I feel deeply for you and Mr. Henderson, and have written... soliciting on your account. ..." Paterson’s letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, April 30, 1813. Cf. The Missionary Magazine, XVIII (1813), 191. Between the years 1813 and 1822 payments made to Henderson are listed in the "Abstract of the Cash Account" in the Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society. From 1822 to 1825 he was supported by the Russian Bible Society. Paterson, op. cit., p. xxv.

1 Ibid., p. 11.
As a result of this latter diligent inquiry into the "state of religion" in Denmark and the surrounding countries was immediately commenced.

Some of the questions pertaining to the needs and exertions in Denmark were answered in the Danish Evangelical Magazine, a quarterly periodical published by the Danish Society (of Fuhnen) for the Propagation of the Gospel and True Christianity, viz. that New Testaments were being printed in the Danish, Greenlandic, and Creoles, and the Bible in Danish, but that there was still "a scarcity of Bibles." More was learned of the Fuhnen Society, and of the work of the Moravian Brethren in Denmark, through the unexpected meeting of Johannes Hammerich, a member of the latter named group, in February, 1806. Six months later, while making a journey into Schleswig, Henderson and Paterson received "full information as to the state of religion in Denmark" from the Boesen brothers, who were members of the Committee of the Fuhnen Society. Consonant with their earlier impressions, they were informed that there were few who preached "anything like the gospel" in the whole of Zealand, although the situation was better in Fuhnen, Jutland, and Schleswig.

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1The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 165-66. "Det danske Selskab til Udbredelse af Evangeliet og sand Kristendom" was founded in 1799. Its purpose was "to promote the spreading of the Gospel and true Christianity" through its periodical publication, "edifying tracts," and the Scriptures. The Evangelical Magazine, X (1802), 506. Because tract distribution was a "chief object" of this Society, a similar work at Copenhagen was deemed unnecessary. Religious Tract Society Minutes of the Committee Commencing April 1st 1806, p. 99.


In the meantime, early in the year, 1806, Henderson "met with a letter from a clergyman in Sweden," viz. that of L. C. Retzius of Storeberg near Lidköping,\(^1\) to whom he wrote and from whom he received an informative reply concerning religious conditions in that part of Sweden. Through a religious society of ministers tracts "for the awakened" were being printed and distributed, but they were wanting in tracts for those who were "spiritually asleep."\(^2\) After further correspondence Retzius was advised to get "The One Thing Needful" and "The Great Question Answered" translated and to have 3,000 or 4,000 copies printed.\(^3\)

In the spring of the same year Henderson made "a short excursion" to Helsingburgh on the opposite coast from Elsinour, and there distributed tracts.\(^4\) Both he and Paterson made an "extensive tour through Scona" during the month of June, leaving tracts with Anders Hylander, Professor of Divinity at the University of Lund, who translated them into Swedish.\(^5\) From Sweden their attention was soon directed to Iceland.

By means of a letter they were introduced to G. J. Thorkelin,  

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\(^1\)Published in *The Evangelical Magazine*, VII (1799), 96-100.
\(^2\)The *Missionary Magazine*, XI (1806), 208.
\(^3\)Ibid., XI (1806), 299, 395. The funds for this project were provided by the "friends in Scotland." Paterson, op. cit., p. 19. Cf. *The Missionary Magazine*, XIV (1809), 376.
\(^4\)Ibid., XI (1806), 273, and Thalia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 54.
\(^5\)Paterson, loc. cit.
Privy-Keeper of the Royal Archives in Copenhagen, and a native of Iceland. From him they learned that in a population of nearly 50,000 inhabitants in that island, there was not "one among a hundred" above the age of twelve or fourteen who could not read; that there were no people who were more fond of reading; that, as the only printing press of which they were possessed had not been in use for a number of years, the inhabitants supplied the want of printed books by "the labourious" expedient of transcribing them; that, since the last edition of the Bible was published in the middle of the eighteenth century, Bibles and New Testaments were no longer to be obtained for money; and that, indeed, "not above 40 or 50 entire copies of the Bible" were to be found in the whole island.

This information Henderson and Paterson communicated to the Edinburgh churches in June of 1806. At the same time they made an appeal in behalf of the people of Iceland:

Their situation calls for the sympathy of every friend of knowledge, and much more of every friend of religion... Their situation certainly claims the attention of Christians in every respect as much, and in many respects more than the inhabitants of the South sea Islands... The first thing that ought to be done for them, is to have some well written tracts translated into their language... perhaps a tract on the plan of the Short Sermons would be most suitable... The next thing to be attended to, is to furnish them with the word of the living God.

1Ibid., p. 12.


3The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 300-1.
The churches in Edinburgh forwarded Henderson's and Paterson's information to the Religious Tract Society in London, which in turn conveyed it to the British and Foreign Bible Society. In August, 1806, the Committee of the Bible Society took into consideration "the case and circumstances of the inhabitants of Iceland," and "immediately determined" that the President should open a correspondence with the Bishop of Iceland, "and offer, in the name of the Society, to defray half the expense of an edition of 5,000 Icelandic Testaments."

While this action was being taken in London, Henderson and Paterson made their journey to the west of Denmark. The "most important intelligence" they received from the Boesens on this occasion was that the Danish Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and True Christianity had resolved to print an edition of the Icelandic New Testament "to the amount of 2,000 copies." They transmitted this information through John Campbell to the British and Foreign Bible Society, along with a request for the printing of an additional 3,000 copies which, though deemed essential, the Fuhnen Society was unable to finance under existing circumstances. The response of the London Committee is recorded in Owen's History of the Bible Society:

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1Paterson, op. cit., pp. 18-19, and Owen, op. cit., I, 241-42.
2Ibid., I, 239, 242.
3Supra, p. 46. They traveled as far as Christiansfeld in Schleswig, where they visited a Moravian Brethren colony. Paterson, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
4Ibid., p. 21, and Owen, op. cit., I, 247.
Struck with the undesigned coincidence of the determination on the part of the Fühnen Society, with their own vote by way of inducement, they resolved on the 6th of October... to co-operate with that Society... and, by an amendment of their former grant, to authorize the enlargement of the projected impression of the Icelandic Testament, from 2,000 to 5,000 copies.¹

It was further determined that Thorkelin should "superintend the press," while Paterson should deal with "the executive conduct of the business."² At the same time the Religious Tract Society authorized the printing of 5,000 copies of "Scripture Extracts" in the Icelandic language.³

The work was completed in the spring of 1807, at which time 1,500 copies of the New Testament were sent to different parts of Iceland, along with a portion of the "Scripture Extracts."⁴ Shipment of the remaining copies of the New Testament and of the tracts, as well as the printing of the entire Bible in Icelandic, which by this time was in a preparatory stage, was interrupted by the war between Great Britain and Denmark.⁵

¹Owen, op. cit., I, 249, 311.

²Paterson, op. cit., p. 22, and Owen, op. cit., I, 311. Under this arrangement Henderson was free to continue his ministerial labors, his work of tuition, and his linguistic pursuits in Elsinour. Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 56.


⁵Owen, op. cit., I, 311-13. A curious circumstance in the ensuing bombardment of Copenhagen was the preservation of the 3,500 re-
Departure from Denmark. Under the tensions of impending war on August 12, 1807, a note was forwarded from Henderson in Elsinore to Paterson in Copenhagen, urging his friend to join him without delay, that they might proceed, "if necessary, to Sweden, and there to await the issue of the negotiations then pending." Failing to do so, however, Paterson was forced to remain in Copenhagen during the bombardment by Great Britain, while Henderson "embarked for Sweden, at an hour's notice, along with the English consul."  

II. FIRST RESIDENCE IN SWEDEN 1807-1810

Refuge in Gottenburgh. Driven from Denmark by the circumstances of war, "the only place that remained open" for Henderson in Europe was Sweden. Having previously heard of Gottenburgh as "a fit station for an English preacher," he accordingly "set out" for that place.  

Remaining copies of the Icelandic New Testament. Two bombs are said to have entered the house where the unbound copies were lying, while the warehouse in which were deposited the bound copies was "nearly burnt to the ground, that part only escaping where they were standing." The Fourth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1808, Appendix, p. 184.  

1 Paterson, op. cit., pp. 28-29. Great Britain had called upon Denmark, who was neutral at the time, to relinquish her fleet, lest it be seized by Napoleon and used against the British. The failure of Denmark to comply with this demand led to the bombardment of Copenhagen on September 2nd. When it capitulated three days later, the fleet was seized by the British. This brought Denmark into war with Great Britain on the side of France. Robert Miesbat Bain, "Denmark," The Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th ed.), VIII, 37.  

2 The Missionary Magazine, XII (1807), 436. Paterson's journal of what happened in Copenhagen is believed to be "the only full, circumstantial account of the bombardment ever published" in the English language. Vide, Paterson, op. cit., pp. 29-49.  

3 Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen, op. cit.
He was well received there by the British residents, and, "as they had long been without a clergyman, the English chapel . . . was opened to him." Religion was found to be in a "more prosperous condition" in Gottenburgh than in Copenhagen among all classes of people.

Late in the year, 1807, Paterson joined Henderson in his new location, where they labored together until mid-January of 1808. It was decided at that time that Henderson should continue his work in Gottenburgh, while Paterson should proceed to Stockholm for the purpose of promoting the circulation of religious tracts and the printing and distribution of the Scriptures.

Besides his regular ministry at the English chapel, Henderson preached to the Danish prisoners of the man-of-war "Prince Christian" during the spring of 1808. He also had "The Great Question Answered"

1 Paterson, op. cit., p. 50.

2 Ibid., p. 55. A few months later Paterson observed with respect to Lund: "... I was glad to find that German neology and French infidelity had not gained the same footing in Sweden as they had in Denmark. The clergy and professors were in general orthodox. It was, indeed, in most cases, a cold, dead orthodoxy; but they adhered to their symbolical books, and not a few were to be found, like our friends Netzium and Nylander, pious, evangelical men, and who were really in earnest, watching for the souls of their people." Ibid., p. 52.


4 The Missionary Magazine, XIII (1808), 256, and Thomas Hansen Ereslev, "Henderson (Ebenizer)," Almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon for
reprinted for their use and had himself translated into Danish "An Account of James Covey," including some "reflections," which were appended. At the same time he was requested to "further the objects" of the London Tract Society by distributing English and German tracts among the British Army and Navy in Sweden.

Early in the summer Henderson and Paterson resolved to make a journey to the northern parts of Sweden, into Lapland, and to return to Stockholm by way of Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia. Their purpose was to acquaint themselves with the state of religion in the north, and to promote religious activity and knowledge by the circulation of the Scriptures and tracts and by personal contact. The plan having been approved by the "friends in Scotland," Henderson left Gottenburgh and arrived in Stockholm on July 30, 1808.

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1The Missionary Magazine, XIII (1808), 256, and Religious Tract Society Minutes of the Committee Commencing April 1st 1806, pp. 217, 239.

2Ibid., p. 219.

Journey to the North of Sweden and Finland. Prior to their departure from Stockholm Henderson and Paterson prepared a memorial which gave an account of the formation and progress of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and which emphasized the need for and advantage of having a similar institution in Sweden. A week after Henderson's arrival the travelers left the Swedish capital with a supply of "4000 tracts for distribution by the way."

They attended the church in Sala on the first Sunday of their journey. Their observations, the essentials of which were repeated with respect to other places, were, that,

Here, as well as in every part of the surrounding country, the churches are well attended. The Lord's day is held in some kind of respect, but so far as we could learn, all is darkness and death. We did not meet with a single one who seemed to have experienced the power of the gospel...

Rodén confirms these observations in his work on the Evangelical Society:

The end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth was a particularly weak period in regard to spirituality within our church. In most places without doubt the orthodox system of doctrine continued. The ministers preached a pure doctrine. But it was in general dead orthodoxy, dead purity of doctrine. People went to church in great numbers. A certain external church life was thus in general maintained among the people. But it was in most cases an external form of righteousness without transforming the heart.

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2Ibid., XIV (1809), 326.
3Ibid., XIV (1809), 327. Cf. ante, p. 52, n. 2.
A "chief object" of their journey was to visit Dalcarlia, a province where the people were distinguished for "the simplicity of their manners and independence of their character."1 Throughout this region "many hundreds" of tracts were dispersed, and were eagerly received and read.2 The effects were both immediate and lasting. Thus, Henderson wrote on November 4, 1808:

After traversing the province of Dalcarlia, we came to Helsingland; and on our arrival at the house of a clergyman, who takes a very lively interest in the spread of the gospel, we were much pleased to be informed that a native of Dalcarlia had been with him seeking employment, who could repeat "The One Thing Needful" by heart, and was seemingly impressed with its contents. He had seen a copy of that Tract, which we had given to some person in the village where he lived; and previous to his leaving home, he had committed it to memory.3

Three years later Paterson wrote from Stockholm of the continuing effects of this visit:

... I was visited by an old man from Dalecarlia, who informed me that the Tracts we distributed on our journey in 1808, have been the means of much good. The awakened are scattered over a large extent of country; those of them who live near each other, meet often for prayer, and reading the Tracts and other religious books.4

1The Evangelical Magazine, XVII (1809), 559.

2The Missionary Magazine, XIV (1809), 329-32. They found that here, as in other parts, "very few" of the people were in possession of the Bible, and the cost of purchasing one was prohibitive for the common man. Ibid., XIV (1809), 330-31, 376.


Henderson and Paterson reached Hernosand on August 26th, where they were received by the Bishop, C. O. af Nordin. Of the importance of this meeting they wrote:

As one particular end of our journey was to obtain information concerning the state of religion in Lapland, and to endeavour to form some plan for supplying the poor people of these frozen regions with the word of life, we now found ourselves in the place, where, if anywhere, we were likely to obtain our wishes. The whole of Swedish Lapland belongs to the Bishopric of Hernosand, and Bishop Nordin, who has himself a printing press, is the only person in Sweden who is authorised to print any book in the language of Lapland.\(^1\)

They learned from him that there were about 10,000 inhabitants in Swedish Lapland; that the greatest part of them had been taught to read, but only in the Lappish language; that the only edition of the New Testament, which was printed in 1755, was nearly exhausted; and, that an edition of 2,000 copies of the whole Bible, which was being prepared in Stockholm under the auspices of a committee appointed by the government for attending to the religious and moral improvement of the Laplanders, was advanced "as far as the book of Proverbs."\(^2\) It was agreed, accordingly, that if the Bible Society would "defray the charge of an edition of the New Testament in the Lapland language, which might be worked from the same types" being used for the whole Bible, the Bishop would superintend the printing of the proposed edition.\(^3\)

This information Henderson and Paterson communicated to the

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\(^1\)The Missionary Magazine, XIV (1809), 376.

\(^2\)Ibid., XIV (1809), 377.

Bible Society in London, and urged upon them "the necessity of this work" and "the despair of accomplishing it" apart from foreign aid.\(^1\) Before leaving Hernosand they secured as well the Bishop's agreement to print some tracts in Lappish, provided they could get them translated.\(^2\)

Three places are mentioned in the "Journal" as areas in which a religious stirring among the peasants was in process. The first was in the vicinity of Bollnäs:

This morning the organist of the parish came about two miles to see us. . . . We learned from him that there had been a great awakening in that part of the country some years ago, by which he and many others still living, were brought to the knowledge of the truth. . . . We understood that they sometimes came together to speak of the things which belong to their peace. They feel much the want of the gospel. We exhorted him to encourage the rest to meet together for prayer, reading the scriptures, &c.\(^3\)

The second was near Umeå:

It gave us much pleasure to learn afterwards, that at a little distance from Umeå, there is a number among the peasants awakened, to whom our tracts have been useful. Had we known this at the time we were in that neighbourhood, we might perhaps have visited them, and said something to them for their profit.\(^4\)

The third was at Piteå:

We have heard since of a considerable stir among the peasants not far from Piteå. They have received benefit from some of our tracts which were sent them in the beginning of summer. . . .

\(^1\)The Sixth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1810, p. 18. Cf. post, p. 64.

\(^2\)The Missionary Magazine, XIV (1809), 373. Later, they made arrangements for the translation of tracts into Lappish with a clergyman near Piteå. Ibid., XIV (1809), 420. Infra, p. 60, n. 2.

\(^3\)Ibid., XIV (1809), 373-74.

\(^4\)Ibid., XIV (1809), 380.
There are some of their adherents in the town itself; but as we knew nothing of them when there, and they knew nothing of us, we had not the pleasure of seeing them.¹

A fourth locale, though undesignated, is referred to by Henderson more than twenty years later as a place that was spiritually aroused as a result of their visit:

There was one place where we distributed several hundreds ... of "The Great Question Answered." Some years afterward, we learned that a great sensation had been produced in the parish by giving away these tracts. Inquiry was excited; and, almost immediately, the saving influences of the Holy Spirit were poured out on those who were engaged in reading them: ... the flame, which was thus kindled, was communicated from cottage to cottage, till all became thirsty for the waters of everlasting life.²

The continuing effects of this spiritual awakening in the North of Sweden were noted by Paterson in February of 1817, after his journey from Torneå to Stockholm:

In going towards the south, I knew I was to pass through tracks over which the Spirit of the Lord has, in the last few years, been poured out in such abundance. ... This work began in the year 1803, at which time Mr. Henderson and I first visited these places. It took its commencement in the parish of Lulow, and has gradually extended through a track of 200 or 300 English miles in length. The word of the Lord has grown and multiplied exceedingly.³

Rodén speaks of this new stirring among the peasants of Norrland in his Jubilee of the Evangelical Society: "From this place [Piteå] a

¹Ibid., XIV (1809), 421. In a letter from these peasants to the Tract Society in Stockholm after Henderson's and Paterson's journey they wrote: "Blessed be our Lord Jesus, who has not only brought us acquainted with you, but also given us to experience your love to other Christians, by means of the small tracts which we have received from you." Ibid.

²Jones, op. cit., p. 316.

great awakening spread, which extended itself far out over the angrymanlandic districts and even made itself perceptible in several neighboring regions."

On September 9th the missionaries reached Torneå, the northernmost point of their travels, where they began the distribution of Finnish tracts. The Scriptures, they learned, were "out of print" in Finland. Their journey through that country was terminated south of Welleaborg by the advance of the Russian army, which necessitated a retreat and a detour of 520 miles to avoid falling into the hands of the Russians. Returning by way of Danmora and Upsala, they arrived

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1Rodén, "Evangeliska Sällskapet," op. cit., p. 43. "Från denna plats utgick en stor väckelse, som sträckte sig vida ut över de ångermanländska bygden och även gjorde sig märkbar i flera angränsande landskap."

2The Missionary Magazine, XIV (1809), 424.

3Ibid., XIII (1808), 511.

4Ibid., XIII (1808), 510-11. At Tilsit Alexander I undertook to compel Gustavus IV to close the Baltic against the British. The Russian army entered Finland in 1808, and the war ended the following year with the cession of Finland to Russia. Robert Flisbet Bain, and Oskar Henrik Damrath, "Sweden," The Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th ed.), XXVI, 209-10.

5During the course of their journey Henderson and Paterson visited, besides the iron mine at Danmora, the silver mine at Sala, the copper works at Avestad, Garpenberg, and Fahlun, and the porphyry work at Elfdalen, on which occasions they distributed hundreds of tracts. Paterson, op. cit., p. 94, and The Missionary Magazine, XIV (1809), 327-33.

6At Upsala they met Samuel Cedman, Professor of Theology at the University. Paterson, op. cit., p. 93. Cedman was opposed to the revision of the Prayer Book, which had been in preparation since 1793, having "pointed out the danger of tampering with forms venerable by their antiquity." When the new Catechism and Prayer Book was issued in 1810 and 1811 respectively, the peasants in Norrland, who had already reacted against the prevailing neology of the time, strongly protested. John Wordsworth, The National Church of Sweden, pp. 354, 370.
in Stockholm on October 4, 1808, after a journey of 2,300 miles, and within a few days Henderson was back in Gottenburgh.¹

Paterson wrote in the same month of their accomplishments on this journey:

We made ourselves acquainted with the state of religion in the north, formed connections here and there over the whole of that extensive tract of country, made arrangements for having the New Testament printed in the Lapland language, and also to have tracts translated and printed in that language, besides the prospect of being able to obtain a considerable circulation of the Scriptures among that destitute people. We had given away between 6000 and 7000 tracts² and besides all this had many opportunities of speaking the word of life in private.³

A more recent evaluation of this journey has been made by Westin:

One ought not to entirely overlook, that both the Scottish free church missionaries J. Paterson and E. Henderson made a journey through Norrländ in the year 1808 and thereby made connections for the Evangelical Society's work. In this in different ways came the preparation of the population for the personal, religious crisis, when distress and darkness went over to its opposite and it became light and peace. It was from the depression and spiritual need of the peasants of Norrländ, that the new awakening sprang forth and became a witness again of a gracious God, of a full atonement and the soul's salvation in the solid rock.⁴

Thus, Rodén concludes: "... Paterson's and Henderson's journey in


²Of these, 700 were in "the language of Finland." Rodén, "Herrnhutiskt och lutherskt i det norrländska nyläseriet," op. cit., p. 112.

³The Missionary Magazine, XIII (1808), 511.

the summer of 1808 has not been without a certain influence upon the spiritual movements in our country."

Return to Gottenburgh. Henderson resumed his duties in the English chapel upon his return to Gottenburgh, and soon it was "as well attended as ever." For the benefit of the Danish seamen he translated into their language the tract "Sixteen Short Sermons," 5,000 copies of which were printed in Gottenburgh in the spring of 1809 at the request of the Religious Tract Society in London. The Danish translation of Vivian's "Three Dialogues" he completed in July, and was requested to have it printed and distributed like the "Sermons." In the meantime, he received his first literary privileges and honor in January, 1809, "being admitted a member of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences" of Gottenburgh.

Besides his ministerial labors and translation work, Henderson

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1Rodén, loc. cit. "... har Patersons och Hendersons resa sommaren 1808 ej varit utan en viss inverkan på de andliga rörelserna i vårt land."

2The Missionary Magazine, XIV (1809), 123.


4Religious Tract Society Minutes of the Committee Commencing May 11. 1809, No. 5, pp. 18, 31. 2,000 copies of the "Sixteen Short Sermons" were sent to England for distribution among the Danish prisoners of war, while 3,000 were used for the same purpose in Sweden. Ibid.

5Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen, op. cit. Henderson was pursuing the study of Hebrew, Greek, French, German, Danish, and Swedish at this time. A year later he began the study of Icelandic. Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 68-69, 79.
held classes for the study of English during the week. C. Fr. af Wingård, Gottenburgh lecturer, who succeeded his father in the episcopate in 1818, was one of his pupils.\(^1\) Henderson's influence upon Wingård is described by Westin as follows:

It seems to me in the highest degree probable, namely, that the going over from a neological standpoint, which Wingård did,—he calls himself "a doubter, yes, a mocker"—and which Fehrman tells, took place under the influence of Henderson during this stay in Gottenburgh from 1807-1812. This agrees as to time with Fehrman's supposition, that Wingård during his first years as a lecturer (thus from 1805) was near the neological position and that a turn—about took place afterwards. Henderson gave instruction in the English language during his stay in Gottenburgh, and among his pupils at that time was C. Fr. af Wingård. It is inconceivable, that such a zealous man as Henderson should not make propaganda thereby for his religion.\(^2\) Moreover he preached in the English chapel of the town. That there was a close friendship sustained between these two is known.\(^3\) This provides also an explanation, why the earliest strictly conservative bishop maintained such lively connections with England and interested himself in movements coming from there.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Westin, op. cit., I, 62. A Missionary Society was formed in Gottenburgh in 1830 with Wingård as patron. It was "the first voluntary association of the kind in Sweden." Six years later the Gottenburgh Diocesan Missionary Society was instituted. The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, X New Series (1832), 514, and XIV New Series (1836), 253. The Swedish Missionary Society was founded in 1835, on which occasion Wingård "took the lead at the first public missionary prayer-meeting." He was described, accordingly, as "the first of the dignitaries of the Swedish church to come forward on behalf of missions." Ibid., XIII New Series (1835), 246, and XIV New Series (1836), 253. Later, he became the Archbishop of Upsala. Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 68.

\(^2\) Cf. ante, p. 44.

\(^3\) Henderson is frequently referred to in Wingård's diary by the uncommon expression min älskade vän, "my beloved friend." D. Fehrman, "Carl Fredrik af Wingård såsom biskop öfver Göteborgs stift," Lunds Universitets Årsakrift 1907, I, 128.

\(^4\) Westin, op. cit., I, 82-83. "Det synes mig nämligen i högsta grad sannolikt, att den övergång från en neologisk ståndpunkt, som Wingård gjorde,—han kallar sig själv 'tviflare, ja, hànare'—och varom Fehrman berättar, skedde under inflytande av Henderson under dennes
Glemme's observations are similar:

W[inngård]'s theological standpoint can be characterized as conservative supernaturalism. In his youth there was a neological influence and during his entire life an understanding of moderate pietism of the Herrnhutish and English low church type. He had come into contact early with the Moravian Brethren through his father and with the English low church through the Scottish Congregationalist missionary S. Henderson, who stayed in Gottenburgh from 1807-12. These impressions made W[inngård] more open to free church work forms than any of his bishop colleagues. Thus, he participated in the formation of the Gottenburgh Bible Society in 1813 and was a zealous missions and prohibition friend.1

The Evangelical Society. A new phase of religious enterprise in Sweden was begun in February of 1809. The earliest report received by the British and Foreign Bible Society regarding Sweden, Finland, and Lapland was that "no want" of the Scriptures existed at that time (1804).2 But, as a result of an investigation conducted by Paterson,


it was learned that among the wealthier classes a copy of the Bible "might be found in every family, or at least in most families;" but among the poorer classes "not more than one out of every twenty families" was in possession of either the Bible or the New Testament. That, indeed, nothing had been done to provide "the bulk of the nation" with cheap copies of the Scriptures "at reduced prices or gratis."\(^1\) Once this information was confirmed the Committee of the Bible Society in London adopted a resolution "to encourage" the formation of a similar institution at Stockholm.\(^2\)

However, no specific action was taken by the London Committee until Henderson's and Paterson's representation regarding the want of Scriptures in Lapland was received.\(^3\) The necessary funds for printing 5,000 copies of the New Testament in Lappish were appropriated, accordingly, by the Bible Society in the autumn of 1808.\(^4\) The following February the Evangelical Society was established in Stockholm with "the full approbation and sanction" of the King.\(^5\)

The origin of the new Institution is stated in a letter from the Committee of the Evangelical Society to the Foreign Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, dated February 20, 1809:

Mr. P[aterson] ... has drawn our attention more than ever to the great want of Bibles which exists in various parts of our

\(^1\)Paterson, op. cit., p. 115.
\(^2\)Owen, op. cit., I, 376-79. \(^3\)Supra, pp. 56-57.
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country, chiefly among the lore? classes of people; at the sase
time reminding us of our duty to relieve this want, and recommend¬
ing means for the attainment of this desirable object. This he
did by an Address circulated in manuscript among the friends of
religion in this metropolis, which gave rise to the establishment
of a Society, denominated "the Evangelical Society". . . .1
Owen describes the beginning of the Society in
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Animated by the assurance of liberal co-operation from London,
of support from persons of great respectability in

and by promises

Stockholm, Mr. Paterson drew up a memorial on the want of the
Scriptures among the lower classes in Sweden, the duty of relieving
it, and the means by which that end might bo attained. The effect
of this memorial, combined with other exertions directed to the
same object, was the establishment of an Institution at Stockholm,
under the designation of "the Evangelical Society". . . .2
But that Henderson had
conducted is asserted by

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Late in 1807, immediately

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1809, Appendix, p. 255.

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Religious Tract Society in Stockholm in February, 1808, he goes on to say:

The inquiries I had made during my previous correspondence,¹ and my visits to Sweden,² but more especially during the present winter in Gotenburg [italics not in the original], and my few weeks' residence in Stockholm, convinced me that the want of copies of the Scriptures was fearfully great. Not one family in ten, among the whole population, was in possession of a copy; and among the peasantry, not one family in twenty had either the Bible or Testament. . . .

Having ascertained the facts of the case, I submitted them to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and asked their co-operation in attempting to form a Bible Society for Sweden.³

Further, that the memorial which led to the formation of the Evangelical Society was drawn up by both Paterson and Henderson is stated, first, by Paterson himself:

Before we left for the north, we [italics not in the original] had published a short memorial, giving an account of the British and Foreign Bible Society, its formation and progress, and pointing out the need there was for a similar society for Sweden, and the advantage likely to result from such an institution to the country at large.⁴

It is avowed, in the second instance, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the minutes of which reference is made to both Paterson's and Henderson's

... labour and expenses in translating into Swedish the Brief Account of this Society, writing and circulating the same, together

¹The correspondence with Retzius was instituted by Henderson. Supra, p. 47. Cf. The Missionary Magazine, XI (1806), 395.

²During Paterson's visit to Sweden in June, 1806, he had been accompanied by Henderson. Supra, p. 47.

³Paterson, op. cit., p. 68. On their journey to the North of Sweden these facts were reaffirmed. Supra, p. 55.

⁴Paterson, op. cit., p. 95. Supra, p. 54.
with an Address prepared by them [italics not in the original] which led to the formation of the Evangelical Society at Stockholm.¹

It is asserted, in the third case, by the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, in whose minutes acknowledgment is made of the

... unremitted exertions of the Rev Messrs Paterson & Henderson in translating and superintending the printing of Religious Tracts in the Icelandic, Danish Swedish & Finnish languages and of the expenses incurred by them in prosecuting Journeys of many hundreds of Miles for the purpose of distributing Tracts and in translating printing & circulating the necessary papers in order to induce the formation of a Religious Tract Society on an extensive Scale in Sweden, the result of which has been the establishment of the Evangelical Society at Stockholm. ... ²

Thus, Jones says in his Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society that Henderson "co-operated with Dr. Paterson in the formation of the societies in Stockholm and Finland."³

The organization, object, and plan of the Evangelical Society is stated in the primary address:

After mature deliberation ... we found it most advisable not to form ourselves into a separate Bible Society, but to include in one Society the two-fold object, the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures, and the distribution of Religious Tracts. We therefore determined to entrust the execution of this design to one and the same Committee; yet a fundamental rule was added, that each of the two branches should have its separate funds, and a distinct account of the income and expenditure of each should be kept, and annually laid before the Public. ... ⁴

¹British and Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 4. Commencing 1809, p. 18.
²Religious Tract Society Minutes of the Committee Commencing May. 11. 1809, No. 5, pp. 69-70.
³Jones, op. cit., p. 88.
⁴The two branches of the Evangelical Society were separated in 1815, "the Bible Department" becoming the Swedish Bible Society. William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, I, 201.
Our plan is to print ... the Sacred Scriptures in the Swedish language on standing types, and to begin this work with the New Testament.\(^1\)

The printing of the Lappish New Testament at Hernostrand was also entrusted to its care.\(^2\)

**Final Destination.** Shortly after the formation of the Evangelical Society a political crisis occurred in Sweden which resulted in the abdication of Gustavus IV, whose military strategy in the war against Russia, France, and Denmark alienated Great Britain, his only ally.\(^3\) Under the persuasion that little more could be done until peace was restored, Henderson wrote to Paterson in the spring of 1809 regarding "the primary object" which had led him to leave "the land of his birth." The letter embodies seven resolutions:

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\(^2\)The Sixth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1810, p. 18. Cf. Paterson, op. cit., p. 130. The Lappish New Testament was not completed until 1811. Paterson wrote from Stockholm in October of that year: "... 2,500 [copies] have been bound, and sent to that inhospitable region to be distributed gratis among the poor people. The Court of Chancery here have taken on them the charge of distributing; and the Russian government have issued a proclamation allowing them to be freely imported into their dominions." The Missionary Magazine, XVI (1811), 470. Measures were also taken to facilitate the distribution of 1,000 copies "in that part of Lapland subject to the Danish Government." The Eighth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1812, p. 3. Three tracts in Lappish, consisting of a total of 15,000 copies, were printed at the same time. The Missionary Magazine, XVI (1811), 470, and Religious Tract Society Minutes of the Committee Commencing May 11, 1809, No. 5, p. 255. Supra, pp. 56-57.

\(^3\)Paterson, op. cit., pp. 98-99.
1. That I am resolved ... to pursue, as soon as circumstances will permit, my original design of going to the heathen for the purpose of making them acquainted with the great and most important truths of Divine Revelation.

2. That I shall enter immediately into a correspondence with our friends in Edinburgh and London on the subject; at the same time stating to them positively that nothing will longer prevent me from following out my determination, unless God lay hindrances in my way, or open up a door where I could publicly be of very great use by remaining longer, and where ... another ... could not perform the same work.

3. That ... I shall ... seek to come to some part of Hindoostan. If the present state of politics prevent this, to the island of Madagascar, the Pelew islands, or any of the islands off the continent of Asia; preferring such places as have hitherto had few European residents amongst them.

4. That although I do not think of leaving the Continent immediately, yet I shall endeavour, as soon as possible, to have the place of my destination fixed, that so I might be able to attend to such studies as may appear of greatest utility; such as learning the Arabic and Persian languages, etc., while I remain on the Continent of Europe.

5. That if our friends in Scotland find themselves unable to bear the expenses of such a mission, or ... decline from engaging in it, I will give myself up to the London Missionary Society; but, if possible, that those they send as fellow-labourers be of the same way of thinking with myself.

6. That as the French and German languages may be of much use, especially in carrying on a correspondence with missionaries abroad, I shall do everything in my power to perfect my acquaintance with them. And,

Lastly. That I spend much time in prayer for Divine direction in this important business.2

The unanimous advice both of those in Scotland and England was that he should remain on the continent of Europe,3 and the encouragement to do so was provided by a resolution adopted at the Annual Meet-

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1 In Henderson's letter to Gustaf Rosen he says: "... I have not given up all thoughts of going to India. ..."

2 Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

3 Ibid., p. 70.
ing of the British and Foreign Bible Society in May, 1809:

That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to the Rev. John Paterson and the Rev. Ebenezer Henderson, for their unremitted and successful labours in promoting the object of this Institution in Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, and Lapland.¹

Henderson's decision is contained in his and Paterson's reply to the Bible Society's resolution in July, 1809:

It is peculiarly valuable to us, as we consider it as a pledge, that you will in future make use of our services in promoting your glorious design, wherever God may be pleased to cast our lot. We want words to express our gratitude; but we hope you will give us new opportunities to testify it by our actions. Be assured, that nothing will be esteemed a greater favor by us, than that you would have the goodness to command our services. These you may consider as at your disposal; and we beg of you freely to tell us, in what manner we can most effectually promote the views of the Society. In promoting your views, we consider ourselves as promoting the cause of God and of Christ, to whose service we have entirely dedicated ourselves. It now appears to us to be our Saviour's will, that we should serve him on the continent of Europe; and as soon as we have completed what we have begun in the North, we hope you will inform us where you think we could be of most use to the Society.²

Plans Regarding Iceland. By the close of the year, 1809, a new Swedish constitution had been drawn up; Charles XIII had ascended the throne; and peace had been established with Russia, France, and Denmark.³ The latter circumstance brought about a favorable rate of exchange between Sweden and Denmark, which induced Henderson and Paterson to recommend to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society that new exertions be put forth for printing the Icelandic Bible at


²Owen, op. cit., I, 449-50, and British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 4. Commencing 1809, p. 34.

³Paterson, op. cit., p. 108. However, Denmark was still at war with Great Britain. Ibid., p. 116.
Copenhagen. They also recommended "the consideration of sending a person to Iceland to superintend the sale of the Icelandic New Testaments," 3,500 copies of which were still in the Danish metropolis.

Both proposals were approved by the London Committee on January 1, 1810:

Resolved That it appears expedient that the Copies of the Icelandic Testament remaining at Copenhagen be sent out, if practicable, by the Spring Ships: and that Messrs Paterson and Henderson be requested one of them to accompany the same to Iceland, at the charge of this Society, to superintend the sale and distribution of them as well as of those already sent thither.

Resolved That it also appears expedient that Messrs Paterson & Henderson avail themselves of the present course of exchange between Sweden & Denmark and proceed to procure the Printing of the Icelandic Bible with the least possible delay.

Later in the same month Henderson wrote to Paterson regarding these resolutions:

... it now becomes a matter of consideration which of us is to proceed thither. Were you disengaged from the various connections you have relative to the printing of Swedish Bibles, tracts, etc.; or ... if I had the same knowledge of the art, and could not only superintend the work at Stockholm, but also ... proceed to Copenhagen, and carry on the execution of the Bible-printing there, it might be a matter of indifference which of us went. But as my talents are totally inadequate to the work you have at present in hand, as well as that which I hope will soon present itself in Denmark, and the undertaking in Iceland being unattended with any gigantic difficulties, in my humble opinion it does not admit of a doubt that the voyage falls to my lot....

Accordingly, Paterson was requested to go to Helsingfors, where, from its proximity to Copenhagen, he would have opportunity of making arrangements through friends in Denmark "for the immediate commencement of printing the Icelandic Bible," as well as securing the shipment of

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1 British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 4. Commencing 1809, p. 92. Supra, p. 50.

2 Ibid. 3 Ibid., p. 93.

4 Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 78.
"the remainder of the New Testaments."1 Once this was done, Henderson was to proceed on the journey to Iceland.2

First Return to Great Britain. Meanwhile, he returned to Great Britain in June of 1810.3 During the summer and early autumn he gave accounts of the mission in the North of Europe, recommending the work of the Evangelical Society in particular.4 Thus, in the minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society for September, 1810, it is recorded:

The representations of the Stockholm Evangelical Society were then more fully considered in consequence of Mr. Henderson from Sweden being present who is now in this country collecting for that Society. The Committee voted a second donation of L 50 Str. to assist the Evangelical Society in the distribution of the Scriptures among the poor in Sweden.5

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3Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 60.

4At the meeting of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society in London on July 10th Henderson recommended that the Committee "encourage the printing and distribution of Tracts in Norway." Religious Tract Society Minutes of the Committee Commencing May, 11. 1809, No. 5, p. 132. Before leaving on his second journey abroad he addressed the congregation of the North College Street Chapel in Edinburgh. The Missionary Magazine, XVII (1812), 71.

5Edinburgh Bible Society Instituted 3d August 1809 Minute-Book, 1809 to 1815, I, p. 46. Henderson and Paterson had first recommended the work of the Evangelical Society to the Edinburgh Bible Society in a letter to one of the secretaries, dated May 16, 1810. A donation of L 50 was made as a result. The Second Report of the Edinburgh Bible Society, 1811, pp. 4-5, Appendix, pp. 22-27.
CHAPTER III

EBENEZER HENDERSON

LABORS IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE 1805-1825

SECOND JOURNEY ABROAD 1810-1817

I. SECOND RESIDENCE IN SWEDEN 1810-1812

Resumption of the Work in Gottenburgh. Ebenezer Henderson returned to Gottenburgh in October of 1810, where he resumed his pastoral ministry.\(^1\) At the "beginning of the new year" a Sunday School was begun for the benefit of the young people.\(^2\) He wrote further regarding the work in April, 1811:

Our place of worship has been uncommonly well attended since my return. \(...\) Many who had lived wholly indifferent about divine things, have had their security disturbed; some who attended only occasionally, now hear the gospel statedly; and others who had been alarmed by the terrors of the Lord, but were ignorant of the divinely appointed way of escape, have found peace to their troubled souls, in that blood which cleanseth from all sin, and are now shewing forth the praises of him who called them from darkness into his marvellous light.\(^4\)

A specific case was that of Adolphus Holmlin, whose "Memoir" was later

\(^1\)John Paterson, The Book for Every Land, pp. 126-27.


\(^3\)Travelers and seafaring people were periodically among his hearers. Thus, John Aikman wrote from Hamburgh in the autumn of 1815: "While here, I had the pleasure of meeting with the masters of two Packets, who appeared to be truly Christian men, who were well acquainted with Messrs. Paterson and Henderson, having frequently attended the ministry of Mr. H. at Gottenburgh." The Christian Herald, II (1815), 474.

\(^4\)The Missionary Magazine, XVI (1811), 189. The report of his work at the end of the year, 1811, was essentially the same. Ibid., XVII (1812), 72.
drawn up by Henderson and published in the Missionary Magazine:

... he began to be sensible of a difference between the doctrines I preached, and what he had been accustomed to hear. ... What first led him to serious consideration, was the reading of Mat. vii. 13, 14, which I had pointed out to him one evening, as testifying the deplorable situation of the great bulk of mankind. 

... Previous to that period he had never doubted but that all who were confirmed and took the sacrament, consequently almost the whole kingdom, went to heaven when they died. But he found the Lord Jesus solemnly declaring in the above passage, that all was wrong; that they were posting along to eternal perdition; and that, instead of the generality being saved, there were in fact but comparatively few that attained to everlasting life. —His enquiry now was: What shall I do to be saved? and by the blessing of the divine spirit on the means with which he was favoured both in public and private, his attention was ultimately fixed on the eternal atonement made on the Cross by the Son of God, as the means and medium of reconciliation, and the only shelter from the wrath to come.¹

The unrest which Henderson's preaching aroused in church circles in Gottenburgh had an indirect and reactionary effect upon Henrik Schartau, pastor in Lund, who was one of the most influential churchmen of the time.² Rodhe speaks of this in his work on Schartau:

In two sermons of 1803 and 1805 Schartau deals with the teaching concerning election or the choice of grace. A visit in Gottenburgh in 1812 made the question particularly real for him. Here the Scottish Congregationalist pastor Henderson had expressed in his sermons the teaching of election and thereby aroused wonder and anxiety with many, which Schartau himself was able to ascer-

¹The Missionary Magazine, XVIII (1813), 162-63.

²Schartau (d. 1825) was important for "the regeneration of Swedish religious thought." As a pastor he was "one of the greatest figures in the whole history of the Swedish Church." A type of Christianity bearing the marks of Schartau flourishes today in parts of Western Sweden, especially near Gottenburgh. John Wordsworth, The National Church of Sweden, p. 366, and H. M. Waddams, The Swedish Church, p. 27.
tain. With reason therefore Schartau wrote down his ideas on the question, but the little book was first published after his death.1

Written Ministry. Henderson entered upon a new phase of literary work during his second residence in Gottenburgh. This began with a translation from the German of Magnus Roos' An Exposition of Such of the Prophecies of Daniel, As Receive Their Accomplishment under the New Testament. Together with a Comparison between Them and the Apocalypse, As Explained by the Late Dr Bengelius, which was published in Edinburgh in 1811. The influences that prompted the work are cited in Henderson's preface:

While it is a fact to be deplored, that so many are opposed to the study of prophecy, and look with a sneer on such as attempt to elucidate that inestimable portion of the sacred volume, it is very gratifying, on the other hand, to observe a growing attention to the subject among the followers of Jesus. The unprecedented events which have transpired within these last twenty years, and the influence which they have had, both on politics and religion, have doubtless tended, in no small degree, to excite this attention. These signs of the times being so visible, and the effects of the principal events being so momentous, the Christian is convinced they cannot have been unnoticed in the revelation which God hath made, respecting the things which should befal [sic] his church unto the end of time.2


He concludes: "... if what is here presented to the English reader, be the means of conveying only to one individual the true sense of a single text of Scripture, he [the translator] will consider himself abundantly rewarded. ..."\(^1\)

Difference of opinion on many of the interpretations given, together with the idea that all unfulfilled prophecy was in some way related to the times then present limits the value of the work to the present day reader. On the other hand, Roos' work had an important influence upon the translator. The interest excited by the critical and expository remarks of this author, and by the comparison of these with the system of Faber, laid a foundation for Henderson's continued and more mature study of the prophetic writings, which ultimately resulted in the publication of his own Commentaries on the Prophets.\(^2\)

Roos' rules, also, for the interpretation of the prophetic books are among those laid down in the introductory dissertation of Henderson's Isaiah.\(^3\)

Henderson completed his first article for the *Missionary Magazine* in December, 1811, viz. "Critical Remarks on Dr. Blayney's Translation of Jer. xxiii. 6," in which he rejected Blayney's rendering of the clause: "And this is his name, which Jehovah shall call, OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS," in favor of the Authorized Version, on the ground that Blayney's translation appeared to reduce this passage as a proof for "the

\(^1\)Ibid., p. xxi.  
\(^2\)Thulia S. Henderson, *op. cit.*., p. 86.  
divinity of the Saviour." 1 Other of Henderson's articles appeared under the following titles: "On the Times of the Restitution of All Things" (Acts 3:21), in which the universalist interpretation of the passage was refuted; 2 "Believers Groaning" (2 Cor. 5:4); 3 "Remarks on Proverbs viii. 21"; 4 and "The Credibility of the Gospel." 5 Two writings of a non-critical nature were published in the same periodical, viz. "Memoir of Mr. Sven Adolphus Holalin, who Died at Gottenburgh, Nov. 6, 1812, in the 23d Year of His Age," 6 and "An Address Delivered to the First Congregational Church in Sweden, when Assembled for the First Time to Celebrate the Lord's Supper, October 6, 1811." 7

First Congregational Church in Sweden. On December 30, 1811, Henderson wrote of a new development in the character of his chapel in Gottenburgh. His remarks were addressed to "the Church of Christ, under the pastoral care of Mr. John Aikman, and assembling for worship in North College Street, Edinburgh";

It will doubtless afford you much pleasure to hear of the formation of a church in Sweden, which has taken "the churches of God which, in Judea, were in Christ Jesus," for her pattern. . . .

1 The Missionary Magazine, XVII (1812), 126-30.
2 Ibid., XVII (1812), 335-37.
3 Ibid., XVII (1812), 367-70, 408-11, 447-50.
4 Ibid., XVIII (1813), 17.
5 Ibid., XVIII (1813), 8-12, 50-51, 88-90, 128-32, 170-74.
6 Ibid., XVIII (1813), 161-70. This was later reprinted in Edinburgh as a tract. Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 96.
7 Ibid., XVII (1812), 337-41.
few who have been benefited by my labours in this place... have, with myself, long wished for such a union, as, putting us in pos-
session of the ordinances of Christ, ... might have it in our
power... to furnish the world with a more striking exhibition
of the nature and effects of primitive Christianity. The pecu-
liarity of our circumstances, however, the fewness of our number,
and the limited nature of toleration in this country, deterred us,
for a time, from acting upon the views we had obtained.1 But we
were at last convinced, that... it was our duty to carry our
principles into effect... Accordingly, on the 6th of October...
the disciples came together in the afternoon, when I address-
ed them on the nature and ends of Christian association; after
which we formed ourselves into a church,2 by unitedly surrendering
ourselves in prayer unto the Lord... Our union was then con-
firmed by a joint participation of the one loaf by which it is so
strikingly represented. Three months have now nearly elapsed, dur-
ing which we have not met with the smallest interruption; and...
we have "continued steadfastly in the Apostle's doctrine, and the
fellowship, and in the breaking of bread, and in prayers..." Our
number does not amount to more than eight—three brethren and
five sisters... One of our number is of the stock of Abraham,
and a native of Germany; one was born in Italy; three have been
born here; and three in Scotland... 


... On the morning of the Lord's-day, we have worship between
the hours of 11 and 1. At 3 o'clock P.M. my Sabbath school begins,
which continues till half-past 4. At 5 we have the Lord's Supper;
and at 6 our public evening service commences. We have also a lec-
ture on Thursday evening. The rest of the week is taken up with
preparatory studies, and endeavours to preach from house to house.3

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1Public worship other than the approved religion of the state
was prohibited by the Swedish Church Law of 1686. However, official
representatives of other countries and those who came to Sweden for
business purposes were permitted to exercise their religions privately
and to have their own ministers. The ministers were not allowed "to
preach or administer any sacraments outside." S. Townshend, and H. J.
Adams, History of the English Congregation and Its Association with
the British Factory Gothenburg, p. 12.

2This is referred to as "the first Congregational church in
Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 92, and The London Christian Instruc-
tor, or Congregational Magazine, I (1818), 640.

3The Missionary Magazine, XVII (1812), 72-74.
Henderson wrote further regarding the church in a letter to Joseph Tarn, Assistant-Secretary of the Religious Tract Society and of the British and Foreign Bible Society, dated May 4, 1812:

We have now for more than half a year enjoyed comfort and peace, and have been multiplied. About a fortnight ago, however, the Bishop sent for me, and remonstrated strongly against my proceedings, declaring that in virtue of his office he was compelled to bid me desist. I gave his Grace a fair representation of the matter, but finding him determined to stop me I plainly told him, that as we were acting from a sense of duty to God, we could only be brought to give up with our present practice by coercion. After a long conversation, in which he repeatedly expressed his sorrow that any thing of the kind should take place, I told him of my intention to proceed to Iceland in the course of 6 weeks, and obtained an assurance that nothing should be done in the matter during that time.

Thus it is recorded in the London Christian Instructor for 1818 with reference to Henderson's church: "Owing to his removal, however, and the death and removal of some of the members, it no longer exists as a body."  

The Jewish member of Henderson's church was "undoubtedly" Johann Christian Moritz, who later became "one of the most distinguished of the friends in London" to make preparations for the voyage to Iceland. His response is contained in a letter dated April 20, 1812: "... whatever my prospects at present in this place are, the cry of the poor Icelanders outweighs every other consideration. ..." Ibid., XVII (1812), 109. Supra, p. 72, n. 2.

1 The progress on the Icelandic Bible was such that in the spring of 1812 Henderson was "requested anew by the friends in London" to make preparations for the voyage to Iceland. His response is contained in a letter dated April 20, 1812: "... whatever my prospects at present in this place are, the cry of the poor Icelanders outweighs every other consideration. ..." Ibid., XVII (1812), 109. Supra, p. 72, n. 2.

2 Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, May 4, 1812.

3 The London Christian Instructor, or Congregational Magazine, I (1818), 640.

the early missionaries" of the London Society for Promoting Christian-
ity amongst the Jews.¹ Henderson wrote to Charles Steinkopff, Foreign
Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with reference to
Moritz in August, 1811: "I humbly conceive he might be of great use
among his brethren according to the flesh. . . ."² Seven months later
he wrote again: "Mr Moritz is still . . . holding fast his profession.
I have had occasion to speak to him on a variety of topics, which I
trust has been of use to him."³ After Henderson's departure from
Gottenburgh in the summer of 1812 his pastoral ministry seems to have
devolved upon Moritz.⁴

Henderson's influence through this church, in addition to what
has been said concerning Johann Christian Moritz, and what was noted
earlier regarding C. Fr. af Wingär,⁵ is to be seen in relation to
Cornelius Rahm, Chaplain to the Royal Swedish Artillery in Gotten-
burgh.⁶ Westin speaks of this as follows:

¹A. Bernstein, Some Jewish Witnesses for Christ, p. 381. After
his conversion to Christianity, Moritz received instruction from and
was baptized by Charles Steinkopff, pastor of the German Lutheran church
in London. He removed to Gottenburgh in 1811, where he "maintained
himself by giving lessons and selling books." Between the years 1817
and 1825 he labored among the Jews in Russia under the patronage of
Alexander I. He served as an agent of the London Jews Society in Ger-
many, Denmark, and Sweden from 1825 until his death in 1868. Ibid.,
pp. 381-83.

²Henderson's letter to Charles Steinkopff in the files of the
British and Foreign Bible Society, August 29, 1811.

³Henderson's letter to Charles Steinkopff in the files of the
British and Foreign Bible Society, March 9, 1812.

⁴The Missionary Magazine, XVIII (1813), 166, 169.

⁵Supra, pp. 62-63.

⁶Rahm had been known to Henderson as early as 1807. Paterson,
op. cit., p. 345. He promoted the work of the Evangelical Society
The Evangelical Society's influence in Gottenburgh became very great. Henderson's work there had its significance. In the beginning of 1811 he started a Sunday School and in the autumn of the same year he formed a small Congregational church, and by that probably came to give nourishment to battalion chaplain Cornelius Rahm's free church projects. The strong influence upon Rahm from the English free church world is evident.1

So also, Newman writes:

... that Rahm had this free church pattern before his eyes, when he ... made known his intention to leave the Swedish church in order to go over to another, better religious society, seems to me in the highest degree probable.2

Again, Sundkler says that Rahm "received strong impressions from Henderson's preaching and his views of the church."3 Thus, Jansson concludes:

in Gottenburgh, prior to his appointment by the London Missionary Society in 1817 to their new station at Irkutsk in Siberia. Cf. post, p. 129. After having taken stations in Sarapta, Astrachan, and St. Petersburg, Rahm went to London, where he was engaged, first as an assistant in the Foreign Department of the London Missionary Society, and then as pastor of the Swedish church and Chaplain to the Swedish and Norwegian Embassy (1826-1840). The last years of his life were spent in his homeland. Vide, Jansson, op. cit.


3Bengt Sundkler, Svenska Missionssällskapet 1835-1876 Missionstankens genombröt och tidigare Historia i Sverige, pp. 27-28. "... tog starka intryck av Hendersons förkunnelse och kyrkosyn. ..."
During Henderson's last two years in Gottenburgh from 1810-1812, which corresponds with Rahmn's two first years as battalion chaplain, the two pastors must have met often. Rahmn certainly did not go to the English chapel merely to exercise himself in English, but he received there in this manner a deep impression of the Anglo-Saxon Christian revival, so that to a certain extent it became determinative for his spiritual development.

When in the year 1814 Rahmn started a Sunday School in the artillery barracks, he had undoubtedly gotten the idea for it from the English chapel, even though at that time Henderson no longer ministered there.

Helsingburgh Conference. Charles Steinkopff "unexpectedly arrived in Gottenburgh, on his way to the Continent" in mid-June of 1812. After a time of preliminary discussion on the Bible Society work, the plans then contemplated were noted by Henderson:

There is a happy coincidence between our ideas as to the eligibility of forming a Bible Society in Copenhagen. Not supposing that Mr Steinkopff was to leave England so soon, I had written him last Monday... proposing the above...

I had also hinted my intention of making every enquiry in my power relative to the state in which the inhabitants of the Faro islands are with respect to the Scriptures; as likewise, if there are any copies of the Greenlandish New Test. remaining at Copenhagen.

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1Jansson, op. cit., p. 54. "Under Hendersons två sista år i Göteborg 1810-1812, vilka sammanförde med Rahmans två förste såsom bataljonspredikant, torde de två pastorerna ofta ha träffats. Rahm gick nog ej i Engelska kapellet blott för att öva sig i engelska, utan han emotog där så djupa intyck av anglosaxisk väckelsekristendom, att de i viss mån blovo bestämmande för hans andliga utveckling...

När Rahm år 1814 började en söndagsskola i artillerikasernen, hade han otvivelaktigt hämtat förebilden därtill från Engelska kapellet, även om Henderson då ej längre verkade där."

2The Missionary Magazine, XVII (1812), 355.

3Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, June 19, 1812. A month earlier he had mentioned the prospect of getting "tracts printed in the Icelandic," as well as forming "plans for the more general circulation of the Holy Scriptures in Denmark and Norway." Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, May 22, 1812.
Steinkopff and Henderson removed to Helsingburgh at the end of the month, where they were joined by Paterson. Steinkopff's account of their "united deliberations" is given in his later "reminiscences":

At Helsingburgh we were joined by Dr. Paterson, and spent six days together at a Swedish inn, calmly and maturely surveying the vast field for spiritual cultivation, presenting itself to our view in the three Northern kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and still more extensively in the dominions of the Emperor of Russia. Again and again did we consider and deliberate in what way, and by what means, the barren soil could be best broken up, and rendered fruitful by an ample dissemination of the precious seed of heavenly truth.1

Henderson wrote of this conference in 1819: "At that time there did not exist a single Bible Society in Denmark or Iceland, or even in Russia itself, although . . . we projected the formation of such an Institution in all three countries. . . ."2

To accomplish the plans for Denmark and Iceland application was made to the Danish government for Henderson's permission to return to Copenhagen to facilitate the work on the Icelandic Bible, and ultimately to proceed on the journey to Iceland.3 While awaiting a reply Henderson journeyed to Lund, where he conversed with Matthias Norberg, Professor of Oriental and Greek languages,4 and others of the faculty

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2The Fifteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819, Appendix, p. 82.
3The Missionary Magazine, XVII (1812), 356.
4Norberg, who "excelled" in the field of comparative philology, presented Henderson with "a copy of his Syriac Codex, which he copied at Milan." Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 108. Citations from Norberg's Codex occur in Henderson's The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, pp. 154, 162 (published in 1845).
of the University, to whom he presented an account of the London Society's operations, and "particularly recommended the formation of a Bible Society" in that place. Similar recommendations were made with respect to Carlsrona.

Permission was granted by the King of Denmark for Henderson to return to that country for the stated purpose in August of 1812. Every privilege, including "unrestrained correspondence," was allowed him, in spite of the fact that Great Britain and Denmark were still at war.

II. SECOND RESIDENCE IN DENMARK 1812-1814

Editorial and Administrative Work in Copenhagen. Prior to Henderson's return to Copenhagen the bound copies of the Icelandic New Testament that had been printed before the bombardment in 1807 were sent to Iceland, where they were "joyfully" received and "instantly disposed of." Measures were taken in October, 1812, "for getting the remaining copies of the New Testament bound" in time for an early shipment. The printing of the Icelandic Bible was advanced "as far as

6The Missionary Magazine, XVIII (1813), 37.
the 2d Book of Kings on October 26th, the progress of which Steinkopff reported on after his visit to Copenhagen in November, 1812:

Mr. Henderson and I did everything we could do to expedite the completion of this work; but we did not succeed to the full extent of our wishes. The work proceeds rather slowly; but, we trust, that this delay will operate beneficially with regard to its greater correctness.

Thus, Henderson wrote:

... I cannot but think that it was of the Lord that I have of late addicted myself to the study of the Hebrew, that I might be in some measure able to judge whether the original be fairly rendered in the present edition of the Old Testament. You would not believe the blunders it contains. I make no alteration, however, except in cases of a pressing nature. ... I have conferred a good deal of the New Testament with the Greek, and find it on the whole literal. Some of the emendations, however, are too commentary.

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1 Ibid.

2 A serious obstacle to the progress of the work was the price inflation and depreciation of the currency due to the war, which resulted in the bankruptcy of the nation in 1813. Henderson wrote with respect to this in September of that year: "I have mostly to do with printers and bookbinders, and I may add money-changers; for the depreciation of the value of money has introduced so much confusion, that thousands who scarcely ever troubled their heads about that article before, are now obliged to turn stock-jobbers and Jews, if they would avoid being imposed upon even in the most common transactions." Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 114.


4 Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 117. This edition of the Icelandic Bible was a reprint from the 1747 edition, but without the apocrypha. T. H. Darlow, and H. F. Moule, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. II, Pt. III, No. 5498, p. 784. It has come to be known in Iceland as the Grútarbiblia, i.e. the "cod-liver oil Bible," because of the rendering Hármsgrýtur Jereim, the cod-liver oil of Jeremiah, instead of Hármsgrýtur Jereim, the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Magnús Ólafur Lárusson, "Drogs að sögum íslenska biblióhýdingu 1540-1815," Kirkjuritit, 1949, pp. 343, 347.
In March of 1813 Henderson was requested "to cause an additional 5000 copies of the Icelandic New Testament to be struck off from the types set up for that part of the Icelandic Bible."¹ He was also authorized to make provision for the needs of the poor in Denmark, and to supply Scriptures for use in Greenland, Bornholm, and Norway:

Your Committee, anxious that nothing should be omitted on their part which might tend to promote the circulation of the Scriptures among the poor in Denmark, authorized . . . Mr. Henderson, to expend the sum of 50 l. in the purchase of Bibles and Testaments, for distribution as occasions might offer. They also instructed him to purchase a supply of the Scriptures for the use of the Greenlanders. In consequence of these directions, Mr. Henderson procured 300 copies of the Greenlandish New Testament; and also proceeded to encourage the circulation of the Scriptures in Bornholm and Norway, in certain parts of which copies had become exceedingly scarce.²

However, getting a properly licensed ship to transport the Bibles and Testaments became an insuperable obstacle during the ensuing months. Henderson wrote of this on August 7, 1813:

After . . . getting the remaining copies of the New Testament ready for sending to Iceland, and those in the Greenlandic tongue for Greenland, it is not in my power to forward a single box. Bibles and Testaments, which I have ready to send to Norway, are also detained for want of an opportunity. A number which I sent off for Bornholm have been taken by an English cruiser [sic]. Thus, . . . I am completely manacled, and can only wait till the Sovereign Disposer of events gives another turn to political affairs.³

¹British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 6. Commencing Jany. 4th. 1813, p. 60.


³Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 116. It was not until the spring of 1815 that the first allotment of Greenlandic Testaments was finally shipped. Henderson, writing from Copenhagen in March of 1816, says that they were "received with joy," and with a request for "a further supply." The Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816, Appendix, p. 257.
Meanwhile, Henderson "caused suitable tracts to be printed" in Copenhagen, viz. "The Warning Voice" in Icelandic, "The End of Time" both in Icelandic and Danish,¹ and "Serious Considerations" and "Early Instruction Recommended, in a Narrative of Catherine Haldane, with an Address to Parents on the Importance of Religion" in Danish.² As a result of his solicitations³ in October, 1813, £ 50 was voted by the Edinburgh Bible Society for the publication of the Psalms in the vernacular for Roman Catholics in Northern Germany.⁴

¹In Icelandic, Timans Ende (1813); in Danish, Tidens Ende (1813). A later Danish edition was published in Hamburg in 1871.


³Upon Henderson's request £ 50 had been voted in May of 1811 by the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society "for the purpose of aiding the transmission of Bibles & Testaments," which had been collected by Christians in Germany and Switzerland, for the colonists at Catharinenstadt on the Wolga. Henderson's letter to Joseph Turn and Paitt in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, December 16, 1810, and British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 5. Commencing Jany. 7th. 1811, p. 104. He had also advocated the cause of the Northern German Union, an organization designed to "counteract the influence of infidel principles" through the circulation of the Bible and the distribution of religious tracts. The Missionary Magazine, XVIII (1813), 37-38.

Biblical Researches. While the Bible and tract work was in process, Henderson was making personal preparation for the journey to Iceland by studying the language and ecclesiastical history of that island. He wrote with reference to this:

I have read through 'Kristni-saga,' or The History of the Introduction of Christianity into the Island. . . . I am now reading 'Hungruvaka,' which takes up the story where the other leaves off . . . . You wish to have an historical account of the Iceland Bible. This I could furnish you with; but it might be better if you would wait till I send you one from the press. I have already filled four folio sheets, and yet I have not got further than Bishop Godbrand's Edition of the Bible, 1584.1

He wrote further in December of 1812:

I am pursuing my study of the Icelandic. Every other day my teacher comes to me. I am at present reading 'Orknayingsa Saga.' My Hebrew I am prosecuting vigorously. A Morrocco Jew . . . reads a Hebrew chapter with me the one day, and I read an English chapter with him the other. I begin to speak a little with him in Hebrew.2

Three months later he wrote of his intention to publish a work embracing "all the different versions and editions of the Scriptures in the Northern languages."3 But, at the request of Frederick Hunter, Bishop of Zealand, who had concurred with others in the opinion that the Danish New Testament had been done from the Vulgate rather than from Erasmus' Latin version,4 Henderson published separately his Disserta-


3Ebenezer Henderson, A Dissertation on Hans Mikkelsen's (or, the First Danish) Translation of the New Testament, Preface. The volume was never published in the mentioned form. Fragments of it were incorporated into his later works on Iceland and Russia, or found expression in his commentaries on the Old Testament prophets.

4Henderson's letter to Charles Steinkopff in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, January 25, 1813. Frederick Hunter was a noted church historian and archaeologist. He represented "the transition from a moderate neologic theology to a deeper understanding of essential aspects of Christianity and Lutheranism." J. Oskar Andersen, Survey of the History of the Church in Denmark, p. 43.
tion on Hans Mikkelsen's (or, the First Danish) Translation of the New Testament: in which, besides Historical Notices Respecting the Circumstances Connected with Its Publication, It Is Shown to Have Been Made, Not from the Vulgate, as Has Hitherto Been Believed, but from the Latin Version of Erasmus, and the Earlier Editions of Luther's Testament.

The proofs for the principal argument, which Bishop Hunter found "perfectly convincing," were based upon certain discrepancies between Mikkelsen's translation and the Vulgate, and, by exhibiting a collation of passages in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles Mikkelsen and Erasmus were shown to "entirely coincide." The rest of the New Testament, Henderson argued, was "little else than a verbal transmutation of the version of Luther." As to the acceptance of the work a Danish reviewer wrote: "It does not seem that any objection can be taken against this well supported opinion of the author."

Henderson undertook a new branch of philological study in the spring of 1814:

I have . . . fallen in with the title of a book, 'Ueber Georgische Litteratur. (Wien. 1798),' which I intend commissioning, as also an Armenian and German Grammar, published at Venice. You see where my heart is.

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2Ibid., p. 19.


4Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 132. This field of research was the result of a suggestion, made while Henderson and Paterson were
Two weeks later he had begun the study of the Arabic.¹

Gottenburgh Bible Society. Early in March, 1814, Henderson re-visited Gottenburgh, where, for more than two weeks he and Paterson had the opportunity of "inquiring into the state of the newly formed Bible Society" in that town.² At least as early as March, 1812, while Henderson was still residing in Gottenburgh, he had himself proposed the formation of such an institution:

Here in Gottenburgh we are proposing to form an Auxiliary Society to facilitate the distribution and circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the western provinces of this kingdom, as well as among sea-faring people.³

However, the founding of this Society was not accomplished until November of 1813 through the exertions of Gustavus Brunmark, Chaplain to the Swedish Embassy in London. Nevertheless, Brunmark wrote:

... I found the minds of many already prepared for this good work; inasmuch as the Annual Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the high reputation of the Rev. Ebenezer Henderson, who had, upon many occasions, advocated its cause, had been powerful means in the hands of Providence to pave the way. ... ⁴

Together in Gottenburgh in March of 1814, that Henderson, "when his tour in Iceland was ended, might find Bible work to do in the regions to the south and east of Russia." Ibid. Cf. ante, p. 69.

¹Ibid. While enroute to Reykiavik in June of 1814 Henderson obtained an Arabic Bible in Gottenburgh, "in order to improve himself in that language during the long winter evenings in Iceland." British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 6. Commencing Jany. 4th. 1813, p. 326.

²Paterson, op. cit., p. 225.

³Henderson's letter to Charles Steinkopff in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, March 9, 1812.

Thus, Lindblad says in his work on the Gottenburgh Bible Society:

The Bible Society, which in 1813 came to exist in Gottenburgh, was built partially upon the foundation that Henderson had prepared. The men at the formation of the Gottenburgh Bible Society have also acknowledged their indebtedness to Henderson.1

Formation of the Danish Bible Society. One of the primary objectives of Henderson's return to Copenhagen was to see the establishment of a Bible Society for the Kingdom of Denmark.2 Soon after his arrival in the Danish metropolis in the summer of 1812, he visited Frederick Munter, to whom "the plans of the Bible Society were highly commended."3 On a later occasion they discussed more fully "the extensive utility of such an institution," to which the Bishop promised to give "all the countenance in his power," but doubted whether "it could with safety be formed" until peace was restored.4 Indeed, both Munter and Thorkelin were of the opinion that the only thing that could be done at that time was "by every prudent measure to prepare the way."5

During the twenty-one months that elapsed while the way was being prepared for the institution of the Danish Bible Society, Henderson had further conferences with Bishop Munter, as well as contact with other men of the University and of the Church. Owen says with


2Supra, pp. 82-83. 3Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 127.

4Ibid., and Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, October 5, 1812. Peace was not restored until January, 1814, by the Treaty of Kiel. 5Ibid.
reference to these contacts:

... Mr. Henderson availed himself so discreetly of the intercourse afforded him with persons of influence ... as to see, before he quitted Denmark for Iceland, ... a foundation laid in Copenhagen for a Bible Society, under the royal sanction, for the whole kingdom of Denmark.1

The Committee of the Danish Bible Society, accordingly, described Henderson in November, 1814, as "the most active promoter of our undertaking."2 He is referred to in the Fourth Report of the Danish Bible Society as "the unwearied friend and fellow founder" of that Institution.3 Andersen calls him the "actual founder" of the Danish Bible Society,4 while Poulsen says: "As the first originator of the Bible Society for Denmark one must name the young Englishman, the Rev. Ebenezer Henderson."5

The first publication issued relative to the design was a memorial proposing a plan which conformed to the rules and proceedings of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It also contained "an Address to the Danish Nation to come forward, and to unite" in the Bible cause.6

1Lowen, op. cit., II, 222.
A meeting was held, in consequence, on May 22, 1814, in Copenhagen, which was "numerously attended by Ministers of State, and Gentlemen high in ecclesiastical, civil, and military office, together with a great number of the most respectable citizens," in all "about 200 persons." The Bishop of Zealand opened the business of the evening with an "appropriate speech," and concluded by describing the field which the proposed Society intended to occupy:

1. To supply Denmark Proper with Danish Bibles, New Testaments, or other separate portions of the Scriptures. 2. To provide the Germans who are settled in Denmark with the German Scriptures. 3. To provide for the future exigencies of Iceland. 4. The inhabitants of Greenland. 5. The Creoles on the West India Islands. And lastly, The translation and circulation of the Scriptures, or at least parts of the Scriptures, in the Akkraese language, in the Danish settlements on the western coast of Africa.

It was then resolved that "the plan should be laid before His Majesty," soliciting his royal sanction, and that, in the meantime, those who had taken the lead in the meeting should, pro tempore, be considered as forming the Committee. The initial subscription "amounted to about...

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1Ibid., and The Eleventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1815, Appendix, p. 55.

2Ibid., pp. 55-56. The Committee of the Danish Bible Society elaborated more fully on the sphere of their exertions on November 30, 1814: "... our plan is laid to assist the poor of this realm with the Holy Scriptures, entirely gratis, to enable others to purchase that inestimable Book at a very moderate price, and in the same way to provide for our brethren in Greenland, the Islands of Faroe, and in the Danish West India Islands, where the exigencies of the Creoles claim our particular attention." The Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816, Appendix, p. 66.

The royal sanction was given on June 23, 1814:

With peculiar pleasure we learn, that the Right Rev. Doctor Münter, Bishop of Zealand, and several others, exert themselves to establish in Our Kingdom of Denmark, a Bible Society, with a view of spreading Religion by distributing Bibles to the people, either gratis, or for a moderate payment. We therefore do hereby grant to the said Society, under the name of 'The Bible Society, in our Kingdom of Denmark,' Our highest Protection.

An account of the transactions connected with the formation of the Society and subscription lists were then circulated throughout "all the Provinces of Denmark."

Andersen says with respect to the scope of the Danish Bible Society's operations, its inherent missionary character, and its ultimate influence upon Danish missions:

... as it from its first beginning aimed at providing as well the Greenlanders, Creoles, and the negroes on our West India Islands and the Akkra negroes in our colonies on the west coast of Africa with translations of the Holy Scriptures, it had an innate side which pointed towards mission work.

And again:

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1 The Eleventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1815, Appendix, p. 56. A contribution of L 500 was later made by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816, Appendix, p. 66.

2 The Eleventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1815, Appendix, p. 62. (Taken from the Danish Gazette for August 8, 1814).


The stream from the Evangelical Awakening in England has also touched our country with its vitality. But especially must also the "Danish Missionary Society" be acknowledged to have its spiritual source from this spring.¹

Thus, Niemand summarizes the importance of the Danish Bible Society in the following terms: "... the Society had extraordinary significance both by distributing Bible editions and by later becoming the spiritual background for the Danish Missionary Society."²

III. RESIDENCE IN ICELAND 1814-1815

Preliminary Measures. Having completed the printing of the Icelandic Scriptures and seen the foundation laid for the Danish Bible Society, Henderson made arrangements for his journey to Iceland. A proportionate number of Bibles and Testaments was shipped to "seven of the principal mercantile stations on the island" prior to his departure on June 8, 1814.³ He arrived in Reykjavik on July 15th and during the first few days met the leading dignitaries of the island. These

¹Ibid., I, 33. "Strømmen fra den evangeliske Vækkelse i England har ... ogsaa berørt vort Land med sin Livskraft. Men ganske særlig maa ogsaa 'Dansk Missionselskab' erkendes at have sit aandelige Udspring fra dette Kildesvæld." The Danish Missionary Society was founded in 1821 by B. F. Bønne (1764-1833), who "had belonged to the neologists" during the earlier years of his ministry, but, when Biblical Christianity became "a living reality for him," he became the "pioneer of congregational voluntarism" in Denmark. He established a Bible Society at Lyngby in 1817 and a Tract Society in 1820. Andersen, Survey of the History of the Church in Denmark, p. 46.

²Michael Niemand, "Henderson, Ebenezer," Dansk Biografisk Leksikon, X, 70. "... Selskabet fik overordentlig Betydning baade ved at udbrede Bibeludgaver og ved senere at blive aandelig Baggrund for Det danske Missionsselskab."

included Geir Vidalin, Bishop of Iceland, who promised "every assistance" in the work, and Marcus Magnusson, the Archdeacon, to whom 500 copies of the New Testament had been sent in 1812.1

Henderson's first tour was to the northern, eastern, and southern regions of the island, in particular, to the ports where the Bibles and New Testaments had been forwarded from Copenhagen. His plan for the distribution of the Scriptures is outlined in his letter of July 22:

At these ports I shall make the necessary arrangements for their distribution in the vicinity, and such parts of the interior as are most contiguous to them. In passing through the country, it will be particularly my object to inquire into the wants of the people, leave a copy here and there of the small stock that I can carry with me, spread the news of the supply that is arrived, and receive commissions to be executed in the Autumn. . . . During my absence, copies will be sold in the shops here at the price fixed, and published in a bill pasted up in the most public parts of the town; and instructions will be issued to the priests around, to make the arrival of the Scriptures known from the pulpits. In the mean time, also, measures will be taken to ascertain the circumstances of such as are unable to afford even the reduced price, . . . that they may receive copies gratis.2

It was hoped that through personal contact with the people and the clergy, he might be the means "of stirring them up to greater diligence and zeal in the work of the Lord" by informing them of the work of Bible Societies in other parts of the world.3

First Tour of the Island (July 26–September 20, 1814). Henderson left Reykjavik on July 26th in company with a Danish officer and

1The Eleventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1815, Appendix, p. 58.

2Ibid., pp. 57–58. Supra, p. 71.

3Ebenezer Henderson, Iceland; or the Journal of a Residence in that Island, during the Years 1814 and 1815, I, 17.
others. Their route led them "to the brink of the frightful chasm, called Almannagjá," and from thence to Thingvalla.\(^1\) Henderson says of the latter:

What renders Thingvalla the most remarkable, perhaps, of any spot to which importance is attached in the annals of Iceland, is its having been the seat of the Althing, or general assembly of the nation, for the period of nearly nine hundred years. In 926... the supreme court of justice... was removed to this plain; and the public concerns of the people continued to be discussed, and public justice administered here, till the year 1800... Nor was it merely the seat of civil judicature. The consistory or ecclesiastical court... was also convened annually at this place... It accordingly holds a conspicuous place in all the Sagas or ancient traditionary accounts, and is peculiarly worthy of notice, on account of its being the spot where the Christian religion was publicly acknowledged in the year 1000...\(^2\)

They reached the Geysers on the third day of their journey. The eruptions of the morning of July 30th are described by Henderson in detail:

The most enrapturing scene... that we beheld, was exhibited on the morning of the 30th. About ten minutes past five, we were roused by the roaring of Strokr, which blew up a great quantity of steam; and when my watch stood at the full quarter, a crash took place as if the earth had burst, which was instantaneously succeeded by jets of water and spray, rising in a perpendicular column to the height of sixty feet. As the sun happened to be behind a cloud, we had no expectation of witnessing any thing more sublime than we had already seen; but Strokr had not been in action above twenty minutes, when the Great Geyser, apparently jealous of her reputation, and indignant at our bestowing so much of our time and applause on her rival, began to thunder tremendously, and emitted such quantities of water and steam, that we could not be satisfied with a distant view, but hastened to the sound with as much curiosity as if it had been the first eruption we had beheld. However, if she was more interesting in point of magnitude, she gave the less satisfaction in point of duration, having again become tranquil in the course of five minutes; whereas, her less gaudy, but more steady companion, continued to play till within four minutes of six o'clock.\(^3\)

The travelers entered the valley of Eyafjord, "in the heart of

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\(^1\)Ibid., I, 31. \(^2\)Ibid., I, 33-34. \(^3\)Ibid., I, 54-55.
the North Country," on August 3rd. At Tiornabæ Henderson gave a New Testament to "a young man about nineteen." The scene that followed is described thusly:

On receiving the Testament, it was hardly possible for him to contain his joy. As a number of people had now collected round the door of my tent, I caused him to read the third chapter of the Gospel of John. He had scarcely begun, when they all sat down, or knelt on the grass, and listened with the most devout attention. As he proceeded, the tears began to trickle down their cheeks, and they were all seemingly much affected. The scene was doubtless as new to them as it was to me; and, on my remarking, after he had done, what important instructions were contained in the portion of Scripture he had read, they gave their assent, adding, with a sigh, that they were but too little attended to. . . . It is impossible for me to describe the pleasure I felt on this occasion. I forgot all the fatigues of travelling over the mountains; and, indeed, to enjoy another such evening, I could travel twice the distance.2

Before proceeding on his journey to the east, Henderson made a "short excursion" to Holum. Although "no less than three editions of the Icelandic Bible were printed in this valley," the first appearing in the year 1584, "scarcely a copy" was to be found among the inhabitants at this time.3 He visited Jon Thorlakson, Iceland's celebrated poet and the translator of Milton's Paradise Lost, upon his return from Holum.4 The peasants along the way came to the road to inquire about the Scriptures and to invoke "a thousand blessings" upon him and upon those who had sent him among them.5

Having made arrangements for the distribution of the Bibles and


3 Ibid., I, 112. 4 Ibid., I, 96-97.

Testaments in these parts, Henderson left Eyafjord for the eastern and southern districts. Intimation was given of the new supply of the Scriptures and of the procedure for securing them at the worship service in Hals on August 14th. In narrating what followed Henderson says:

We had scarcely got into the house, when it was crowded with people, who pushed forward with uncommon eagerness, calling out, "put me down for a Bible— me for a Bible and New Testament— me for three New Testaments," &c. On examining the copy I had given the Clergyman as a specimen, some of them seemed rather concerned about the smallness of the volume, (this being the first octavo edition of the Icelandic Bible, and wanting the Apocrypha,) but, on being told by their Pastor that it contained all the canonical books of Scripture, they were satisfied.

Again, at Stafafel:

On the 3d of September I reached Stafafel, a parsonage occupied by the Rev. Berg Magnusson, Dean of East Skaftafell Syssel, who had already been apprized of the new edition of the Scriptures, and waited with impatient anxiety for the arrival of copies in his district. He had been endeavouring to procure an Icelandic Bible for his own use these seventeen years past, but had, at last, given up all hopes of ever obtaining the treasure. His joy on receiving a copy from me was very great; and, previously to my departure, he wrote a circular epistle to his Clergy, communicating to them the joyful intelligence, and directing them what measures to adopt, in order to ascertain the real wants of their parishioners.

The eruption of Skaptar volcano in West Skaftafell Syssel had occurred in the year 1783. Henderson has described the destructive effects of the event, some of which were still being felt by the inhabitants:

The eruption that took place in the year 1783... appears to have been more tremendous in its phenomena than any recorded in the modern annals of Iceland, but it was followed by a train of consequences the most direful and melancholy, some of which continue to be felt to this day. Immense floods of red-hot lava were poured down from the hills with amazing velocity, and, spreading over the low country, burnt up men, cattle, churches, houses, and every thing they attacked in their progress. Not only was all vegetation, in the immediate neighbourhood of the volcano, destroyed.

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1Ibid., p. 200. 2Ibid., p. 204.
by the ashes, brimstone, and pumice, which it emitted; but, being borne up to an inconceivable height in the atmosphere, they were scattered over the whole island, impregnating the air with noxious vapours, intercepting the genial rays of the sun, andemporising whatever could satisfy the hunger or quench the thirst of man and beast. Even in some of the more distant districts, the quantity of ashes that fell was so great, that they were gathered up by handfuls. Upwards of four hundred people were instantly deprived of a home; the fish were driven from the coasts, and the elements seemed to vie with each other which should commit the greatest depredations; famine and pestilence stalked abroad, and cut down their victims with ruthless cruelty; while death himself was glutted with the prey. In some houses there was scarcely a sound individual left to tend the afflicted, or any who possessed sufficient strength to inter the dead. The most miserable emaciated tottering skeletons were seen in every quarter. When the animals that had died of hunger and disease were consumed, the wretched creatures had nothing to eat but raw hides, and old pieces of leather and ropes, which they boiled and devoured with avidity. The horses eat [sic] the flesh off one another, and for want of other sustenance had recourse to turf, wood, and even excrementitious substances; while the sheep devoured each other's wool. In a word, the accumulation of miseries, originating in the volcanic eruption, was so dreadful, that in the short space of two years, not fewer than 9,336 human beings, 28,000 horses, 11,461 head of cattle, and 190,488 sheep perished on the island.1

The first tour of the island, covering "upwards of 1200 British miles," was completed on September 20, 1814.2 He wrote concerning the journey on September 25th:

Many were the perils to which I was exposed. . . . I had to pass upwards of sixty rivers on horseback. . . . During the two months I was on the journey, it was but seldom that I slept in any house. My tent was my home, which, like the Patriarchs of old, I removed from place to place. . . .3

He received the fullest cooperation from the clergy and others in superintending the distribution of the Scriptures. And, wherever he went he

1Ebenezer Henderson, Iceland, i, 274-75.


was "welcomed as an angel from heaven," and "scarcely left a single cottage without being followed by the benedictions of its inhabitants."¹

**Winter in Reykjavik.** Between the months of September and May Henderson resided in Reykjavik, at which place the most extensive "gratuitous distribution" of the Scriptures was effected. He wrote of the care that was taken in the procedure on May 3, 1815:

The intimation which I caused to be made at the door of the cathedral, after my return last autumn, was no sooner given, than my room was crowded with applicants. . . . To prevent all abuse of the gift, I first took a list of their names, which I afterwards submitted to the inspection of the Sheriff; and when they came back, I wrote the name of each on the back of the title-page, with the note that the copy was given gratis, and was neither to be pawned nor sold. I always made a point of causing the young to read a portion of Scripture to me; and when I found any whose degree of progress was not great, I did not give them copies of the New Testament at that time, but preferred lending them, with the promise, that, provided they could read well at the expiration of some months, they should then receive them as their own property. This plan has succeeded wonderfully. Those who could scarcely read two lines without stammering and spelling, now read with great fluency; and most of them have given me very apposite answers to the questions I put to them respecting the meaning of the passages which they read.²

Having been convinced from the experience of the preceding year that "nothing contributed so much either to excite an interest on behalf of the Scriptures in general, or to prepare the way for their speedy and proportionate distribution, as a personal visit," Henderson made preparations for a second tour of the island in May of 1815.³

This journey was to the western districts.

¹Ibid., pp. 60-61.
³Ibid., p. 206.
Second Tour of the Island (May 16–June 29, 1815). The horses for the second tour were furnished by the Chief Justice, Magnús Stephensen, whose estate was reached by boat on the first day of the journey.¹ Nine days later, on May 25th, Henderson ascended "the stupendous Snæfell-Yökul," an ice mountain at the termination of the western promontory:

When our design was made known to the people about the place, they shook their heads, and maintained that it was impossible to gain the summit; while some of them seemed to look upon the attempt as an act of presumptuous temerity. They regard the mountain with a kind of superstitious veneration; and find it difficult to divest their minds of the idea, that it is still haunted by Bárðr, the tutelary divinity of the Yökul, who will not fail to avenge himself on all that have the audacity to defile, with mortal breath, the pure and ethereal atmosphere of his lofty abode.

About three o'clock, we ultimately succeeded in reaching the base of the highest peak, when all at once a most tremendous precipice appeared at our feet, exceeding 2000 feet of nearly perpendicular depth, and displaying, in various parts of the profound valley of snow into which it opened, long and broad fissures running parallel with its sides. Near the middle of this awful depth we espied a huge circular aperture, the sides of which were lined with green ice, and which seemed to have been formed by a cascade, poured down from some part of the snowbank on which we stood, though we could not discover any marks of water. This wonderful chasm ran down from between the middle and most westerly peaks, and appeared to descend to near the northern base of the mountain. Skirting the brink of the frozen precipice, we ascended the north side of the peak, but, after climbing within three or four yards of its summit, we were debarred all further progress by a perpendicular wall of icy pillars, resembling those already described, and completely surrounding the summit, which we could reach with great ease with the end of the poles, or long walking staves in our hands.

The mountains of the peninsula rose into view through the surrounding fog; the whole length of the bay of Faxafjörður was distinctly visible to our right, together with the Eastern and Western Skardsheidi mountains, Akkrafjall, and part of the mountains in Hallbringe Syssel. Geitland's Yökul, Skialldbreid, and the

¹Ebenezer Henderson, Iceland, II, 2-3.
mountains about Hekla, crowded into view from the east; while, from the termination of the range of mountains that divides the peninsula, stretched the Breidafjord, studded with an immemorial multitude of singular-looking islands. The mountains of Bardastrand and Isafjord bounded the prospect towards the north, among which the Glima and Dyrnaf Yökuls shone with great splendour. The view to the west was only confined by our limited powers of vision, and certainly extended beyond half the intervening distance between Iceland and Greenland. What added to the interest excited by so extensive a prospect, was the beautiful girdle of clouds which surrounded the Yökul, at least 3000 feet below us. The atmospheric fluid felt uncommonly pure; and the pleasurable sensations produced by the reflection that we had attained the object of our enterprise, in spite even of our own misgivings, tended, in no small degree, to cheer and exhilarate our minds.1

The "midnight sun" of June 23rd was another of the "multiplicity of surprising phenomena" which the island presented to the view of the traveler:

We set out for the mountains about seven o'clock in the evening, and continued gradually to ascend till near twelve at night, when I was favoured with the most novel and interesting midnight scene I ever witnessed; the sun remaining as if stationary a little above the horizon for about half an hour, when he again commenced his ascent, and pursued his steady, undeviating course, through the northern hemisphere.

. . . Close by, towards the west, lay the Tröll-kyrka, or "Giant's Church," an ancient volcano, the walls of whose crater rose in a very fantastic manner into the atmosphere, while the lower regions were entirely covered with snow; to the south and east stretched an immense impenetrable waste, enlivened on the one hand by a number of lakes, and in the distance by vast ice-moun-
tains, whose glassy surface, receiving the rays of the midnight sun, communicated a golden tinge to the surrounding atmosphere; while, towards the north, the long bay of Bratafiord gradually opened into the ocean. Here the king of day, like a vast globe of fire, stretched his sceptre over the realms of night—divested indeed of his splendour, but more interesting, because more subject to view. The singing of swans on the neighbouring lakes added to the novelty of the scene. . . .2

A visit at Hvam, which was the birth place of Snorro Sturluson

1Ibid., II, 36, 41-43. 2Ibid., II, 135-37.
(b. 1178), one of the most powerful of the Icelandic chiefs and the celebrated northern historian, was included in Henderson's second journey. He returned to Reykjavik on June 29th in time for the annual summer market. The dearth of Scriptures in the western region he found to be as great as in the other districts. But, as a result of the distribution that was in process, he was informed by the clergyman on the island of Flatey that "now all his parishioners were in possession either of a Bible or a New Testament." The Dean in Stad "hailed the present gift of God as ushering in the dawn of a glorious day for

1Ibid., II, 81, 145.

2The Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816, Appendix, p. 210. Henderson says with respect to the economy of Iceland during the period of the Napoleonic wars: "On the breaking out of war between Great Britain and Denmark in the year 1807, the Icelanders were greatly apprehensive of absolute starvation, from the want of those necessary supplies which they were accustomed to receive from the mother country; and of these the privation of none was more dreaded than that of hooks and fishing-lines, without which they could not avail themselves of the stores of provision which abound in the surrounding ocean. Owing, however, to the humane and benevolent interposition of Sir Joseph Banks, licenses were granted by his Majesty's government, to Danish vessels to proceed to Iceland, under the condition of their touching at the port of Leith, both when outward-bound and on their passage home. By this arrangement the inhabitants were again regularly supplied. . . ." Ebenezer Henderson, Iceland, II, 163-64.

3The Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816, Appendix, p. 208. The Secretary of the Icelandic Bible Society reported in 1816 that, "according to a well founded opinion, every family throughout the island" was in possession of a Bible or a New Testament, some families "of more than one copy," and that they were "diligently read during the long winter evenings." Monthly Extracts from the Correspondence of the British and Foreign Bible Society, No. 69, March 31, 1823, p. 95. Cf. William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, I, 213.
the Icelandic church."¹

Icelandic Bible Society. One of the "principal objects" of Henderson's visit to Iceland and of the journeys he undertook through the various districts was to impress the people "with a sense of the importance of forming a Bible Society" for their own country.² The proposal met with "the cordial approbation of all" to whom it was communicated,³ and, upon his return to Reykiavik for "the period of traffic" the matter was brought "formally" before the Bishop and other public authorities.⁴ Arnolf Helgason, minister of the Cathedral in Reykiavik and Secretary of the Icelandic Bible Society after its formation, wrote of this on March 2, 1817: "He [Henderson] ... induced us to consult our own welfare more diligently than in time past in this important respect, by establishing a Bible Society in our own island."⁵

Accordingly, at the annual meeting of the Diocesan Synod on July 10, 1815, a sermon was preached on the subject by Helgason, and in an afternoon meeting the Icelandic Bible Society was founded.⁶ The following is a translation of a copy of the minutes taken on the occasion:

On the 10th of July, 1815, a meeting was held at Reykjavik... for the purpose of establishing a Bible Society for this island, on the same principles with similar Institutions in different parts of the world: when it was resolved, that such a Society be formed, having for its grand object to provide against any future want of Bibles in the vernacular language, and to promote their circulation throughout the country, according as circumstances may require. But, owing to the absence of several principal persons on the island, it was judged necessary to postpone the establishment of the laws of the Society, till the 9th of July, 1816; and the Members then associated, appointed the Right Rev. G. Vidalin, Archdeacon M. Magnusson, the Rev. Arni Helgason, Rector of the Cathedral, Isl. Einarsson, Justiciary and Assessor of the High Court, B. Thorarinsson, Assessor of the High Court, and S. Thorgrimsson, Royal Treasurer, to invite the leading people on the island to a meeting on the abovementioned day, for the purpose of fixing the constitution of the Society, and determining other matters connected with its operations.

In the meantime, the Members of the Society then present pledged themselves to contribute annually to the funds of the Society. 1

Helgason wrote in March, 1817, of the organization of the Society:

... we have framed our Rules, and appointed Officers, for the management of our business, on the model of your august Society ... The chief person in each district, assisted by the clergy under him, has the care of our affairs within his province. 2

It is thus recorded in the Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society.


2 The Fourteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1818, Appendix, p. 51. In a letter to Helgason prior to Henderson's departure from Iceland he says: "I can only mention my conviction that the establishment of an auxiliary Society in each Provestie would tend much to facilitate the operations of and keep alive an interest for the Society." Henderson's letter to Arni Helgason in the Bjóðaksjálfsafn Islands, August 19, 1815. He had published in the same year a pamphlet entitled, "Fæin Ord um Uppruna og Utbreidslu þeirra svo kolludu Bibliu-Felaga," i.e. A Few Words about the Origin and Spread of the So-called Bible Societies (Copenhagen), for circulation in Iceland.
Bible Society: "The Icelandic Bible Society, of which the foundation was laid by the Rev. Mr. Henderson, during his residence in that Island, having been established, your Committee have added 300 l. to its funds."¹ Lárusson concludes: "With the founding of the Bible Society a new chapter began in the history of Icelandic Bible translations."²

Icelandic Tract Society. During the summer of 1814 Henderson had met Jón Jónsson, clergyman at Módrufell, in the valley of Eyafjord, and had "encouraged him to carry into effect a plan which he had formed with a view to the circulation of religious tracts throughout the island."³ He received two letters from Jónsson in the winter, stating that he had followed Henderson's advice, and had "succeeded in the formation of an Icelandic Tract Society, to which he had obtained upwards of three hundred subscribers; and that the plan was patronized by Conferenceraad Thorarinson, the deputy-governor of the north."⁴ To encourage the Icelandic Society the sum of L 10 was voted by the Religious Tract Society in London.⁵ Thus, Jones says that Henderson "succeeded in the establishment of the Icelandic Tract Society, and cheered it by the grants he obtained from the parent Committee."⁶

¹The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, p. xlii. According to the Thirty-Seventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society financial assistance for a new version of the Icelandic Bible being printed on the island was recommended by Henderson. (1841, pp. li-lii.)


³Ebeneser Henderson, Iceland, II, 223. ⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid.

A comprehensive survey of this institution is given by Hermannsson in his Periodical Literature of Iceland down to the Year 1874:

In 1815 the Icelandic Bible Society was founded through the efforts of Rev. Ebenezer Henderson. . . . Connected with his visit to Iceland is also the foundation of Hid íslenska evangeliska Svabókafélag (The Icelandic Evangelical Tract Society). Its founder was Rev. Jón Jónsson, minister of the Grund parishes in Eyjafjörður. It was . . . modeled upon similar societies abroad, and thanks to Henderson it became the recipient of some support from the Religious Tract Society which had been established in London in 1799. A prospectus was circulated throughout the Northern Province in 1815, and some 700 subscribers were obtained. . . . It is to be noted that this movement was confined almost entirely to the North of Iceland. . . . Rev. Jón Jónsson was one of the severest critics of some of the new books on religion . . . and his aim in founding the Tract Society was doubtless to counteract more effectively the rationalism which emanated from the South . . . . The grant from the London society was its principal source of income, besides what the sale of the tracts brought. . . . the first tract was printed in Copenhagen in 1816. . . . At the death of the founder and president in 1846, sixty-seven numbers had been published, but there appeared thirteen more, making the total number of eighty, the last one having the imprint of Copenhagen, 1854. The tracts were almost all translations of foreign tracts. . . .

Hermannsson concludes that these tracts "probably were not without some influence" upon the people.3 Jóhannesson says essentially the same:

"The tracts of Rev. Jón have surely had some influence on certain peo-

1The leading rationalist of this period was Magnús Stephensen, who was "largely responsible" for the abolition of the Althing at Thingvalla in 1800, and for the establishment in Reykjavik of the National Superior Court, over which he became the presiding officer. Hermannsson says concerning him: "... he had determined to reform the habits and taste of the people. Their religious views he wished to modify, and especially repugnant to him were many of the expressions commonly used in religious books. He opposed the pietistic tendency which . . . had gained ground in Iceland, and he tried to bring the people to more rationalistic ideas in matters of religion." Hallíór Hermannsson, The Periodical Literature of Iceland down to the Year 1874, pp. 21, 23. Cf. Forkell Jóhannesson, Saga Islendinga Tímabilid 1770-1830 Uplýsingarður, VII, 371-72. Supra, pp. 97, 102.

2Hermannsson, op. cit., pp. 24-25. 3Ibid., p. 25.
ple, but they have not had a universal effect."  

**Third Tour of the Island (July 18–August 16, 1815).** A third tour of the island was made from July 18 to August 16, 1815. While much of the territory covered on the first journey was retraced on this occasion, "the remarkable cavern of Surtshellir" presented a different scene:

It formed one article of the ancient Scandinavian creed, that at the close of the present system of things, Surtur, the black prince of the regions of fire, should proceed from the south, and set the world on flames; and the original inhabitants of Iceland having fallen in with this cavern, and contemplated the awful marks of conflagration with which it is surrounded, have conceived the idea that a more proper abode could not be assigned to the genius of fire.

It was not long till we reached a spot, the grandeur of which amply rewarded all our toil; and would have done so, though we had travelled an hundred times the distance to see it. The roof and sides of the cave were decorated with the most superb icicles, crystallized in every possible form, many of which rivalled in minuteness the finest zeolites; while, from the icy floor, rose pillars of the same substance, assuming all the curious and phantastic shapes imaginable, mocking the proudest specimens of art, and counterfeiting many well-known objects of animated nature. Many of them were upwards of four feet high, generally sharpened at the extremity, and about two feet in thickness. A more brilliant scene perhaps never presented itself to the human eye, nor was it easy for us to divest ourselves of the idea that we actually beheld one of the fairy scenes depicted in eastern fable. The light of the torches rendered it peculiarly enchanting.

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Together the second and third tours of the island included fourteen hundred miles of travel. The total number of Bibles shipped to fourteen points in Iceland amounted to 4,055; to the same stations were shipped 6,634 New Testaments. The "greater number" of these were brought into "actual circulation" prior to Henderson's departure. Besides the distribution of the Scriptures he "circulated no less than 1950 copies of 'Scripture Extracts,' and 2640 of 'The End of Time.'" The day before he embarked for Copenhagen Henderson wrote to Helgason: "... I think of an island on which I have spent two of the happiest summers of my life."

The following remarks pertaining to Henderson's residence in Iceland are recorded in the Icelandic History Report (of the Icelandic Literary Society) for 1817:

1Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 173.

2The Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816, Appendix, p. 213. As to later shipments Henderson wrote in April, 1816, that he had made "the necessary arrangements for sending off to that island" the copies of the Scriptures wanted for that year. Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, April 9, 1816.


He fulfilled his mission with the greatest devotion and benevolence.

1 Pastor Henderson... acquainted himself everywhere with love to all men, and devotion to God, and much knowledge.

2 Everywhere here and abroad he spoke in the most favorable way of the Icelandic people.

Thus, Ion Vidalin, the brother of the Bishop and Sheriff of South Mule Syssel, wrote on December 31, 1814:

... may our dear friend, the Rev. E. Henderson, be abundantly blessed! May his exertions prosper and be acknowledged by the present, and by every future generation; and may his labors be crowned in eternity!

On August 17, 1843, during a visit to Denmark, Henderson was addressed by thirty-two Icelanders, most of whom were students in Copenhagen:

... we address a man who by piety and humanity has established for himself a lasting memory with our countrymen, who has there strengthened the kingdom of God and propagated His holy word, and moreover given our nation... a testimony before other nations....

On this account we carry to you... a unanimous and cordial address of thanks in behalf of ourselves and our parents, of whom

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1 As a result more people attended church in Reykjavik, including the Bishop, who "for awhile attended church very seldom, but now did so every day of service." Jóni Eospólin, Íslands Æraðeir Í sögu-formi, XII, 81. "Mest hafdi skipt um kirkjufærknir í Reykjavík síðan Henderson himn enski var þar sjáfr, hafdi biskup sjáfr um hrid gengit sjaldan í kirkju, en nú gjördi hann þat hvern messudag...."

2 Henderson was made "a foreign member" of the Icelandic Literary Society in the winter of 1818, 1819. Thulía S. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 233-34.

3 Íslensk Sagnablöð útgefin ad tilhlutun hins íslenska Bókmentsfélaga, 1817, No. 2, p. 48. "Petta erindi sitt leysti ham af hendi med peirri mestu alúð og göðfysl... Presturinn Henderson... kynnti sig allstadar ad manngjálsku, guðbræðslu, og mikillri pekingu... Allstadar utanlanda og innan hefir þessi göði madur áhorð íslendingum hirð þesta ord...." It is noted in Eospólin's Yearbooks of Iceland that "he gave praise to the people of the country for devotion and other things, and rather more than they deserved." Eospólin, op. cit., XII, 74. "... gaf ok landsfolkim öllu saman lóf um trúraðknir ok annat, ok heldr meira en minna en vert var...."

every one, high and low, still recollects, and will with love and respect long remember your journey in Iceland. . . . 1

Burton observed in 1874:

. . . he [Henderson] is remembered by the islanders; and his name, cut in Hebrew letters upon the "soft yellow tufa" (Palagonite) . . . of Hýtardal, nearly sixty years ago, is, and long will be, shown to travellers. 2

As recent as 1952 it has been written:

In recent years air service has brought Iceland within comparatively easy reach of the British Isles, and the war years have made of it a strategic centre for military operations, yet few visit the island. Those who do may be surprised to hear them speak of Henderson as though he had but recently been among them. 3

Lárusson's conclusion is that "Henderson is one of the most remarkable men who have come here." 4

IV. LABORS ON THE CONTINENT 1815-1816

Organization and Exertions of the Danish Bible Society. Upon his return to Copenhagen early in September, 1815, Henderson "lost no time" in meeting with the leading persons of the Committee of the Danish Bible Society. After conferring with them regarding the nature and importance of Auxiliary and Branch Societies, and Bible Associations, it was agreed that "something similar should be carried into effect" in Denmark, and the tender of his services "in contributing to the establishment of these subordinate but indispensable institutions was


2Richard F. Burton, Ultima Thule; or, a Summer in Iceland, I, 257.

3Mildred Cable and Francesca French, Why not for the World? The Story of the Work of God through the Bible Society, p. 28.

4Lárusson, op. cit., p. 346. "Henderson er eim hinna mærkusta manna, sem hingatk hafa komið."
accepted and approved" by the Committee.1 Henderson wrote concerning this on September 12th:

... I have resolved to undertake a journey into the Provinces of Fuhnen, Jutland, &c. and there endeavour to form filial Associations at the different Sees, the primary object of which shall be to cause inquiries to be instituted with respect to the want of the Holy Scriptures, to develop [sic] the Plan of the Parent Institution in Copenhagen, receive Contributions to its Funds, and become, in fact, the effective medium through which that Society shall carry on its operations with respect to Denmark Proper.2

But, since it was necessary for the Committee of the Danish Bible Society to adapt its constitution with respect to Bible auxiliaries, the journey into the provinces was deferred for several months.3

Meanwhile, a resolution was adopted by the Danish Society on November 3, 1815, of which Henderson wrote:

I am happy in having it in my power to inform you that last night the Committee came to the Resolution to print the Gospel of Matthew in the Faroese language. No part of the Scriptures has ever been published in this language. It is a dialect of the Icelandic or ancient Norse, but differs so widely from that language both in point of orthography and pronunciation, that the Icelandic Bible would be almost wholly unintelligible to the natives. The number of inhabitants amounts to about 5000. All mercantile, judicial, and ecclesiastical affairs are carried on in Danish, and almost all the grown-up people are more or less acquainted with it; but the natives always speak their own dialect at home, and in their intercourse with each other. The consequence is, that it is

1Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, September 30, 1815.

2The Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816, Appendix, p. 68. Henderson had written to the British and Foreign Bible Society before he left Iceland, suggesting the possibility of his proceeding to Norway for the purpose of promoting the work in that country. On September 18, 1815, it was resolved that Henderson "at present remain at Copenhagen," where he would be able to render "essential service" to the Danish Bible Society and "collect information concerning Norway," the result of which would "determine his future operations regarding that Country." British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 7. Commencing Novr. 7. 1814, p. 228.

long before the children learn Danish, and even at the time of their confirmation they have much difficulty in replying to the questions put to them in that tongue.1

The printing of a new edition of the Creolese Testament was approved at the same meeting, while in December the government authorized a revised version of the Danish New Testament.2

**Lund Auxiliary Bible Society.** Late in November, 1815, Henderson crossed over into Sweden, where he conferred with Anders Hylander, Matthias Norberg,3 and other members of the newly organized Auxiliary Bible Society at Lund.4 On this occasion he proposed "the erection of

1Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, November 4, 1815. Cf. The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, p. 244. Supra, p. 62. This edition of the Gospel, printed with the Faroese and Danish texts in parallel columns, was not completed until 1823. It was the only portion of Scripture published in that language for nearly a hundred years. Darlow and Moule, op. cit., Vol. II, Pt. II, No. 3613, p. 361, and Supplementary Records in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.


3He presented Norberg with a copy of the Turkish New Testament printed by the Scottish missionaries in the south of Russia. Henderson wrote with reference to this: "As he is the first Oriental scholar in Europe, I knew it would interest the Society at home, as well as foreign friends, to hear his opinion as to the merits of the Translation. This he has since given me, and it is in the highest degree satisfactory. He esteems the version to be highly faithful, and done in a style at once dignified and plain." Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 179.

4Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, December 9, 1815. Supra, pp. 47, 83-84. This Society was "first begun in 1814, by the Bishop and Consistory," but was not "completely formed" until November, 1815. The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, p. 137.
Branch Societies in Malmö, Landskrona, etc., as also, where practicable, Bible associations.\(^1\) A month later he wrote: "In Lund, things are going on with vigour. They have published their protocol, together with the Bishop's Circular, in which my plan of Bible Associations is inserted and recommended."\(^2\) Paterson reported on the effects of this plan in March of 1817:

Of all the Auxiliary Societies yet formed in Sweden, that of Lund stands first. The activity of ... Bishop Faxe, aided by the Professors and Clergy, stands almost unparalleled in the history of Bible Societies. The eminence this Society has attained, is not a little owing to the impulse given to it by the presence of ... Mr. Henderson, about the time it was forming. He urged the plan of Bible Associations in every parish, the adoption of which has been attended with such amazing effects. During the year 1816, they distributed nearly 6000 Bibles and 2000 Testaments; and require for the present year 8000 Bibles, and a proportionate number of Testaments.\(^3\)

Accordingly, it is noted in the Report of the Swedish Bible Society for 1817 that the success of the Lund Auxiliary was, "in a great measure," favored by the zeal with which most of the parishes entertained "the admirable plan of Bible Associations."\(^4\)

Journey through the Danish Provinces into Northern Germany. The revised constitution of the Danish Bible Society, embracing Bible aux-

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\(^1\)Thulia S. Henderson, loc. cit. Henderson had "drawn up a brief memorial on the subject of Auxiliary Societies and Bible Associations." British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 7, Commencing Novr. 7, 1814, p. 304.

\(^2\)Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 100.


families and associations, was completed in February, 1816, and on April 2nd Henderson left Copenhagen "to carry the same into effect."1 The Bishops of Fuhnen, Aarhus, Viborg, and Aalborg were visited during the first month of the journey, after which Henderson returned to Odensee for the annual meeting of the Fuhnen Literary Society on May 7th.2 An Auxiliary Bible Society for the island, under the auspices of Prince Christian, was instituted the following day.3 Poulsen says concerning this:

In the different provinces of the Kingdom they sought to establish Auxiliary Bible Societies. The first one was founded in Odensee on Fuhnen in the year 1816 with assistance from Henderson.4

From Odensee Henderson proceeded to Ribe, Schleswig, and from thence in a circuitous route to Kiel.5 He visited "most of the professors" early in July, and had "many choice opportunities" of advo-

1The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, p. 243, 284, and British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 7. Commencing Novr. 7. 1814, p. 353. He had returned to Copenhagen on December 2, 1815, where the winter was spent in preparing his book on Iceland. Henderson's letters to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, December 9, 1815, and February 5, 1816.


cating the Bible cause, and recommending it to "more energetic co-operation." It was resolved, accordingly, that the existing Bible Association "should henceforth be 'The Bible Society of Kiel,' and that it should extend its operations to all the parishes of the Deanery." As a result of these, and his previous exertions, on June 22, 1817, Henderson received the degree "Doctor of Philosophy," honoris causa, from the University of Kiel. It is thus recorded in the Evangelical Magazine for 1818:

As a tribute of gratitude for the services rendered by the Rev. Ebenezer Henderson, to Denmark, Holstein, and Iceland, in promoting the circulation of the Scriptures, and establishing Bible Societies and Associations, the University of Kiel [sic] have gratuitously conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

Butin was reached the third week in July, and on the 21st of that month a Bible Society for the Principality of Lubeck was "provisionally constituted." The Committee of the Society announced its

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1Thulia S. Henderson, _op. cit._, p. 199. Henderson had written from Veile in Jutland on April 9, 1816: "I wish much to see a Bible Society established at the University of Kiel, and will leave no means untried that may in any way contribute to that end." Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Prior to his arrival a Bible Association had been formed in Kiel. Thulia S. Henderson, _loc. cit._ Later, "a set of Versions and Reports" of the British and Foreign Bible Society was presented to the Library of the University of Kiel through Henderson's interposition. British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 8. Commencing June 3rd, 1816, p. 73.


3A copy of the diploma is kept at the Carnegie Public Library in Dunfermline.

4The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXVI (1818), 92.

official establishment according to the plan "suggested by the Rev. Mr. Henderson" in March of the following year. Henderson arrived in Hamburg on July 25, 1816, where he remained for the ensuing three weeks.3

His travels and labors to this point are summarized in the First Report of the Schleswig-Holstein Bible Society (1817):

1. The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, p. 214. It is noted in a letter from D. J. W. Olshausen, the Director of the Latin Bible Society, dated May 3, 1817: "... of great importance to our object, was an ordinance issued ... which enjoined it as a duty on all the clergy in the country, to see that every young person is provided with a Bible, at least twelve months before his or her confirmation. ... In consequence of this ordinance, there will in future be hardly an individual in this Principality, without a Bible." Ibid., p. 215. Similar measures were adopted by the Danish Bible Society according to the Fourth Report of that Institution: "Many copies [of the Bible] have been sent to ministers for distribution among the young after their confirmation. ..." The Sixteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1820, Appendix, p. 127. That this measure was suggested by Henderson would appear from the results of his inquiry with respect to "certain parts" of Schleswig in May of 1816: "... of twenty young people of all ranks, that received confirmation, not ten took this invaluable work with them into the world." Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 192. Cf. ibid., p. 193.

2. A loan of L 500 for the printing of a new edition of the German Bible was recommended to the London Committee by Henderson on August 6th. The proposed edition was intended to compete with "a Bible with notes and observations" published in Altona the preceding year, the object of which, Henderson insisted, was "to reduce the doctrines of Scripture to a mere system of rationalism, and to resolve the Scripture-miracles into mere natural events." Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, August 6, 1816. The loan was granted and the new edition of Luther's Bible was completed in April, 1818. The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, pp. 212-13, and The Fifteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819, Appendix, p. 125.

3. The Scottish Congregational Magazine, VIII New Series (1848), 195-96. On this occasion and again in October Henderson preached at the English chapel for Francis Dick, who had been sent to Canada by the Tabernacle churches in 1805, but who was laboring in Hamburg at this time. Ibid. Supra, p. 34, n. 3. Cf. The Christian Herald, II (1815), 472.
He remained a week in Sleswick, that he might obtain a thorough knowledge of the fundamental rules and plans of the Committee of the Sleswick Holstein Bible Society, and kindly offered to take a journey through a part of the Duchies, in furtherance of the Bible cause. He travelled through Flensburg, Tondern, Husum, Toenningen, Friedrichstadt, Heide, Meldorf, Rendsburg; back to Sleswick, and thence to Eckernförde, Kiel, Flöen, Oldenburg, to Eutin, Luebeck, and Hamburg. In the course of these journeys, he scattered an abundance of good seed, which has already produced much fruit. 

Further, the Dean of Schleswig wrote in October of 1816 that the number of Bible Associations from the Little Belt to the city of Hamburg amounted to "more than 50," and that many of these were in the process of being formed into Auxiliary Bible Societies. Thus, Browne concludes in his History of the British and Foreign Bible Society:

Among the Auxiliary Societies which claim special enumeration, are those of Fünen, Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein. In the formation of these, or in their advancement to a mature organization, much assistance was derived from the active and judicious labours of Dr. Henderson.

In mid-August Henderson left Hamburg for Ratzeburg, where on the 18th of that month he succeeded in the provisional establishment of "The Lauenburg-Ratzeburg Bible Society." The "complete organization" of the Institution was accomplished on his second visit in Octo-


ber, 1818. Previous exertions had failed at Rostock, but on August 30th a Bible Society was instituted on "a trial" basis. Its success was such that the Librarian of the Society wrote the following year:

I must . . . confess, that the eagerness with which the Bible is received by so many Christians, endears to me the duties I am engaged to perform in the service of the Society. In the retirement of my closet, I always bless that hour when I resolved to make a trial, if the proposal of the Rev. Dr. Henderson, to establish a Bible Society in Rostock, could be carried into execution.

An "Auxiliary Bible Committee for the Town and Deanery of Barth" in Pomerania was formed on September 4th, after which Henderson proceeded to Stralsund, the island of Rugen, Greifswald, Strelitz, and Berlin, where he arrived on the 17th.

He met Robert Pinkerton in Berlin, who was a native of Scotland and a "fellow-labourer" in the work in Europe. They took part to-

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1The Fifteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819, Appendix, pp. 77-78. Cf. ibid., p. xlvii. The Secretary of the Lauenburg-Ratzeburg Bible Society wrote in 1819 with reference to Henderson's second visit: "His appearance among us gave occasion to another meeting. A Special Committee was chosen, the . . . rules were resolved upon, and our Committee have begun their operations." Ibid., p. 130.


3Ibid., p. 201.

4The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, pp. 292-95. He had been requested to go to Berlin to accelerate the work on the Turkish Bible. Henderson's letter to Joseph Tarn in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, August 1, 1816.

5The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, p. 104. Robert Pinkerton went to Russia in 1805 under
gether in the deliberations of the Committee of the Prussian Bible Society, of which it is recorded in the Third Report of that Institution: "... measures were concerted with them for printing the Bible in the German and Wendish languages." The revision and printing of the Turkish Bible, under the supervision of Heinrich Friedrich Diez, was advanced "as far as the 26th sheet." Henderson returned to Hamburg on the auspices of the Edinburgh Missionary Society. He was compelled to leave the work in Karass in 1808 because of ill health and in 1809 became preceptor "in the families of several persons of distinction" in Moscow. Later, he became an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society and traveled extensively throughout Europe for nearly half a century. Owen, op. cit., II, 237, and The Fifty-Fifth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1859, pp. 310-11.


2The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, p. 295. The earliest translation of the Scriptures into Osmanli Turkish was made in the seventeenth century by Albertus Bobovius, a Pole by birth, who had been taken captive in his youth and sold in Constantinople as a slave. Having publicly embraced Islam, he received the name Ali Bey, and ultimately became "chief translator" to Mohammed IV. At the instigation of Levin Warner, the Dutch Ambassador at Constantinople, Ali Bey translated "the entire Christian Scriptures into Osmanli, basing his work apparently upon a French Protestant version." The work was completed "about the year 1665," and the original MS. was sent to Leyden, where, with the exception of the first four chapters of Genesis, it remained unpublished. In the summer of 1814 the MS. was discovered in the Library of the University by Robert Pinkerton, who recommended it to the London Committee because of its freeness of style, and, indeed, "in every point of view," as "a most valuable treasure for the promotion of the cause of the British and Foreign Bible Society." Accordingly, the revision of Ali Bey's version was commenced at Berlin in December, 1814, by Heinrich Friedrich Diez, former Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, who pronounced the translation "accurate, and the style most excellent." However, Diez died in April of 1817 with the printing advanced only to Deuteronomy 8, "though his copy to nearly the end of Job was ready for press." The work was transferred to Paris in May, 1817, under the direction of Jean Daniel Kieffer, First Secretary and Interpreter of Oriental Languages
October 3, 1816.1

Henderson's own summary of these months of intensive travel is recorded in the *Christian Herald* for 1817:

From the 2d of April last year, when I left Copenhagen, to the middle of December, I was constantly on the wing—travelling in Denmark, and the North of Germany; but in almost every place I visited, I was happy to find, either Bible Societies already formed, or a disposition to establish similar institutions; so that I... had an opportunity afforded me of strengthening the hands of those who had engaged in the good work, or made instrumental of setting it agoing where it had not previously existed.2

It is concluded in the *Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society* that "much of what has been accomplished in the Danish dominions, particularly in Iceland, in the Duchy of Sleswig-Holstein, and the North of Germany, is to be attributed" to his exertions.3

**Call to St. Petersburgh.** A letter was received from London on October 20th requesting Henderson to proceed "without delay" to the assistance of John Paterson, who was reported to be seriously ill in

to Louis XVIII and Professor of Turkish in the College de France. Kieffer found that "the vocalization adopted by Baron Diez was obsolete, inaccurate, and inconsistent," and began de novo to print the text with "only those vowels which were absolutely necessary." The edition was completed in 1819. Darlow and Moule, *op. cit.* Vol. II, Pt. IV, No. 9453, pp. 1635-36, and The *Eleventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1815, pp. 28-29, Appendix, pp. 4-5. Cf. *post*, pp. 153-67.

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1 *The Scottish Congregational Magazine*, VIII New Series (1843), 196.


St. Petersburg. He wrote in reply:

The call was of so urgent and pressing a nature, as not to admit of a moment's deliberation. . . . It was my intention to have sailed immediately for Scotland. The vessel and the day of departure were determined. . . . My continental labours appeared to be brought to a close for the present, and I already imagined myself in the bosom of my expecting friends.

. . . While I was feeding on these pleasing dreams, and hoping soon to see them realized, I heard, on a sudden, a voice behind me, saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it." I turned to the voice that spake, and, behold, my way was plain before me.2

Traveling by way of Berlin, Dantzig, Koenigsberg, Memel, and Mittau, he reached the Russian capital on December 10, 1816. 3

1Ibid., Appendix, p. 295. Paterson had succeeded in the formation of the St. Petersburg Bible Society (later the Russian Bible Society) in December, 1812—three months after the French advance on Moscow. At the first meeting of the Society on January 23, 1813, the Metropolitan Ambrosii greeted Paterson with these words: "... you may think that you came to Russia in a very unpropitious time, but I assure you that you came at the right time. We have a proverb, that when the thunder rolls, the peasant crosses himself. Well, the thunder has been rolling over Russia, and it has softened all hearts, and led us to reflect, and now you reap the fruit of these troublesome times." Paterson, op. cit., p. 192. Three days later Paterson and Pinkerton wrote: "... the foundation of this Society is laid by persons of the first rank in the empire . . . and . . . much may reasonably be expected. The beginning is most auspicious; time alone will discover how far it will really be useful. . . . It has commenced at a most eventful period . . . when the Almighty Disposer of all events had, with the one hand, been pouring heavy judgments on the Empire, and on the other working a wonderful deliverance for it. It ought certainly to be recorded to the honour of his Imperial Majesty and his government, that it was in the end of the year 1812, that they not only found leisure to attend to the subject of forming a Bible Society in St. Petersburg, but also granted it their most effectual support." The Ninth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1813, Appendix, p. 75.


V. FIRST RESIDENCE IN RUSSIA 1816-1817

Bible Work in St. Petersburgh. Henderson's impression of the Bible work in St. Petersburgh upon his arrival was noted on December 25, 1816:

... I had rejoiced to hear, from time to time, of the spirit which animated, and the prosperity which attended, the exertions of the Russian Bible Society; but now that I have seen with my eyes what is going forward in this metropolis, and the manner in which the business is conducted, I am constrained to acknowledge, that "the half hath not been told me." Here are men who view the Bible cause, I was going to say, in all the magnitude of its importance—but that is impossible. ... The liberal and substantial basis on which their union has been formed; the Imperial patronage and bounty which it has experienced; the zeal, wisdom, and activity of its Directors, and its present comprehensive undertakings, all entitle it to the first rank in the scale of those noble Institutions which have for their sole object, to extend the knowledge of divine love to man.¹

Ten days later he referred to the increasing benevolence of Alexander I in behalf of the Society:

... after the gift of a house, with 15,000 rubles to fit it up, he in addition gave the Society 15,000 rubles for paper; and a few days ago, he expressed his regret to our worthy president that the exertions of the Bible Society, should bear no greater proportion to the spiritual necessities of the empire. "What is the cause?" said he; "Do you stand in need of money? only let me know, and you shall find me at your service."²

Although Paterson "was not so seriously ill" as the accounts from London had led Henderson to believe, he was "much reduced, and greatly in need of assistance."³ The work which had devolved upon

²The Christian Herald, IV (1817), 156.
³The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, p. 298.
Paterson, viz. "superintending the printing of the Scriptures in many different languages,"1 attending to "an immense load of correspondence,"2 and "the principal care of the Depot," was taken over by Henderson upon Paterson's departure in January.3

The plan of Bible Associations was introduced to the St. Petersburg Committee in March, 1817, of which Henderson wrote:

A plan was read, and agreed to, at the Meeting, which I had been requested by one of the Directors to draw up, for the establishment of Bible Associations in the different Protestant congregations in St. Petersburg. The want of them was much felt; and there is reason to hope, that the example will soon be followed by the native Russians.4

The ensuing October, after his return to St. Petersburg, Paterson noted:

I have just returned from attending the formation of the first Bible Association which has ever been held in Petersburg. It is founded upon a plan which was recommended, and drawn out by Mr. Henderson.5

The design was "to form similar Associations in every parish" of St. Petersburg.6

The Independent Church. During his residence in St. Petersburg Henderson also labored in connection with the English speaking congre-

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1The Russian Bible Society had printed the Scriptures "in whole, or in part, in no fewer than sixteen different languages" at this time, and the modern Russian translation was "going forward" with all expedition. Ibid., pp. 297-98.

2There were "about twenty Auxiliaries" in different parts of the interior. The Christian Herald, IV (1817), 156.


5Ibid., p. 95. 6Ibid., p. 96.
gation, which has been termed "a child of the Bible Society." 1 An historical sketch of the church was given by the pastor, Richard Knill, in 1633:

... Dr. Paterson began it in 1815, by expounding the Scriptures on the Lord's-day evening in a private house. ... Dr. Paterson received occasional assistance ... from his colleague, Dr. Henderson.

In the year 1817 two missionaries arrived in St. Petersburgh, Mr. Glen and Mr. Stallybrasse. During their stay in the metropolis their friends thought it would be gratifying to many if they were to preach publicly. To accomplish this, Dr. Henderson brought the subject before Prince Alexander Galitzin. The Prince ... immediately proposed it to his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Alexander, and received a verbal permission to have divine service in the English language in the Sarepta Chapel, which belongs to the Moravians, and who kindly lent their chapel for an evening service. 2

The formation of the church on Congregational principles, with the observance of the Lord's Supper, took place early in the year 1818. 3 The number of members at the beginning was "only eight," but "about 200 English" usually attended the service, "besides several Russians of distinction." 4 A monthly missionary prayer meeting and a morning worship service were a part of the church's program when Henderson again


2  The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, XI New Series (1833), 576. In the Congregational Magazine for 1836 Henderson is credited with having "first formed" the church in 1817 (p. 135). More properly, however, he first made the service public in that year.

3  Paterson, op. cit., p. 292.

ministered to the congregation in 1819 and 1820.1

Proposed Mission to Siberia. A new field of service presented itself in January, 1817, of which Henderson made note on the 28th of that month:

Having received a very unexpected and urgent call to join the mission which has been projected by the London Missionary Society to the town of Irkutsk in Siberia, for the purpose of translating the Holy Scriptures into the languages of Mandshuria and Mongolia, and preaching to the benighted and perishing inhabitants of those neglected regions the unsearchable riches of Christ, I set apart this day for taking the subject into the closest consideration, examining myself as to my views and qualifications, and beseeching my heavenly Father to lead me by His infinite wisdom to such a determination as should most effectually tend to promote His glory and the best interests of my fellow-men.

... Was much edified by reading the invaluable work of Melville Horne on Missions.2 I scarceley think there is any human production extant to be compared with it for reproving sloth and indolence, exciting zeal and compassion in behalf of the poor dying heathen, and leading to a judicious trial of the men and means to be employed in diffusing among them the light of life.3

The next day the struggle continued:

Endeavoured to impress my mind with a sense of the infinite turpitude of sin;—the aggregate of that monstrous evil, as attach-

1The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXVI (1818), 535; XXVII (1819), 122; XI New Series (1833), 576. A new church building, designated "The British and American Chapel," was completed in 1840. Ibid., XI New Series (1833), 577, and XVIII New Series (1840), 650-51. The church was still in existence at the time of Henderson's death. Paterson, op. cit., p. 293.

2Melville Horne, Letters on Missions; Addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches, 1794. Horne's book exerted "considerable influence" at the time of its publication, not only in "stimulating missionary zeal," but also in emphasizing the fact that differences of ecclesiastical polity, and even to some extent differences in doctrine, should not prevent evangelical adherents of the churches in Great Britain from uniting in the missionary cause. Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, I, 12.

ing to the millions to whom the intended mission is to have re-
spect;—how hateful this must render them in the sight of a holy
and righteous God;—what miseries it involves them in;—the im-
possibility of their condition being ameliorated by any other
means but the gospel of Jesus Christ; the felicity that would ac-
crue to them on their receiving it in the love thereof;—and the
glory that would redound to the triune Jehovah from their conver-
sion.1

He gave his answer to the proposal on the last day of the month:

... you may consider yourself fully authorized to make offer
of my services to the Directors of the London Missionary Society.
In making this offer, however, I am so far from conceiving myself
to be relinquishing the service of the British and Foreign Bible
Society, that my principal, I had almost said my exclusive object
in going to Irkutsk ... would be to promote the grand end of
its institution in a degree and to an extent which I could not
possibly have done in any other situation. It is true I shall
cease to act as their accredited agent the moment I form an engage-
ment with the London Missionary Society, but my obligations to
advance their interests to the utmost of my power I shall ever
consider to be indissoluble, and in so far as I am enabled to co-
operate with them in diffusing the light of Revelation, I flatter
myself with the hope of their continued approbation and support.2

In March he commenced the study of the Mandshur and Mongolian lan-
guages.3 The ensuing month he wrote to Paterson, who had tried to
dissuade him from the plan:

... you must not be surprised when I tell you that my heart
is as much set on the translation of the Scriptures into the
Mandshur and Mongolian languages as ever; and I may say, my desire
is increasing daily, the more my study of these languages is pros-
ecuted.4

1Ibid., p. 215. 2Ibid., p. 214. 3Ibid., p. 215. 4Ibid., pp. 215-16. The mission to Irkutsk had been "earnestly
recommended" by Paterson and Pinkerton, but the former was persuaded
that Henderson was "more fitted for promoting the Bible cause in the
East in connection with the Russian Bible Society." The Evangelical
Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXVI (1818), 196, and Paterson,
op. cit., p. 278. Thus, Paterson wrote in September, 1817: "His [Hen-
derson's] heart is not yet withdrawn from missionary work, and a very
little would set him off from us, which would be an irreparable loss
to the Society...." Paterson's letter to John Owen in the files of
the British and Foreign Bible Society, September 6/18, 1817.
However, upon receipt of an "official letter" from the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society informing him of the "high importance" which the Committee attached to his exertions in behalf of their Institution, and expressing their "anxious hope" that they would not be deprived of the "continuance of his vigorous and most useful co-operation" in the promotion of their objectives, he acquiesced to their request.¹

The appointment to Irkutsk was ultimately accepted by Cornelius Rahm,² who was "strongly" recommended for the work by Paterson. In the correspondence of the latter, dated July 21, 1817, he added: "Mr. Henderson is better acquainted with him than myself & will give you as high a character of him..."³ Eight days later Rahm wrote from Gottenburgh:

From my very infancy, when I had a certain opportunity to read the History of the Moravian-Brethren Mission at Greenland a spark of wish was kindled in my heart, that I also might be a Missionary. But at that time nobody in Sweden knew any thing about Missionary affairs—and consequently encouragement could not be given nor taken to devout [sic] myself to such an... undertaking as this...

Since that time, and being previously acquainted with Revd Mr. Henderson, and afterwards with Revd Mr. Paterson, I was very happy to be more and more informed of the Missionary proceedings, and reading Missionary Transactions, Register, Magazine and other Pub-


²Supra, pp. 80-82.

lications in this way, I began seriously to reflect upon the great work, which in present time is going on. . . .

Thus, Brusewitz says with reference to Henderson's and Paterson's acquaintance with Rahmn: "This acquaintance had an influence upon Rahmn's life conduct in a perceptible way. It also contributed to the opening of his eyes to see beyond the limits of his native country." Rahmn became, accordingly, Sweden's first foreign missionary in the nineteenth century.

Norwegian Bible Society (Second Return to Great Britain). When Paterson returned to St. Petersburgh early in August, 1817, Henderson's first labors in Russia came to a close. He wrote of this two weeks later: ". . . I must take leave of Russia for the present; . . . I shall, in obedience to the will of the Committee, quit St. Petersburgh for Sweden and Norway. . . ." Proceeding by way of Stockholm, Westeras, and Carlstadt, he reached Christiania in September, 1817.

The details of this visit were unknown to Henderson's daughter, who presumed that he made "a hurried visit to the Norwegian capital,

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3 Vide, Jansson, op. cit.


5 Ibid., pp. 103-5.
merely to gain exact information as to the state of matters" in that country. Canton says in his History of the British and Foreign Bible Society: "Norway may be said to have been first brought into touch with Earl Street by the Rev. Peter Treschow, a Norwegian pastor in London, who visited it in 1821 on behalf of the parent Society."²

Henderson's letter to Charles Steinkopff from Gottenburgh, dated October 6, 1817, gives a complete account of his activities in Norway:

"Your esteemed favour of the 24th Augt. reached me in Christiania just as I was busy in negotiating the business which formed the subject of its contents. On my arrival in that town I was much disappointed to find that the Bishop was absent on an autumnal visitation, but resolved to await his return and in the mean time formed the acquaintance of Professor Hersleb and some other members of the Central Committee. From the conversations I had with them, as well as with the Bishop after his return I found that there was no possibility of effecting any immediate change in the constitution of the Norwegian Bible Society. In consequence of the letter addressed to them by your noble President they have forwarded official letters to the different provinces, requesting the opinion of the Bishops and others who have subscribed to the Society as to the eligibility of separating the two objects: for without their concurrence and approbation they do not consider themselves authorized to come to any ultimate decision on a point which involves the fundamental rules and principles of the Society. The answers have not yet been sent in, but are expected before the end of the year. The Central Committee itself is divided on the subject; some of the members being of opinion that the Society ought to confine itself exclusively to the object expressed in its designation, as by this means alone it will not only be enabled to provide a more effectual supply of the Holy Scriptures, but secure its existence and prosperity; while others are afraid that to divide the Society now would completely bring it into discredit in the eye of the public, and

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3The Norwegian Bible Society was instituted in 1816. It had as a "subordinate object" the distribution of religious tracts. The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, pp. 154-55.
that it is of greater consequence to keep up the good opinion that has been formed of the Society, though its resources should be more circumscribed, than to avail themselves of foreign aid at the expense of public prejudice.

In the course of our conversations I had ample opportunities afforded me of explaining to them the reasons why the British and Foreign Bible Society adhered so strictly to her fundamental rules, as well as of removing some prejudices that had crept in, and which, I have reason to believe, have contributed to prolong the want of a cordial union between the two Societies. It had been stated to them that the Society in England wished to consider them in the light of a filial Institution, & that it was intended that a representative of the London Society should be sent over to reside in Christiania. The idea of subordination was thus unfortunately rooted in the minds of many in Norway, and as it got afloat just at the time the Norwegians were engaged in their struggle for political independence, it assumed a more serious aspect than it would have done at any other period.

It was my intention to have visited some of the other Bishops but as I had reason to fear that under present circumstances, my journey might be regarded by many in an unfavorable point of view, I deemed it more prudent to confine myself to a full statement of the views and principles of the British & Foreign Bible Society to the Gentlemen in Christiania, and to request them to communicate the same to their correspondents in different parts of the country.1

In 1820 the Norwegian Bible Society was reorganized according to the fundamental principle of the British and Foreign Bible Society:

Norway has at length embraced the principle of your Institution; and the NORWEGIAN Bible Society, originally combining the circulation of the Scriptures, with other religious objects, has been reorganized so as to make the circulation of the Scriptures its exclusive object.2

The second journey abroad was completed after stops in Gottenburg, Copenhagen, and Hamburg; and late in November, 1817, Henderson

1Henderson's letter to Charles Steinkopff in the files of the British and Foreign Bible Society, October 6, 1817.

was again in England.¹

¹The Fourteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1818, Appendix, pp. 49, 106; Henderson's letter to Frederick Munter in the archives of Det kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, November 15, 1817; and British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 8, Commencing June 3rd. 1816, p. 373.
CHAPTER IV
EBENEZER HENDERSON
LABORS IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE 1805-1825
THIRD JOURNEY ABROAD 1818-1825
I. INTERIM IN GREAT BRITAIN 1818

Publication of Journal on Iceland. During his residence in Great Britain Henderson's work on Iceland; or the Journal of a Residence in that Island, during the Years 1814 and 1815. Containing Observations on the Natural Phenomena, History, Literature, and Antiquities of the Island; and the Religion, Character, Manners, and Customs of its Inhabitants, in two volumes, received its initial publication in Edinburgh (1818). Most of the regions through which he passed had "never been visited by any native of Great Britain, and many of them had been wholly unexplored by foreigners." The features of a more striking geological nature, viz. the Geysers, the cavern of Surts-...
hellir, and Snæfell-Jökul,\textsuperscript{1} received separate publications in advance of the two volume work.\textsuperscript{2}

Although the journal chiefly embraces the natural phenomena of the island, an American reviewer has observed that the work is not so much a critical examination of that phenomena, but is rather "a fireside picture," giving "a deep and familiar insight into the domestic character and manners" of the people.\textsuperscript{3} Because of the general nature of the work, Burton found the volumes "still useful" in 1874, and noted in his own book on Iceland:

\begin{quote}
... this writer has solid merits... His style is respectable; he has an exceptional eye for country, rare in the traveller as catching the likeness is in the portrait-painter; his powers of observation are remarkable, ... his employment as a colporteur of the "Sacred Oracles," ... and his extensive travels ... enabled him to publish the best, because the most general, book on Iceland known to the English tongue.\textsuperscript{4}
\end{quote}

Thus, Canton noted in 1904: "... even to-day his book is that by which the people prefer to be known,"\textsuperscript{5} while Jóhannesson wrote in 1950:

"Thorvaldur Thoroddsen, who knows these things best of all, says Henderson's book is one of the best which has ever been written about

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{1}Surturhulen og Snæfells-Jökul, published in Copenhagen, 1816.
\item\textsuperscript{2}Another pamphlet, Correspondence between the Bible Society in Iceland, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, published in London, 1816, contains the poem of thanks to the London Society by Jon Thorlakson. Supra, p. 110, n. 5.
\item\textsuperscript{3}The North American Review, XXXV (1832), 91-92.
\item\textsuperscript{4}Richard F. Burton, Ultima Thule; or, a Summer in Iceland, I, 257.
\item\textsuperscript{5}William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, I, 216.
\end{itemize}
Exertions at Home and Plans for Abroad. Much of the time Henderson spent in his homeland was devoted to traveling in behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Both in England and Scotland he attended anniversary and special meetings of the different Bible Societies, including those in London, Dunfermline, and Edinburgh. In the latter city he was called upon to give an account of the Society’s operations in the North of Europe as a means of giving "a new stimulus" to the local work, which was thought to be "rather on the decline."

It was especially hoped that the ladies would "take a more particular interest in promoting subscriptions amongst themselves—by forming a Female Auxiliary Bible Society." The attainment of this end is stated in the report of the Edinburgh Bible Society for 1818.

This visit gave occasion as well for the determination of Henderson’s future movements and destination abroad:

With respect to Dr. Henderson, your Committee have to state, that the turn of his own mind having led him to cultivate, with much assiduity and success, that species of literature, which is con-

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1Johannesson, op. cit., VII, 439. "Fórváldur Thoroddsen, er þessu efni var kunnugastur allra manna, telur bok Hendersons medal híma bestu, sem ritadar haf verid um Island."


4Edinburgh Bible Society Minute Book, 1815 to 1824, II, 79-80, 82.

nected with the Tartar and Eastern dialects, advantage has been taken of the openings now made into Russian Tartary, Georgia, Persia, &c. to fix his destination at Astrachan; a place, from its position, its printing Establishment, and other facilities, admirably adapted to the sort of work and communication, in which his useful abilities are about to be employed.¹

Enroute to Astrachan he was authorized to proceed through Scandinavia in order to "promote and consolidate the influence of the Institution in stations of the greatest importance."² He departed in late September, 1818, with his bride of four months, the former Susannah Kennion of Bath,³ and reached Altona on October 7th.⁴

II. FURTHER LABORS ON THE CONTINENT 1818-1819

Travels through Germany and Winter in Denmark. Henderson again traveled through Northern Germany and the Danish provinces during the months of October and November, viz. Hamburg, Bremen, Oldenburgh,

¹The Fifteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819, p. xxvi. Cf. ante, p. 69. During a visit to Constantinople in October, 1819, Pinkerton "made some important arrangements, in the name of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for preparing and printing several editions of the Bible," and "urged on the Society, with so much earnestness, the necessity and advantage of establishing accredited agents" there, that Henderson's destination was changed from Astrachan to Constantinople. The [London] Missionary Register, 1820, p. 29.

²The Fifteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819, p. xxv, Appendix, p. 82.


Ratzeburg, Lubeck, Butin, Ploen, Kiel, Randersburg, Schleswig, Christiansfeld, and Odensee, before arriving in Copenhagen, his station for the winter. The Bible Societies in Schleswig-Holstein at this time numbered "one hundred and one."2

By means of correspondence the pastor of the French congregation in Fredericia, Charles Rieu,3 was encouraged to institute a Bible Society in that locale, which in May of 1819 was described as "very active."4 It was during this period, as well, that Henderson's influence upon Jens Møller, who had been associated with him in the formation of the Danish Bible Society, reached a climax.5 Møller's exertions in behalf of the Bible cause are described by Henderson in April, 1819:

The Committee accepted the proffered services of its active foreign secretary, the Rev. Mr. Møller, professor of divinity in the university, who has resolved to spend the summer vacation . . . visiting the provinces. . . .6 The professor is not only well

1 Ibid., pp. 77-80, and Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 231.


3 Rieu had received instruction in Geneva under Robert Haldane, and afterwards became active in the promotion of tract, Bible, and missionary enterprises in Denmark. Vide, The Christian Herald, X (1823), 145 ff.


5 Supra, p. 93, n. 3. Cf. ante, p. 37.

6 One aspect of Møller's mission was noted upon his return: "I prevailed on the clergy [in Randers] to introduce the New Testament into those schools in which it had not been previously used. . . ." The Sixteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1820, Appendix, p. 128. Four years earlier Henderson had expressed the opinion that the New Testament "ought also to be made a school-book." But, he added: "... the period, I fear, is very distant, when that shall be the case in Denmark." Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 180. Cf. The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, Appendix, p. 285.
known throughout the country, from the official station which he fills in the metropolis, and the regular publication of his "Theological Library,"¹ in which he has repeatedly announced and advocated the cause of the Bible Society, but has lately signalized himself by an able defence of the Society, which appears to be making a very favourable impression on the public mind.²

In turn Henderson exercised an influence through Møller upon B. F. Rønne, founder of the Danish Missionary Society, as well as a Bible and Tract Society at Lyngby.³ Andersen says with reference to Rønne's Tract Society:

The one who gave him the impulse was Prof. Jens Møller, who through his relation to Henderson and on the whole to the foreign promoters of the Bible cause, could not have avoided to notice the value which, from the evangelical side, was attributed to the distribution of these small religious writings.⁴

Further, an indirect influence was exerted with respect to the Danish Missionary Society:

... Henderson's extraordinary personality might have influenced Rønne, and his zeal for the Bible cause presumably became a further encouragement. Rønne's tracts bear witness as well that he later followed with special interest both Henderson's and Paterson's magnificent work.⁵

¹Kalkar says that Møller exercised "not a little influence" on the spiritual life in Danmark through his "Theological Library," which contained reports both on home and foreign religious matters. Chr. H. Kalkar, Det danske Missionsselskabs Historie i de første fyrvetyre Aar, p. 2.


³Cf. ante, pp. 94-95.

⁴Andersen, Festskrift i Anledning af Det danske Missionsselskabs Hundrede-Aars-Jubilsaar, I, 111. "Den, der gav ham Impulsen, var Prof. Jens Møller, der ved sit Forhold til Henderson og i det hele til Bibelsagens udenlandske Befordrere ikke havde kunnet undgaa at lægge Mærke til den Vejfrid, man fra evangelisk Side tillagde de religiose Smaaskrifters Udbredelse."

⁵Ibid., I, 116. "... Hendersons mærkelige Personlighed kan have influeret Rønne, og hans Vidkærlighed for Bibelsagen fik vel derved en yderligere Opmamring. Rønnes Traktater vidner ogsaa om, at han
Although Andersen acknowledges an indirect influence upon Rønne in the formation of the Tract Society, he rejects the idea that Henderson influenced him directly, even though a personal relationship was known to exist between the two:

... Rønne ... not in the slightest way hints that Henderson has exercised an influence upon him with respect to the tract matter. ... 1

But, on October 1, 1819, Rønne wrote to the Religious Tract Society in London: "The Reports which have reached me of the beneficial effects produced by the Tract Societies, in other countries, gave rise to the wish of establishing a similar Society in this country..." 2 And, after soliciting support for the proposed Society, he concludes:

"Should it be thought necessary, Dr. Henderson would give you every satisfaction you may desire." 3 Thus, Bundgaard says:

When Dr. Ebenezer Henderson ... in the autumn of 1818 was in Copenhagen, Rønne had opportunity to meet him. Through Henderson Rønne got later material for his tracts, and also of the oral conversation he has told something in the tracts. 4

Henderson's work in Denmark during the winter of 1818-1819 is

siden med særlig Interesse fulgte baade Hendersons og Patersons storeslåede Arbejde."

1Ibid. "... Rønne ... ikke i mindste Maade antyder, at Henderson har øvet Indflydelse paa ham med Hensyn til Traktatsagen. ..."


3Ibid.

4Niels Bundgaard, Det danske missionselskabs historie, I, 17. "Da Dr. Ebenezer Henderson ... i Efteraarret 1818 var i København, havde Rønne Lejlighed til at træffe ham. Gennem Henderson fik Rønne senere Stof til sine Traktater, og ogsaa fra den mundtlige Samtale har han meddelet noget i Traktaterne."
summarized in Bundgaard's *History of the Danish Missionary Society*:

By travels in the country Henderson won several friends for the cause, and Auxiliary Societies were established, like that in Fredericia under the leadership of the Reformed pastor, Charles Rieu, and in Lyngby under the Rev. Hønne's leadership. The Dane who particularly came to be active in the Bible cause was Professor in Theology Jens Møller.1

Concluding Labor in Scandinavia. The winter in Copenhagen was interrupted by a three week journey to the southern and eastern provinces of Sweden. On February 2, 1819, Henderson succeeded in establishing the "Royal Naval and Town Bible Society of Carlserona."2 Calmar and Wexio were also visited.3

While journeying to Norway in May of the same year Henderson was "thrown out of his travelling vehicle" near Sottenburgh, and received a shoulder injury, which resulted in the loss of the use of his right arm.4 The intended visit was abandoned as a result, and in mid-August the Hendersons5 proceeded to St. Petersburgh by way of Skara,

1Ibid., I, 15. "Ved Rejser i Landet vandt Henderson adskillige Venner for Sagen, og Hjælpeelskaber blev stiftet, saaledes i Fredericia under Ledelse af den reformerte Præst Charles Rieu, og i Lyngby under Pastor Hønnes Ledelse. Den Danker, som særlig kom til at tage sig af Bibelsagen, var Professor i Teologien Jens Møller.


3Ibid., pp. 85-86.


5A daughter, Thulia Susannah, was born to the Hendersons in Copenhagen on March 7, 1819. Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 407.
III. SECOND RESIDENCE IN RUSSIA 1819-1825

Residence in St. Petersburg and Travel Plans (1819-1821). Upon his arrival in the Russian capital Henderson again had a change of plan, of which he wrote on October 6, 1819:

My arm is gradually recovering its strength, but I am still unable to put on my clothes without assistance. The surgeon to whom I have applied for advice gives me good hopes; but to think of reaching Astrachan before next summer is now out of the question. However I can pursue the study of the Russian, Persian and Tartar languages here as well as in Astrachan, and our friend Paterson will require my assistance in a variety of ways during the winter.  

In January, 1820, he was "chiefly occupied in acquiring a knowledge of the Persian, Turkish, and the different dialects of the Tartar language, besides prosecuting the Russian," which he had commenced during his previous residence in Russia. His work in the Bible House, was increased after the death of Paterson's wife later in the same month. In addition to these exertions, and his ministry at the Independent church, Henderson was entrusted with the executive direction of the London Missionary Society's work in Russia and Siberia, of which it is noted in the report of the Directors for that year:

The Directors cannot, on this occasion, refrain from expressing their deep sense of the obligation which the Society is under to

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3 Ibid., p. 65. 4Cf. ante, pp. 126-27.
Drs. Paterson and Henderson, for their uncommon kindness, and invaluable services.1

Meanwhile, a tour was planned by Henderson and Paterson which was intended to serve the interests both of the Bible and Missionary Societies. It was to include the central, western, and southern provinces of Russia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and a number of alternate locations.2 The purpose of the journey with respect to the Bible Society was: to render assistance to the Auxiliaries in the interior of Russia; to procure or collate manuscript versions and translations of the Scriptures in the Eastern languages; and to introduce schools "on the new method."3 The object with regard to the Missionary Societies was to suggest measures for communicating and extending the light of Christianity to those who were "enveloped in the darkness of Moslem delusion."4 The Directors of the Scottish Missionary Society resolved, accordingly, to furnish Henderson and Paterson with "full powers to propose and carry into effect" such measures as were deemed necessary.


3 The Eighteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1822, Appendix, pp. 1, 28, and Henderson's letter to Jens Møller in the archives of Det kongelige Bibliothek, Copenhagen, April 7, 1820. A school plan, designed to reach the lower classes, and incorporating Scripture lessons, was introduced into Russia in 1819 by William Allen, promoter of educational institutions in England and in the North of Europe. John Paterson, The Book for Every Land, pp. 301-5, 309-13.

4 The Christian Herald, VII (1820), 276, and Henderson's letter to Jens Møller, op. cit.
for the prosperity of their mission stations. Thus, Henderson wrote in March of 1821: "We expect to be able to point out many important stations in the course of our tour; and we hope the Missionary Societies in England will have suitable missionaries in readiness to occupy them."2

**Travels in Russia (1821-1822).** Henderson and Paterson, accompanied by Nicholai Serof, Assistant Secretary of the Russian Bible Society, left St. Petersburgh on March 14, 1821. The "first object" which engaged their attention was the formation of an Auxiliary Bible Society for the town and government of Novogorod, as well as the adoption of measures for the establishment of Branch Societies in certain towns of that government through which they were to pass. Similar measures were adopted for extending the Bible Society's work in the governments of Kaluga, Kharkov, Tchernigof, Kief, in the Crimea, and in other parts in the months that followed.

They attended the anniversary meeting of the Moscow Bible Society on March 31, at which "a numerous company" of Russian, Armenian, Greek, and Georgian clergymen were present. A "luminous speech" was delivered

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1*The Scottish Missionary Register, I* (1820), 273.
6*The Eighteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1822, Appendix, p. 4.*
on the occasion by Seraphim, the Metropolitan of Moscow, who concluded his address with a pronouncement of "Woe, woe, woe, on the man who should do anything to impede the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in Russia, or in the world at large."¹ Four years later, after Seraphim had become head of the Church and President of the Russian Bible Society, he called a meeting of the Committee and began to inveigh strongly against putting the Scriptures indiscriminately into the hands of the people, alleging that they could not understand them, and that the reading of them, without having a priestly interpreter at hand to give them their meaning, would produce all kinds of disorder, and especially lead to their leaving their church.² Paterson adds: "This was new doctrine in our Committee. ... and we saw clearly what awaited us. ..."³

The travelers were delayed for a month in Moscow because of impassable roads, during which time Henderson prosecuted the study of the Turkish and commenced that of the Armenian.⁴ His Biblical searches were pursued at the Patriarchal library and in that of the printing office of the Holy Synod, in which an "ample collection of Slavonic MSS." was preserved.⁵ On May 25th of that year he was made a member of the "Societas Caesarea Naturae Curiosorum Mosquensis," as a result of his contact with some of the professors of the University.⁶

The interests of prison work were represented at Kaluga. Henderson noted with reference to this:

¹Paterson, op. cit., p. 340. ²Ibid., p. 394. ³Ibid.
⁴E. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, p. 43.
⁵Ibid., p. 61. ⁶Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 250.
The prison is a heavy stone building, at the lower end of the town, but was in such an admirable state of order, cleanliness, and discipline, that it might almost have served as a model for that about to be constructed by the Prison Society of St. Petersburg. A proper classification had been made of the prisoners, according to their sex, age, and degree of criminality. The cells were roomy and well-aired. The hospital, apothecary's shop, chapel, bath, kitchens, &c. were all executed in a style that quite astonished us. Among other arrangements tending to promote the improvement of the prisoners, we were happy to find a library and reading-room—to which, although it was already partially supplied with the Scriptures, we appropriated a few copies of the Gospels and Apostolical Epistles in Slavonic and Modern Russ, in the hope they might, by the Divine blessing, prove the means of diverting some of the prisoners to Him who came into our world to "proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."¹

Thus, it is recorded in the memoir of Walter Venning, promoter of the Prison Society in Russia:

The extensive tours which his beloved friends Doctors Pinkerton, Paterson, and Henderson, were called to take in the service of the Bible Society throughout the European continent, opened channels for extensive intelligence, as these benevolent men readily accepted his list of prison questions, and promised, by personal inspection, to obtain suitable answers.²

Venning was "encouraged" in the work by their "friendly aid" and "co-operation."³

In the course of the journey Henderson visited Rabbinical and Karaite Jewish settlements. The Rabbins are represented in his description of "the Dubno Scribe";

¹E. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, pp. 140-41.


³The Christian Herald, XII (1825), 149-49.
Before the scribe begins his task, and after every interruption, he is required to compose his mind, that he may write under a sensible impression of the sanctity of the words he is transcribing. Particular care is taken that the letters be all equally formed; and so supreme is the authority of antiquity, that where letters are found in the exemplar of a larger or smaller size than the rest, or such as are turned upside down, or suspended above the line, or where a final-shaped letter occurs in the middle of a word, these blunders are to be copied with as great fidelity as any part of the text.

Faults that creep in during transcription may be rectified, provided it be done within the space of thirty days; but if more time has elapsed, the copy is declared to be posel, or forbidden. Should Aleph-Lamed (אן) or Jod-He (יה) be wrongly written, it is unlawful to correct or erase them, because they form the sacred names; nor is it permitted to correct any of the Divine names, except when they are applied in an inferior sense. Of this an instance occurs, Gen. iii. 5, where the name אֵלֶוֹהִים, Elohim, is used twice. The Rabbins, regarding it as employed the second time to denote false objects of worship, permit its erasure; but prohibit it at the beginning of the verse, as being undeniably used of the true God. When transcribing the incommunicable name יהוה, Jehovah, the Scribe must continue writing it until it be finished, even although a king should enter the room; but if he be writing two or three of these names combined, such as יהוה יִהְיֶה יהוה, Jehovah God of Hosts, he is at liberty, after having finished the first, to rise and salute his visitant. Nor is the copyist allowed to begin the incommunicable name immediately after he has dip his pen in the ink; when he is approaching it, he is required to take a fresh supply when proceeding to write the first letter of the preceding word.

Shackled by canons of such exquisite minuteness, it cannot be matter of surprise that the Dubno Scribe should exhibit an emancipated appearance, and affix a high price to the productions of his pen... To the intrinsic value and spiritual beauty of the law of the Lord he appeared totally insensible!

At Lutsk in Poland and Djufut-Kale in the Crimea he visited the Karaite Jews, who differed from the Rabinists in their rejection of the oral law, and their "rigid appeal to the text of Scripture as the exclusive and only infallible source and test of religious truth."2

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1E. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, pp. 209-11.

2Ibid., p. 319.
Henderson wrote after his journey to Lutsk of his increasing interest in Jewish mission work:

We rejoice to hear that Mr. Moritz is to come to Poland. A more auspicious field I have not found; and were I not engaged as agent of the Bible Society, I do not know any employment I would prefer to that of a Missionary to the Jews in these quarters.1

In July the Bible agents accompanied William Glen, Robert Ross, and John Carruthers of the Scottish Missionary Society on a tour of the Crimea.2 The purpose of the tour was to "investigate the state of its Mohammedan population, and ascertain the practicability of establishing an Institution for the instruction of Tatar youth."3 They found that the Crimea presented "as favourable a field for Missionary work as any which had come under their observation in Russian Tartary."4 But, it appeared questionable whether the Mohammedans would be favorably disposed towards an academy designed to promote "a system of faith which they abhor."5 A decision regarding the plan was delayed, as a result, until "a decisive trial" of the Mohammedans' view of the proposal could be made "on an extended scale."6

At Astrachan Henderson and Paterson, together with the Scottish missionaries, made "final arrangements" with regard to the translation

1Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 426.
3E. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, p. 305.
5Ibid. 6Ibid.
and printing of the "Tartar-Turkish" Bible.¹ In the course of the ensuing year, after Glen's return from the Crimea, they "strongly recommended" that he undertake a version of the Old Testament in Persic.² He began, accordingly, by translating the Book of Psalms.³ The Scottish missionary stations at Karass and Nazran were also visited, as well as the London Missionary Society's work at Sarepta, which was maintained by Cornelius Rahm.⁴ With respect to the latter, they urged the propriety of sending Rahm "a fellow-labourer," in view of the "fair prospects of success among the Caltucs."⁵ A summary of Henderson's and Paterson's exertions in behalf of the Scottish Missionary Society is given in the Report of that Institution for 1822:

In the course of this journey they visited Astrachan, Karass, the Crimea, and Nazran; and, agreeably to the request of the Committee, examined minutely and carefully into the circumstances and prospects of these different Missionary stations. The Society is

¹The Scottish Missionary Register, II (1821), 403. The (Tartar) Turkish New Testament was translated by Henry Brunton and published by the Scottish missionaries at Karass in 1815. An edition of the Psalms in the same language left the press at Astrachan two years later. Thereafter, other portions of the Old Testament were prepared with a view to publication. E. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, pp. 424-27.


³Ibid.


⁵The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, XXX (1822), 126.
deeply indebted to them for... the valuable suggestions and the fatherly advice and direction which they afforded to the Missionaries—and for the minute information which they have forwarded to the Committee, respecting the circumstances of the different stations. The Committee are happy to be able to state, that this report is on the whole highly gratifying...1

However, it is noted in the same Report that "a sudden stop" had been put to the labors of George Blyth at Nazran, and that he had "most unexpectedly" received instructions from the Governor-General of the province to proceed to another of the Society's stations.2 An Imperial interdict on "direct missionary effort" resulted in Rahmn's removal from Sarepta the following year.3 And, in 1825, after having mentioned some of the hindrances to the work in Russia, the Scottish Missionary Society reported further:

Amongst the fruits of the revolution in regard to the Bible Society in Russia, it may be mentioned, that though it was at one time intended that the Missionaries at Astrachan, should be employed in printing a new and corrected edition of Martyn's Persian New Testament; and though the types had been ordered, and had arrived in Petersburg, it has been since resolved not to proceed with the printing of it. The Missionaries were likewise informed, that the Tartar Turkish version of the Old Testament, preparing by Mr. Dickson, would have to be submitted to the archbishops of Astrachan, Kazan, and Scaterinoslave; so that the publication in Russia of the Old Testament in that language, even if the version were completed, may be considered as very problematical. In the present state of affairs, it was not even deemed safe to print tracts without first submitting them to the censorship; for though their having done so formerly was winked at, it was not supposed it would be tolerated now... .

Under all these circumstances, the directors conceived it to be no longer their duty to maintain the Mission at Astrachan... .

If no schools can be established for the education of the Mahomedan youth similar to those in India, ... if the preaching of the gospel cannot be carried on unless with extreme caution;—if the Scriptures, when translated, cannot be printed without the approba-

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tion of three Archbishops of the Russian church;—if tracts must be submitted to the ordinary censorship of the empire;—if converts are no sooner made, than they are liable to be torn away from their spiritual instructors;—if, in short, the chief powers of the empire, civil and ecclesiastical, are combined in hostile array, to arrest the progress of knowledge and of unadulterated Christianity—what encouragement is there to maintain a post, where there is so little liberty to labour, and where the prospect of success is so small. . . . notwithstanding the resolution of the directors to relinquish the Mission at Astrahan, it is not improbable that Mr. Glen may remain in that city, to superintend the translation of the Old Testament into Persic, as the British and Foreign Bible Society have offered to engage him in carrying on that important work. . . .

The station in the Crimea was likewise relinquished, while negotiations were in process for the transfer of the Colony at Karass to the Basle Evangelical Society. 2

In October, 1821, the travelers proceeded by military cavalcade through the foothills of the Caucasus. A description of the march is given by Henderson in his book on Russia:

We now proceeded at a slow pace across the plains till break of day, when we reached the foot of the first range of hills, commonly called the Kabardian Mountains. We had now a full view of our cavalcade, which presented a scene, not only novel . . . but to us, the first thing of the kind we had ever witnessed. At the distance of two versts before us rode two Cossacks, while four or five of the same daring warriors reconnoitered the heights on both sides of the road. A train of infantry, with a band of music, formed the van, and were followed by a cannon, with four artillery-men, and the cannonier with a burning match, ready to be applied at a moment's warning. Next the cannon followed the mail, with a separate guard of soldiers, a colonel of artillery, an elegant carriage, in which rode the lady of a general then serving in Georgia, a number of

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1Report of the Scottish Missionary Society, 1825, pp. 16-17.

2Ibid., pp. 17, 19-20. While in Odessa, Henderson had come in contact with two of the Basle missionaries, who were on their way to the Crimea as agents of the Edinburgh Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. He later noted with reference to these and others: "The Basle Missionaries of all that I have seen, excel in their entire devotedness to the work." Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 252, 317.
baggage waggons, and upwards of 350 yoke of oxen, with military stores, which were being conveyed to the different small forts in the Caucasus. In our train were several Armenian and Georgian merchants, some Jews riding on asses, and a Georgian prince, who was returning from a ten years' exile in Siberia. Another cannon brought up the rear, followed by a double guard; and, besides the force already mentioned, we had an escort of eighty soldiers and fifteen Kozaks.1

Henderson and Paterson crossed the Caucasus at Kasbek2 and reached Tiflis early in November. Throughout the summer and autumn months the former had suffered from "repeated attacks of the ague," and was confined to the inn "for nearly three weeks" after their arrival in the Georgian capital.3 In spite of this limitation upon their exertions, they promoted the reorganization of the Committee of the Tiflis Bible Society,4 and gained possession of manuscript copies of the Psalms in Georgian and the Gospels in Ossetian.5 Measures were later adopted for the printing of both in Moscow.6

The plans for proceeding into Persia having been abandoned, they recrossed the Caucasus late in November and returned to St. Peters-

1E. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, pp. 475-76.

2Mount Kasbek was "next in point of height to the Elburg." Henderson noted his impression of the latter: "The Snoefell and Croefa Yökuls, whose size I had admired as stupendous, because they far exceeded any thing of the kind I had previously seen, sunk, in the remembrance, into mere pigmies, in comparison of the gigantic king of the Caucasian range." Ibid., pp. 461, 501.


4The Eighteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1822, Appendix, p. 27.


6Ibid.
burgh by way of Mosdok, Astrachan, Sarepta, Saratof, Vladimir, and Moscow.¹ They arrived in the Russian capital in February, 1822, after having passed through twenty governments of the Empire, and after having performed a journey of 6,000 miles.²

The results of the tour with respect to the Bible cause are summarized in the Ninth Report of the Russian Society:

In the course of the preceding year the Rev. Drs. Paterson and Henderson, in company with Mr. Serof . . . paid a visit to twenty-four of our Auxiliaries.—This tour was productive of very pleasing effects: three Branches and several Associations have been formed; increased demands for copies of the Scriptures are made on the depository at St. Petersburg; and a greater number of Bibles have been disposed of, in consequence of greater regularity in the despatch of business. . . .³

Prince Alexander Galitzin, the President of the Russian Bible Society, added: "The journey which was undertaken . . . by three of the members of this Society, during which nearly one half of the Auxiliaries in Russia were visited, has served materially to augment the success of the Society's work."⁴

Turkish New Testament Controversy. Reference has been made to a change of plan which caused Henderson and Paterson to forego the journey into Persia. This was occasioned by their withdrawal from the

¹Ibid., pp. 530-34, and Paterson, op. cit., pp. 358-59.

²E. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, pp. v, 534.


service of the British and Foreign Bible Society.¹ The reasons for
this action were given in Henderson's letter to Frederick Hunter,
dated September 20, 1822:

Our principal reasons for taking so very important a step were:
First. Their persisting in their determination to give circula-
tion to a most corrupt and erroneous version of the N. T. in Turk-

ish. ... 

Secondly: We saw they were resolved to be led by Dr Pinkerton
into all the chimerical projects that he might lay before them
without duly considering the merits of the plans proposed, the
feelings of others engaged in the same work, or the funds of the
Society. To Dr. P.'s zeal we have ever been disposed to pay the
just tribute: but it has often given us the deepest grief to per-
ceive the interests of the Society compromised by the hasty and
ill-judged measures which have been proposed for adoption—of
which the printing of Hall Bey's Turkish version was not one of
the least important, as it has involved the Society in an expense
of several thousands of pounds to no purpose.²

In a letter to Jens Møller he added that these considerations, "to-
gether with the resolutions passed authorizing Dr P. to procure trans-
lations into several other languages, in regard to which we had no
better security, determined us to give up our connexion with the Com-
mittee."³

Attention was directed to the "character" of the Paris edition
of the Turkish New Testament in the spring of 1820, when Henderson ad-

¹Their letter of resignation was sent from Mosdok in December,
1821. Henderson's letter to Frederick Hunter in the archives of Det
kongelige Bibliothek, Copenhagen, September 20, 1822.


³Henderson's letter to Jens Møller in the archives of Det konge-
lige Bibliothek, Copenhagen, September 19, 1822. Paterson wrote:
"... the crisis itself was unavoidable and now that it is fairly
over I feel more at ease and more comfortable than I have done for the
last five or six years." Paterson's letter to William Hanky [Hankey]
in the files of the London Missionary Society, July 21, 1822.
dressed the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society with his "Remarks on Ali Bey's Turkish Version of the New Testament, printed in Paris, 1819; chiefly drawn from the Gospel of Matthew, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Book of Revelation." The "Remarks" were introduced by an "acknowledged" rule of Biblical criticism:

While on the one hand, a translator of the Scriptures is studiously to avoid such a scrupulous attachment to the letter as would do violence to the genius of the language into which his version is made, and necessarily render the version harsh, obscure, or unintelligible; he is, on the other hand, equally to guard against the adoption of any words, phrases, or modes of construction that would in any way injure the spirit and manner of the original, or convey one shade of meaning more or less than what it was designed to express.

The Turkish Testament of 1819 was cited, accordingly, as a version which not only violated this rule, but which erroneously represented Christian doctrine:

It is not only of a totally different stamp, in point of freedom, from all the versions printed by the Society that I have any knowledge of, but exhibits passages with which even the overstrained nicety and bold liberties of a Castalio would sink in the comparison; and . . . renderings are to be met with completely subversive of the Christian Faith, and which seem to have been purposely introduced, with a view to meet the prejudices of Mohammedans.

His "objections" to the version were arranged under the following heads: the mistranslation of proper names, the unnecessary use of synonyms, the want of consistency and uniformity, false renderings, omissions, and additions.

Under the first division, Henderson disapproved of the circum-

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1 Contained in his Appeal to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the Subject of the Turkish New Testament. Printed at Paris, in 1819, pp. 15-49.

2 Ibid., pp. 16, 18.

3 Ibid., p. 18.
locutory and diversified manner in which Θεός, Κυριος, Άγιος, and
words were expressed, viz. as The Supreme God, The Glorious Majesty,
The Illustrious Verity, The Almighty Effendi God, His Majesty Jesus,
and so on.1 He wrote further with reference to the divine names:

The names God and Lord, and Jesus and Christ, are frequently
interchanged without any thing like a scrupulous adherence to the
order of the original. It is easy to be perceived how much in-
fluence this must have on the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.2

By the rendering the noble Holy Place for Jerusalem he argued that
Mecca or Medina would as easily be understood by a Mohammedan.3

Examples of the unnecessary use of synonyms were σωσίνα, frequently translated righteousness and piety, and ἡξίος, expressed as
worthy and deserving.4 It was noted regarding the want of consistency
and uniformity:

While it is granted that there are words which are used in dif-
ferent senses, and where words of equal latitude cannot be found,
require to be translated differently in different places, accord-
ing as the sense is determined by the context, it is a fixed maxim
in Biblical interpretation, that where no such diversity exists,
or where the same sense obtains, the words of the sacred original
are to be rendered uniform throughout the translation.5

Accordingly, μετανοέω, "to repent," was cited as being rendered by
five different words or phrases and σωσίνα, "righteousness," by
eight.6 This portion of the "Remarks" was concluded with the following
additional observation on the version:

... where the same identical words are quoted in different
places from the Old Testament, scarcely two of them are found to
be alike. Take as an example: Rom. iv. 3... Abraham believed
in the Supreme God, and that faith he counted instead of righteous-

1Ibid., pp. 19-24. 2Ibid., p. 25. 3Ibid., pp. 27-28.
4Ibid., pp. 28-29. 5Ibid., p. 29. 6Ibid., p. 31.
ness; compared with Gal. iii. 6 . . . Abraham believed in the Supreme God, and this he counted to him for righteousness and piety. It is easy to be perceived that the rendering in both passages at once sets aside the important doctrine of justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ, and substitutes faith as a principle which God will accept in lieu of obedience, than which nothing can be more contrary to the whole scheme of revealed mercy.\footnote{Ibid., p. 32.}

The leading objections under false renderings were: first, the interpretation of succession as righteousness and piety in Romans 4:13, 5:17, 10:3, Galatians 2:21, 3:6 and 21.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 32-33.} Thus:

... it is the concurrent testimony of all orthodox divines, that, in these passages, the word "righteousness" is not descriptive of any inherent or implanted righteousness, or any works of righteousness done by man, but of the meritorious righteousness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in virtue of which alone any sinner can be justified in the sight of God. On this view of the subject turns the whole of the Apostle's reasoning respecting grace and works, in his epistles to the Romans and Galatians. But according to Ali Bey's version, we are accepted of God, and entitled to eternal life, on the footing of our own works!!\footnote{Ibid., p. 33.}

Second, the rendering in Matthew 6:32 and 12:18 of τὰ ἑορτά, "the nations," by the idolaters, which, he argued, would give occasion for a Mohammedan, "who is taught to entertain the most perfect abhorrence of the worship of idols," to exclude himself from the passages.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 34-35.} Third, the translation of the words τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦς, "on the Lord's day," by the expression on a Market Day.\footnote{Ibid., p. 36.} Fourth, the phrase ὁ ἐλώτος λύσεως πάντων, "the same Lord of all," in Romans 10:12, which appeared in the Turkish as the Lord of all is one.\footnote{Ibid., p. 40.} It was added:

Could this version of the words possibly have been made with any other view than that of opposing the doctrine of the Divine Trinity? We have only to add to it: "And Mohammed is his prophet," to render the confession entire.\footnote{Ibid.}
The last objection under this heading was given as follows:

The passage, however, which seals the death-warrant of this translation is, Rev. xxii. 8, 9, where the Lamb of God himself is introduced by Ali Bey, as forbidding his disciples to worship him. . . .

"I fell down to worship at the feet of the LAMB; but he said unto me: Beware thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them that keep the sayings of this book: WORSHIP THE DIVINE MAJESTY." When I first read this passage I conceived it possible that the word Lamb might have been substituted for Angel by mere inadvertence; but after reflecting on the other passages where there is evidently an effort made to diminish the glory of the Saviour, I feel no hesitation in pronouncing it to be designed.1

The other divisions of the document consisted of words and phrases that had been omitted from or added to Ali Bey's version.2

After having emphasized the need for suppressing the circulation of this edition of the Turkish New Testament, Henderson concluded his "Remarks" to the Committee:

... I beg to recommend to the most serious attention of the Committee, the importance of suffering no version of the Holy Scriptures to be published under their sanction that has not been made by individuals whose consciences are swayed by a deep sense of the divine authority, or critically examined by such as are skilled in the principles of Biblical interpretation. No elegance of style, nor beauty of execution, can ever compensate for an erroneous representation of the original text.3

The printing of the Turkish Bible, which was then in process, was suspended on May 15, 1820, as a result of these representations and other letters on the subject.4 Two months later a resolution was adopted by which the circulation of the Turkish New Testament was sus-

1Ibid., pp. 42-43. 2Ibid., pp. 44-48. 3Ibid., p. 49.

4British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 10. Commencing May 7th. 1819, p. 411.
pended and the printing of the Old Testament held in further abeyance.¹ Henderson, Pinkerton, the missionaries at Astrachan, and Kieffer were requested at the same time to make a revision of the text of the New Testament.² Matters remained in this state until August, 1821, at which time the following meeting was held and the subsequent resolutions adopted:

From the Minutes of the Sub-Committee for Printing and General Purposes, held August 9, 1821, assisted by The Rev. Professor Lee, Dr. Pinkerton, General Macauley, the following communications on the subject of the Turkish New Testament, printed at Paris, from the MS. of Hali Bey, under the direction of Prof. Kieffer, were read: viz.

Remarks on Hali Bey's Turkish Version, by the Rev. Dr. Henderson, dated St. Petersburg, March 30, O.S. 1820;

Letter from Dr. Henderson, dated St. Petersburg, May 26, O.S. 1820, containing two paragraphs from a letter from the Rev. Mr. Mitchel, at Astrachan, on the same subject;

Letter from Dr. Henderson, dated St. Petersburg, Oct. 20, O.S. 1820, accompanied by his revision of Hali Bey's version of the Gospels . . . and inclosing communications from the Missionaries at Astrachan, dated Sept. 6, 1820;³

¹S. Lee, Remarks on Dr. Henderson's Appeal to the Bible Society, on the Subject of the Turkish Version of the New Testament Printed at Paris in 1819, Appendix, p. 4.

²Ibid.

³The communications of the Scottish missionaries with respect to the Turkish Testament of 1819 read in part: "The result of a very cursory review of a few of its books, has . . . convinced us, that the version in its present state is totally unfit to be put into the hands of the people for whose benefit it has been printed; and we feel ourselves called upon . . . to exhibit . . . a few of the improper renderings, additions, omissions," &c.—"The elaborate style in which the Paris Testament is written, together with the incorrect views of the translator in reference to religion, has very much affected the meaning of that portion of sacred Scripture under review, the correcting of which will cost considerable labour and care."  E. Henderson, An Appeal, pp. 51-52.
Letter from the Rev. Dr. Pinkerton, dated St. Petersburgh, Feb. 18, O.S. 1821, containing remarks on the criticisms of the Missionaries at Astrachan upon the Turkish New Testament: 1

This Sub-Committee having taken into consideration the various documents above mentioned, together with the opinions expressed upon them by the Rev. Prof. Lee, and Gen. Macauley . . .

Resolved unanimously . . . that there is nothing contained in the criticisms upon the text of the Society's Edition of the Turkish New Testament, printed at Paris, of sufficient importance to prevent the copies from being circulated. 2

That previously to their circulation a table of errata be annexed, 3 containing typographical errors and palpable omissions, and that such passages be cancelled, as to the judgment of Prof. Kieffer, shall appear to require it. 4

1The missionaries at Astrachan had previously observed with reference to Ali Bey's version of the Bible: "After due deliberation on the merits of the Turkish Bible now in progress at Paris, we are convinced that a revised edition of it, made with judgment and care, will perfectly answer the views of the Russian Bible Society, as some time ago expressed by Dr. Paterson, for a version of the Old Testament, to correspond with the Karass translation of the New. It is written in what would be counted plain Turkish at Constantinople, and in some places it is as plain as it could be made, but it is not generally so; and may be classed with those versions which are termed free, though it is often as literal as it could be with propriety made. . . . The Arabic and Persic words would be thrown out in revising, and, wherever proper, words of Turkish origin would be substituted in their place." Report of the Scottish Missionary Society, 1820, p. 49.

2Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge, later argued that "a difference of opinion" on the use of certain words or phrases, and the omission or addition of a few words "in no way affecting the sense of the context" or the basic elements of Christian doctrine, was the "utmost" that could be claimed for the greater part of Henderson's Appeal. Lee, op. cit., pp. v, 17, 53, 67.

3Henderson objected to the table of errata on the ground that it would "weaken," if not entirely "destroy," belief in the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture. E. Henderson, An Appeal, p. 56.

4The translation of Revelation 22:8, 9 was deemed a typographical error, and was corrected "by cancelling the sheet, and sending reprints to be pasted into the copies already bound." Ibid., pp. 50-51. Ultimately the number of errata was reduced from 215 to 49, and eleven cancel leaves were inserted "in each obtainable" copy. Lee, op. cit.
Resolved, that it be recommended to the General Committee to desire Prof. Kieffer to complete the contract with the printer for printing the whole of the Turkish Bible according to Hali Bey’s version, and to proceed with the work without further delay.

That in preparing the copy for the press, he begin with the Old Testament, and purify the text of every thing extraneous or supplementary, as far as the genius of the Turkish language will admit.¹

That before coming to a final decision respecting doubtful or difficult passages, he be requested to consult Baron Silvestre de Sacy, and correspond with Prof. Lee.²

However, in April, 1823, the circulation of the Turkish New Testament was again suspended as a result of a letter from Henderson in which he insisted that it could not be sufficiently improved “as to be rendered fit for circulation.”³ The Sub-Committee for Printing and General Purposes of the British and Foreign Bible Society, accordingly, proposed "a series of queries on the subject to the learned Orientalists in France and elsewhere," in order to ascertain the importance and extent of the imputed errors.⁴ Answers to the queries having been received, the Sub-Committee met in December of the same year and pro-

¹Later, Henderson argued that his objections had attained their end "in so far as the Old Testament was concerned," and that this portion, at least, was being printed in a style agreeable to the principles laid down in his Appeal. E. Henderson, The Turkish New Testament Incapable of Defence, and the True Principles of Biblical Translation Vindicated, p. 298.

²E. Henderson, An Appeal, pp. 54-55.

³Lee, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 5, 7. The nature of the errors imputed was essentially the same as in his "Remarks."

⁴Ibid., Appendix, p. 8.
ceeded to the consideration of twenty-two documents relating to the subject, in which the opinions of the French Orientalists were brought against Henderson's strictures in overwhelming numbers. It was then resolved and "unanimously" adopted: "That upon the most attentive consideration of the preceding documents on the subject of the Turkish Testament, this Sub-Committee see no sufficient reason for longer suspending the circulation of it."  

The Controversy was made public in 1824 when Henderson published his Appeal to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the Subject of the Turkish New Testament, Printed at Paris, in 1819. Containing a View of its History, an Exposure of its Errors, and Palpable Proofs of the Necessity of its Suppression. The Appeal was answered in the same year by Samuel Lee of Cambridge. Henderson published his second treatise on the subject in 1825: The Turkish New Testament Incapable of Defence, and the True Principles of Biblical Translation Vindicated: in Answer to Professor Lee's Remarks on Dr. Henderson's Appeal to the Bible Society, on the Subject of the Turkish Version of the New Testament, Printed at Paris in 1819, which was met

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1Ibid., Appendix, pp. 8-10.  
2Ibid., Appendix, p. 10.  
3The Appeal was dated St. Petersburgh, August 1, O.S. 1823.  
4Remarks on Dr. Henderson's Appeal to the Bible Society, on the Subject of the Turkish Version of the New Testament Printed at Paris in 1819. To which is Added, an Appendix, Containing Certain Documents on the Character of that Version.  
5Henderson's Principles of Biblical Translation were classified under two heads. First, with respect to the matter of the text: (1) the version must exhibit the genuine sense of the original; (2) it must furnish a complete transcript of the ideas conveyed by the original; and (3) it must contain "no supernumerary ideas, nor convey a single
by another rejoinder from Lee in 1826.1

With the issue now brought before the public, it was finally determined that the entire New Testament should be revised and all objectionable terms expunged.2 This was accomplished in 1828. In compliance with the request of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Henderson furnished a statement respecting the result

shade of meaning more than is suggested by the original." Second, with respect to the manner in which the original is expressed: (1) every translation intended for general use should be "close and accurate," i.e. "a faithful and exact representation, not merely of the sense of the sacred writer, but also of his words, phrases, and conformation of sentences, as far as can be attained without doing violence to the natural genius or idiomatic properties of the language into which the version is made"; (2) chaste and unadorned simplicity; (3) perspicuity; (4) uniformity; (5) precision; and (6) dignity and purity of language, including "Sacred Taste," or "the judgment of a mind rightly trained to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and so disciplined by their sanctifying influence, as to be peculiarly qualified to decide on the subject matter of their contents, and the manner in which it should be treated in placing it before mankind." E. Henderson, The Turkish New Testament Incapable of Defence, pp. 19-39.

1Some Additional Remarks on Dr. Henderson's Appeal to the Bible Society, in Reply to a Pamphlet Entitled "The Turkish New Testament Incapable of Defence, &c. by the Author of the Appeal." To which is Added, an Appendix Noticing the Statements of Certain Reviewers on the Same Subject. Besides the reviews in the contemporary periodicals pertaining to the Controversy, vide Alexander Carson, The Incompetency of the Rev. Professor Lee, of Cambridge, for Translating, or Correcting Translations, of the Holy Scriptures, Proved and Illustrated, in a Criticism on His "Remarks on Dr. Henderson's Appeal to the Bible Society," and Answer to the Letter of the Rev. Professor Lee, in Reply to the Proof and Illustration of His Incompetency for Translating, or Correcting Translations of the Holy Scriptures by the same author.

2A "respectable Turkish scholar, who had previously taken no part in the controversy," wrote to the editors of the Congregational Magazine: "Dr. H. may now consider himself as completely exonerated from the task of prosecuting a dispute, in which he has most assuredly gained . . . a decisive victory." The Congregational Magazine, II New Series (1826), 474.
of his examination of the sheets of the Turkish Bible, which had been forwarded to him for that purpose:

1. The passages to which I objected, as rendered in a manner calculated to teach doctrines opposed to the general tenor of Scripture on some important and fundamental points of Christian belief, have been altered so as to bring them into accordance with the same passages in other generally received versions.

2. Those renderings which gave a Mohammedan colouring to the version, have been exchanged for such as express the meaning of the original in a way that excludes all extraneous or accessory ideas.

3. The high-sounding and bombastic epithets given by Ali Bey to the Deity, and such combinations as "His Majesty Jesus," "Lady Mary," "Lord Abraham," &c., have all been expunged; and the general style of the version has been reduced to those forms of sober simplicity by which the diction of Sacred Scripture is so strikingly characterised [sic].

4. As far as I have been able to give attention to the work, as a whole, I am happy in being able to state, that I consider its distribution entitled to the cordial and unqualified support of all who are desirous "that the Word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified."

... thus ... every ground of objection from this quarter against the operations of the Society, is now entirely removed.1

Although the suppression of the Turkish Testament was the "first object" of Henderson's protests against the British and Foreign Bible Society, a second, and "more important object," was to excite public attention to the subject of Biblical translations in general, the importance of their being conducted on "properly matured principles," and the necessity of submitting new versions to a "severe and thorough scrutiny."2 As early as September, 1822, he had written to Frederick

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1 The Twenty-Fourth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1826, Appendix, p. 161. In 1827 Henderson was placed on the Oriental Translation Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society, and "occasionally" gave his advice on matters pertaining to Turkish scholarship. Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 336.

Munter:

I sincerely hope that the protestations we have made will ultimately prove beneficial to the interests of the Society by leading to the adoption of measures which will preserve uncontaminated the channels which are destined to be the vehicles of Divine Truth to the nations.\(^1\)

The measures for adoption were specified in his Appeal:

Considering the supreme importance of presenting the Scriptures to mankind in as pure a form as possible, it is apt to excite surprise that, among other divisions of labour, in the allotment of which so much practical wisdom has been evinced by those who conduct the affairs of the British and Foreign Bible Society, there should not exist a Special Committee of Translations, consisting of men, who, from their acknowledged attainments in general and biblical literature, would be competent to decide on all subjects connected with new versions, or the adoption of old ones for circulation by the Society.\(^2\)

It was implied in his second treatise on the subject that whether or not such protective measures were eventually adopted by the Bible Society was the real significance of the Controversy:

... the effects of this controversy in its influence on new versions, or the revision of old ones, will, I am persuaded, continue to operate, either in guarding the sacred diction of Scripture from desecration, or in surrendering it to the plastic hand of fancy and error, to the obscurcation of Divine truth, and the beguilement of the precious and immortal souls of men.\(^3\)

The suggestion was repeated by a reviewer for the Congregational Magazine in 1827, who, after having noted the inadequacies of certain versions sanctioned by the British and Foreign Bible Society, added:

We trust that the Committee will now have a standing body to watch the translations which are issued either by themselves or

\(^1\) Henderson's letter to Frederick Munter in the archives of Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Copenhagen, September 20, 1822.


with their aid; and that in regard to old translations, they will ascertain the nature of alterations which may be proposed, before they agree to countenance them.¹

It is noted, accordingly, in the Report of the Bible Society for 1830:

The concerns of the Institution have become so extensive and varied in their character, that, for some time past, the want has been felt of an individual, whose special duty it should be, to exercise a superintendence over the versions and editions prepared and printed with the aid of the Society, and whose literary talents and attainments in languages would qualify him to act the part of an editor himself, in some versions, and, by conference with others who might be employed by the Society as editors and correctors of the press, or examiners of versions submitted to them, to be a guarantee to the Committee for the general fidelity of the version, and accordance of the copies printed, with the Rules of the Society.²

William Greenfield was engaged as the first "Superintendent of the Translating and Editorial Department" of the Society in the same year.³

The Turkish New Testament question was closely related to the larger Apocryphal Controversy both as to the years during which private and public discussions took place, and as to the basic nature of the issues involved. Henderson took no part publicly in the Apocryphal Controversy,⁴ but throughout his Appeal on the Turkish Testament he implied that the Bible Society had departed from its "original and

²The Twenty-Sixth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1830, p. lxxxix.
³Ibid., Appendix, p. 104.
⁴He conceded to the printing and circulation of the Apocryphal books with the Old and New Testaments by the Continental Bible Societies as a matter of expediency, but both on "principle and conviction" he rejected the Apocryphal claims. The Congregational Magazine, II New Series (1826), 198.
noble principle, by its being made the instrument of sheltering or propagating corruptions" of the Scriptures.\(^1\) Ali Bey's version was further described as "totally unfit for circulation under the name of the pure word of God."\(^2\) The effects of this suggestion were immediately sensed by Lee: "... people are, in general, apt to be alarmed at the idea of contributing to the circulation of any thing, which is said to be not the pure word of God. ..."\(^3\)

Thus, in the Second Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha by the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1826, the Scottish Institution vindicated its resolution to discontinue remittances to the London Society on the ground of "zeal for the purity of God's word, and determined opposition to that which would systematically corrupt it."\(^4\) In later writings relating to the Apocryphal Controversy Henderson's remarks on the Turkish New Testament of 1819 were regularly cited as further evidence of the breach of trust on the part of the Committee in London,\(^5\) even though he personally believed that "nothing worth speaking of could be done in the north of Europe, and particularly in Russia, were the controversy about the Apocrypha mooted."\(^6\)

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2. Ibid., p. 62.
4. Second Statement, p. 76.
Closing Years of the Russian Bible Society (1822-1825). Henderson's and Paterson's travels in Russia, their resignation as agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society because of the Paris edition of the Turkish Testament, and their return to St. Petersburgh in February, 1822, have been traced thus far. Upon their arrival in the Russian capital Henderson resolved to return to Great Britain "as soon as the navigation opened." But in May of that year he received a letter from Alexander Galitzin which read in part:

... I call upon you to consecrate your time and labours, your talents and strength, to Bible Society work, and in a particular manner to co-operate at present with the zealous translator of the New Testament into the Hebrew tongue. ... Besides, you may always be useful to the Russian Bible Society by superintending editions of the Scriptures in the different Eastern or Asiatic languages. ... 2

It is noted, accordingly, in the Ninth Report of the Russian Bible Society: "Dr. Henderson ... at our request, has undertaken the revision of various translations into the Oriental languages; and of the New Testament into the Hebrew in particular." During Paterson's absence in 1823, he superintended "the whole" of the Society's operations.

Two other ministries were maintained by Henderson during this residence in St. Petersburgh, one among the Jews, and the other among

1Paterson, op. cit., p. 362.
2Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 274-75.
3The Nineteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1823, Appendix, p. 81. Paterson was appointed at the same time to the "entire" superintendence of the Depository, printing and binding concerns, and finances. British & Foreign Bible Society Minutes of Committee No. 13 Commencing June 21st. 1822, p. 91.
4Paterson, op. cit., pp. 376-77.
the seamen at Cronstadt. His daughter says concerning the former:

It was while living in the Pochdovaya Culitsa, that he invited two or three Jews to call on him for the purpose of conversing about the Messianic prophecies, and the future glories of the King of Zion. To find a Christian teacher so conversant, not only with their sacred books, but also with their Talmud, . . . filled them with amazement and delight. They were invited to come again at an appointed hour, and to bring any of their brethren who might feel interested in such themes. Time after time the visits were repeated, and on each occasion the number of attendants was increased, until the small ante-chamber was crowded with eager listeners, who stood there for above an hour without a symptom of weariness. Dr. Henderson translated into their language the account of that young American Jewess, on whose history has been based the tale entitled "Miriam."1 One day he read it aloud in their hearing. The touching story went to their hearts. One and another were melted to tears. The prospect of usefulness was great. Hope rose higher and higher, that some of the lost sheep of the house of Jacob might then and there be gathered into the true fold. The hope was short lived. Sudden was the change, when ere long the numerous visitors simultaneously suspended their attendance. Without an intimation of their purpose, without a reason assigned, one and all withdrew. . . . The only inference to be drawn was, that the impressions made had been deep enough to alarm "the chief ruler of the synagogue," and to call forth his decided interdict, while yet not deep enough to enable the braving of the dreaded anathema.2

Richard Knill, pastor of the Independent church, wrote with reference to the latter in 1833:

Another subject intimately connected with this congregation, and which would, probably never have taken place if it had not existed, is the endeavours which have been made to establish regular preaching on board the ships, to the sailors at Cronstadt. This was first undertaken by Dr Henderson, in 1822. . . .3

At the close of the first season Henderson described his feelings toward the work:

My Cronstadt labours go on prosperously. . . . I cannot describe . . . the pleasure I derive from this Cronstadt work. Then

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Hebrew, and Turkish, and Ethiopic—all is forgotten—and Christ and precious souls are all in all.1

In time, complaints were raised against this work on the ground that the services "discouraged the attendance of the mariners at church."2 But the representations of "the opposing party" were rejected by the Emperor.3 Accordingly, Pypin says that Henderson labored in Russia "without any sectarian tendencies," of which some wanted to accuse him subsequently, but on the contrary "in the spirit of full religious toleration" and with "genuine love of that nation" among which he was working.4

The years 1822 and 1823 have been termed by Canton as "the last golden days in the story of the Russian Bible Society."5 Indeed, there were powerful influences converging towards its overthrow. One was the opposition of the Orthodox clergy. Reyburn says concerning this:

The effect produced by the popular study of the Scriptures was remarkable. The intelligence of the readers was awakened. Their sobriety, their industry, and their value to the State all alike increased, but they began to ask questions which the priests could not answer, to hold meetings which had no connection with canonical services, and to display a startling independence of thought and judgment. A campaign of misrepresentation was therefore begun,

1Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 277-78. After his return to England Henderson was "often employed" in advocating the seaman's cause. Ibid., pp. 279-80.

2Ibid., p. 280. 3Ibid., p. 281.

4A. Pypin, "Russian Bible Society 1812-1826," Herald of Europe: Journal of History, Politics, and Literature, V (1868), 242. (А.ПЫПИН, "Российское Библейское Общество 1812-1826," Вестник Европы: журнал истории политики литературы) "...дешь вских сектаторских тенденций... в духу полной вротерпимости... искренней любовью къ той нацiи...."

5Canton, op. cit., I, 414.
and the political unrest of the times gave it success which it did not deserve.1

And again: "... the Orthodox clergy harassed the Tsar with complaints of the injury which the reading of the Bible was doing to the State Church, inasmuch as whole villages were leaving it and going over to the heretics and dissenters."2

Another influence was the hostility of the Jesuits, who attributed their expulsion from the Empire in 1820 to Galitzin. Through their agents in Russia and leading politicians at the Conferences of Laybach and Verona every effort was made to convince Alexander that the Bible Society was politically dangerous, that the reading of the Scriptures by the laity could not fail to disseminate revolutionary principles, and that a real and systematic connection existed between the Russian Bible Society and the Carbonari of Italy, the Burschenschaft of Germany, and the English radicals.3 The revolutionary movements in Spain, Piedmont, Naples, and Sicily, and the discovery of "secret societies of a fanatical type" multiplying in his own dominions added to the Emperor's fears.

Further, the reins of government were in the hands of "that enemy to all good," Count Aretcheof, who had proved the ruin of Paul, the father of Alexander.4 One of the Count's favorites was Photi, a

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1Hugh Y. Reyburn, The Story of the Russian Church, p. 221.
2Ibid., pp. 222-23.
3E. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, pp. 131-34.
4Paterson, op. cit., p. 364.
fanatical archimandrite of the Greek Church. "He was a decided enemy to the Bible Society," Paterson wrote, "and, I have no doubt, was a tool in the hands of the Jesuits, and that they, through Metternich, influenced Aretcheof." When Seraphim became the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod the stage was set for the last act in the story of the Russian Bible Society.

In April, 1824, Galitzin was forced to resign as President of the Society. Henderson wrote to Frederick Hunter concerning this on June 6th of the following year:

You would doubtless be apprized . . . of the removal of our beloved and truly noble President, His Excellency Prince Galitzin, from the highly important office which he filled . . . as Minister for Religion and Public Instruction. This change was a signal of the approaching fate of the Bible Society, the Presidency of which he was also under the necessity of resigning; and with him we also lost our . . . Secretary, Mr Popoff. The affairs of the Society were now committed to the Superintendence [sic] of Seraphim . . . by whom a Meeting of the Committee was called about this time last year. Since then we have never once been together, nor is there the most distant prospect that any more meetings will be held.

Paterson wrote in April of 1825 that "the operations of the Bible Society were entirely suspended in Russia, and little prospect of improvement appeared."
Under these circumstances, Henderson petitioned the Emperor for leave to return to Great Britain. "I might perhaps have remained a year or two longer," he wrote, "but it must have been, as the last year has been, in absolute idleness." The request was "immediately granted," and in May, 1825, he and his family embarked for England.

A statistical summary of the fourteen years history of the Russian Bible Society is given as follows:

In 1826, the Russian Bible Society had, with its 289 Auxiliaries, Branches and Associations, undertaken the printing of the Scriptures in thirty different languages, in sixteen of which the Scriptures had never been before translated, of which 876,106 copies of entire Bibles and Testaments, or of separate Books thereof, have left the press. Of these, 209,068 were whole Bibles; 400,266 were New Testaments; and 267,772 separate parts of the Bible. An edition of 10,000 copies of the first eight books of the Old Testament, in Modern Russian, 145,602 copies of the Psalms, 262,772 copies of the entire Testament, and 61,203 copies of parts of the New Testament, in the same language, have been printed: thus have the inhabitants of the vast empire of Russia received for the first time, a translation of the Scriptures in their native tongue.

Canton adds:

The splendid organisation which had begun to bring within the pale of one vast brotherhood the Samoyede on the icy shores of the


1Henderson's letter to Frederick Hunter, op. cit. Paterson remained in Russia until the spring of 1827. Paterson, op. cit., p. 412.

2Ibid., pp. 394-95.

3The Society had also purchased copies of the Scriptures in fourteen other languages. Statement of the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public; by the Edinburgh Committee of Correspondence with the British and Foreign Bible Society, p. 93.

4Ibid. Of the total number of copies of Scripture printed, 600,000 had actually been put into circulation.
Arctic seas, the trader of Okhotsk, the Mongolian tribes under the shadow of the Great Wall, the sturgeon-fishers of Baikal, the horsemen of the Scythian steppes, the bark-eaters of Karelia, and the cavern-dwellers of Inkerman, was arrested and dismantled in the heyday of its activity.¹

Thus, Pypin concludes his work on the history of the Institution:

So ended the existence of the Russian Bible Society.

Its history in itself leaves a dual impression, which of course reflects its actual character, which was similarly dual. Being to a great extent the realization of the personal ideas of the Emperor Alexander, it represented at the same time the endeavors of a considerable body of society. Today, when the material we have had for its history is still too scanty, it is difficult to decide definitely among whom and in what measure its virtues and shortcomings should be distributed—but the reader has no doubt noted the nature of the European influences emanating from the British Society, the character of their adaptation to Russian soil, and lastly the nature of the ultra-conservative opposition which destroyed the Russian Society.

In the fate of the Russian Society, in its swift spread and then its fall, so many of the various characteristics of Russian social life are manifested that its history is an exceedingly characteristic expression of its time. Notwithstanding all its unattractive failings and many shameful and pitiful memories,² the Society had its sympathetic and progressive sides when it raised the socio-religious question. Its closure, putting an end to its harmful influences, entailed its own, in the main far worse, harm: it did not destroy obscurantism, but merely produced it in a new form, and, coinciding with other events of that period, dealt a blow against social initiative itself and more than formerly increased the lazy indifferentism of Russian social life.³

¹Canton, op. cit., 419.
²Viz., mystical and divisive elements which the Society fostered.
APPITION TO MISSIONARY SEMINARY. After the decease of David Bogue, one of the founders of the London Missionary Society and tutor of the Missionary Seminary at Gosport, Ebenezer Henderson undertook, temporarily, the superintendence of that Institution (February, 1826). In the spring of the same year plans were made for the removal of the Seminary to the vicinity of the metropolis, at which time Henderson was asked to become the permanent "Theological and Resident Tutor."

His reply of April 19, 1826, is given in part:

Surely . . . the Directors are not aware that the course of study which I enjoyed before leaving Scotland was extremely limited; and that during the twenty years I have spent in foreign parts, my time has been so completely occupied with business of an altogether desultory kind, as to preclude the possibility of my giving any attention to the study of systematic theology.

If I were situated anywhere in the vicinity of the Seminary, and it were required that I should assist the students in acquiring a critical acquaintance with the original Scriptures, and the principles of Biblical interpretation, I might not feel such reluctance

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2 Ibid. What was formerly Hoxton Academy became Highbury College upon the completion of a new building; the Hoxton Academy House was secured by the London Missionary Society for the new Seminary. Ibid.
to offer my services to the Society; but the objects embraced by
the Resolution are incomparably more difficult and comprehensive.1

However, after conferring with a deputation on the subject, he accepted
the position,2 and in October, 1826, the new Missionary Seminary at
Hoxton was opened "for the reception of twenty students."3

**Classroom Instruction.** The scope of the classroom instruction
given in the "Theological Department" during these years is summarized
in the "Report of the Engagements and Exercises prosecuted at the Mis-

**ion College, Hoxton, and of the Annual Examination held at the College,
April 21, 1829":**

- **Hebrew**, Senior Class, Psalms i.–xl. Isaiah i.–xiv.; Junior
  Class, Grammar, and Gen. i. and ii. Chaldee, Grammar, Mars iv.
  L. reading for practical criticism, the Gospels synoptically,
  from the commencement of Christ's last sufferings, to Acts vii.
  Lectures on Mental Philosophy, Biblical Antiquities, Biblical
  Criticism and Interpretation, Divinity, and Missions. A weekly
  Exposition, Sermon, and Essays;—and Examinations in Ancient and
  Ecclesiastical History.4

His most popular lectures were on "missions," the outline of
which is preserved by his daughter:

They start with a view of the entire mission-field; the various
systems of false religions; the localities in which they prevail;
the number and moral character of their adherents. They then
treat minutely of the missionary's requisite qualifications. His

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1Thulia S. Henderson, *Memoir of the Rev. H. Henderson*, D. D.,
Ph. D., p. 308.

2Ibid., pp. 308–9.

3The *Evangelical Magazine*, and Missionary Chronicle, IV New
Series (1826), 493. Henderson was listed as one of the Directors of
the London Missionary Society from 1826 until 1853.

knowledge—of the world; of human nature; of history; of languages; of the sciences and useful arts; and of theology. His faith. His prayerfulness. His self-consecration. His zeal. His diligence. Then his prudence, which is viewed under divers aspects, as it involves personal, relative, pecuniary, and sanatory welfare. His self-denial. His fortitude, evincing itself in greatness of soul, equanimity, patience, meekness, and constancy. His humility. His good temper. And finally, his Christian catholicity.  

With reference to missionaries deemed qualified for the work of Bible translation, Henderson observed:

It must be obvious... that for such to do justice to the undertaking, they must devote to it the whole of their time and attention, and, in fact, merge the character of Missionaries in that of Translators. Whether, in this point of view, it would not be advisable for Missionary Societies to train up a number of Missionaries with a special reference to this object, and send them forth amply supplied with those literary aids which are required for its suitable attainment,—or whether some such plan should be adopted by Bible Societies,—I will not take upon me to determine; but so much is certain, that the subject has not yet been sufficiently taken into consideration.

He added in his volume on Russia:

\[1\text{Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 318.}\]


\[3\text{Ibid., pp. 312-13. This principle is applied today by the Wycliffe Bible Translators, whose home offices are in the United States.}\]
It must, however, be at all times kept prominently in view, that the first rate literary attainments in a Missionary, will never compensate for the want of genuine piety, and devotedness to the cause of the Redeemer. Upon this point the Directors of Missionary Societies can never be too scrupulously cautious. Instead of contenting themselves with an unimpeachable moral life, they ought to have, as far as men can judge, the most unequivocal evidence of vital Christianity.1

The missionary's objective was defined in another portion of the outline:

It is not to learn languages, translate books, or introduce the arts and sciences of civilized life, that you go to the heathen. Whatever of this description may engage your attention is merely subordinate and accessory. You go to instruct, to win, to save souls. To this everything must bend; to this everything must be laid under contribution.2

To ensure the success of this objective it was concluded:

... no missionary can succeed in his enterprise, whose heart is not touched with fire from the altar of God, causing it to send upwards the holy flame of devotion, and communicating to every faculty of the mind, to the words of the lip, and to the actions of the life, a vitality and an energy, the influence of which must be more or less felt by all within his reach... .

To all who are looking forward to this service, we would say, be men of prayer.3

An evaluation of the instruction and of the instructor is given by Robert Ferguson, LL. D., who attended both the Missionary Seminary and the University of Edinburgh:

As a Teacher... it was rather his intense application and indomitable industry than any extraordinary talent that distinguished him....

His Lectures were the result of extensive reading and careful investigation. They had not the fire and the fervour of Chalmers; they partook not of the subtle analysis and severe logic of Wardlaw;

1E. Henderson, Ruasia, pp. 452-53.
2Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 319. 3Ibid., p. 320.
nor can it be said that they had the thread and the texture of the erudite and accomplished Dr. Dick. On the other hand, they were as far removed from the looseness and the turgidity of Dwight, as from the narrowness and the rigidness of some of our older divines. He excelled in weighing evidence, and impressing upon it its relative value. . . . He was wholly free from theory and speculation . . . . He searched for data, and not for opinions. . . . His theology was rather scriptural than scholastic; and his prelections were rather practical than brilliant. If on leaving the class-room we had nothing of the impulse and the impetus which I remember to have felt in common with all his students coming like an inspiration into the soul under the burning eloquence of Chalmers . . . there was yet the deep and calm conviction that we had been listening to a man who held the truth of God to be the sublimest of all realities, and who spoke because he believed. . . . My dear friend laboured much more to lay deep the foundation of the superstructure which he was then rearing than to produce anything like excitement within the breast of his disciples. His teaching was . . . rather exhaustive than suggestive. Instead of simply supplying the germs of thought and truth, he gave everything in its development and fulness, and left little, if anything, to be added. . . .

In the Oriental languages and in Biblical criticism Dr. Henderson was at home. As a philologist, he had few equals in this country. He composed a Hebrew Grammar of his own, and allowed the students to copy it piecemeal from his own manuscript . . . . In his criticism . . . no attempt was ever made to support some favourite dogma in opposition to the received canons of Biblical interpretation.  

The names of Aaron Buzacott in the South Pacific, Samuel Dyer in China, and William Buyers in India are the more prominent among the men who went forth from Henderson's classroom at the Missionary Seminary.  

Written Ministry. During the years Henderson was at Buxton he preached in "forty places of worship," and had "many ordination-services," but only two of his sermons were published.  

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1Ibid., pp. 323-25.


3Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 333.
Christianity," was based upon 2 Timothy 1:7; the other, "Directions to the Awakened Sinner," was taken from the text of Micah 6:6-8.

His Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia; Including a Tour in the Crimea, and the Passage of the Caucasus; with Observations on the State of the Rabbinical and Karaite Jews, and the Mohammedan and Pagan Tribes, Inhabiting the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire was published in 1826. Special attention is given in the work to "the Finnish, Karelian, Slavonic, Russian, Tatar,Persic, and Georgian versions of the Scriptures." An American reviewer described the book in 1834 as "containing the best information on Slavic matters ever written in the English language." As a travel document kitto found the volume "a useful vade mecum to those who fall in with any of his routes," while it is referred to in Neuestes Conversationslexikon für alle Stände as "ein ausgezeichneter Beitrag zur Geographie dieses Landes." Henderson's description of the Karaite Jews at Lutsk and at Djufut-Kale, his account of the Dubno scribe and of the Jews in Poland, and his views as to the manner of dealing with Jewish inquirers and converts,

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1The Pulpit, No. 129, October 6, 1825, pp. 177-81.
2The British Preacher, under the Sanction of the Ministers whose Discourses Appear in its Pages, II (1831), 163-74.
3E. Henderson, Russia, p. vi.
4The Biblical Repository, IV (1834), 358.
7E. Henderson, Russia, pp. 306-31.
8Ibid., pp. 206-32.
as well as the essential qualifications for missionaries to the Jews, reveal a distinctive emphasis, viz. that of Jewish mission work.

Moses Stuart's Elements of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation. Translated from the Latin of Ernesti, Keil, Beck, and Morus; and Accompanied with Notes was "Republished, with Additional Observations" by Henderson in 1827. After having cited various works to show that "our American brethren have made greater progress in the course of the last six years, than the history of Sacred Philology in England is able to exhibit for half a century," Henderson then states the main reason he was induced to republish the volume:

... because ... the subjects of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation have not engaged that degree of close and attentive study to which ... they are entitled. There still exists ... a disposition to acquiesce in certain received modes of interpretation, which have been handed down from age to age, without question or examination; and the instances are far from being uncommon, in which fanciful and ridiculous attempts are made to make the word of God more spiritual and edifying than it was ever intended to be ... . There is also gone abroad a spirit, which, treating with disdain the ordinary rules of the exegetical art, and indulging in favourite notions, hastily adopted, and audaciously stamped with the impress of Divine authority, tends to unsettle the minds of the simple, and lead them to place their faith in authoritative and dogmatical assertions, instead of confiding in the unerring record of God, soberly and consistently explained, according to approved principles of sacred philology.

Of the Six Parts of the treatise, the Second pertains to the moral and literary qualifications of an interpreter of Scripture, the Fifth to the rules of interpretation, and the Sixth Part and the Appendix to

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1Ibid., pp. 238-45.

2Moses Stuart, Elements of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, pp. vi-viii.
translating the Scriptures.1

The ensuing year Stuart's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews in two volumes was published under Henderson's care,2 of which it is noted in the Preface to the English edition:

The ordeal to which this important portion of Scripture has been subjected by the wild and extravagant hypotheses of some of the master-spirits of German theology, rendered it a matter of imperative necessity, that some champion, completely accoutred and disciplined to the battle, should step forward, and take up the gauntlet which they have so fearlessly and vauntingly thrown down. . . . such a champion has here entered the field and won the day. Questions respecting style, authorship, and interpretation, which men of such celebrity as Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, and others, were considered to have completely set at rest, have been submitted to a fresh and rigid investigation; and in most instances triumphantly, in all more or less satisfactorily, the very reverse of their conclusions have been shown to be in accordance with the real facts of the case.3

In 1829 Henderson added a "recommendatory preface" to Maddocks' Cottage Similies, or, Poems on Domestic Occurrences, Designed for those in Humble Life.

Meanwhile, Henderson contributed articles to and made reviews for the Congregational Magazine during these same years.4 The following articles under the title of "Miscellanea Biblica" give every in-

1An Examination of the Principles of Biblical Interpretation of Ernesti, Ammon, Stuart, and other Philologists by Alexander Carson, Henderson's most outspoken literary opponent, appeared in 1836.  
2The second volume, although bearing the date 1828, did not appear before the public until 1831, "owing to the failure of the Publishers." The Congregational Magazine, VII New Series (1831), 183. The work was republished by Henderson in one volume in 1833.

4Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 337. He was also listed as a "Member of the Trustees and Stated Contributors of the Evangelical Magazine" as early as 1826.

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1 The Congregational Magazine, II New Series (1826), 522-23.
2 Ibid., 574.
3 Ibid., 574-76.
4 Ibid., 643-44.
6 Ibid., 176-79.
7 Ibid., 247-50.
9 Ibid., 74-77.
10 Ibid., 183-84.
12 Ibid., 310-12.
14 The Congregational Magazine, VI New Series (1830), 79-86.
15 Ibid., 237-42.
16 Ibid., 526-31.
17 The Congregational Magazine, VII New Series (1831), 76-84.
Two of the reviews are of particular significance. The first, of Gibbs' edition of Gesenius' Hebrew and English Lexicon to the Old Testament; including the Biblical Chaldee, was prefaced by "a brief sketch of the different schools of Hebrew philology," viz. the Rabbinical, the Forsterian, the Avenarian, the Hieroglyphic (or Cabbalistic), the Hutchinsonian, the Cocceian, the Schultensian, and that of Halle.

The distinctive principles of the school at Halle were treated in greater detail:

The grand object of this school is to combine all the different methods by which it is possible to arrive at a correct and indubitable knowledge of the Hebrew language, as contained in the Scriptures of the Old Testament:—alloting to each of the subsidiary means, its relative value and authority, and proceeding, in the application of the whole, according to sober and well-matured principles of interpretation.

The first of these means, is the study of the language itself, as contained in the books of the Old Testament. This must ever form the grand basis of Scripture interpretation. When, however, the signification of a word cannot be determined by the simple study of the original Hebrew, recourse must then be had to the ancient versions, the authors of most of which, living near the time when the language was spoken in its purity, and being necessarily familiar with oriental scenes and customs, must be regarded as having furnished us with the most important and valuable of all the subsidiary means, by which to ascertain the sense in cases of .. words or phrases of rare occurrence, or connexions which throw no light on the meaning.

The Rabbinical Lexicons and Commentaries furnish the next source of Hebrew interpretation.

The last means consists in a proper use of the cognate dialects. These are the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan, Phoenician, and the Talmudical Hebrew.


2The survey was originally intended as a part of his work on "The Institutes of Biblical Translation." Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 337. Cf. ante, p. 177, n. 2.
These languages, when judiciously applied to the illustration of the Hebrew Scriptures are useful in many ways. They confirm the precise signification of words, both radicals and derivatives, already ascertained and adopted from other sources. They discover many roots or primitives, the derivatives only of which occur in the Hebrew Bible. They are of eminent service in helping to a knowledge of such words as occur but once, or at least, but seldom in the sacred writings, and they throw much light on the meaning of phrases, or idiomatical combinations of words—such combinations being natural to them all as branches of the same stock, or, to some of them in common, in consequence of certain more remote affinities.

... Dr. Gesenius ... has, by the improvements which he has introduced into Hebrew philology, brought about a new era in this department—an era in which, it is probable, a more radical and extensive knowledge of the language will be attained than has been possessed since it ceased to be vernacular.1

The second review, Henderson's critique of Greenfield's Defence of the Serampore Mahattta Version of the New Testament: in Reply to the Animadversions of an Anonymous Writer in the Asiatic Journal for September, 1829,2 not only re-emphasized the essential prerequisites for Biblical translation and revision, but foreshadowed his part in the Baptism Controversy ten years later.3

Removal to Highbury College. Late in 1829 Henderson undertook, in addition to his classes at the Missionary Seminary, the theological lectureship at Highbury College.4 This was occasioned by the illness of the regular tutor, William Harris. Upon Harris' death Henderson accepted the invitation of the Committee of Highbury College to become

1The Congregational Magazine, IV New Series (1828), 32-34.
2Ibid., VI New Series (1830), 137-47.
3cf. ante, p. 177, n. 2. Infra, pp. 198-200.
4Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 347. Cf. ante, p. 175, n. 2.
the new Theological Tutor. Thus, the Highbury College Report for 1830 says:

... the anticipated relinquishment by the London Missionary Society of their Seminary at Hoxton, left the Rev. Dr. Henderson, Theological Tutor of that Institution, at liberty to accept the same office at Highbury.1

The reasons for the discontinuance of the Missionary Seminary "as a distinct establishment" were given in the Report of the London Missionary Society for the same year:

... chiefly, the disproportionate expense, in reference to the number of missionaries in the Institution, and the increasing facilities afforded for the education of missionary candidates, at colleges and seminaries, both in the metropolis and in various parts of the country.2

II. TUTORSHIP AT HIGHBURY 1830-1850

Classroom Instruction. Henderson outlined his tutorial work at Highbury College in a letter to P. E. Müller, Professor of Theology at the University of Copenhagen and successor to Frederick Munter as Bishop of Zealand: "My departments are Biblical Antiquities; Biblical Criticism, Dogmatical and Pastoral Theology, and Church History. I teach besides the Oriental languages..."3 To Moses Stuart in the


2The Report of the Directors to the Thirty-Sixth General Meeting of the Missionary Society, Usually Called the London Missionary Society, 1830, p. 95. It is noted further in the Congregational Magazine with respect to Henderson's acceptance of the Highbury office: "This event having deprived the Mission College, Hoxton, of its Theological and Resident Tutor, the Directors of the London Missionary Society have been led... to deliberate on the expediency of keeping up, at a great expense, a distinct Academical Establishment, seeing they are only able to send forth a limited number of new missionaries from year to year." Vol. VI New Series (1830), 222-23.

3Henderson's letter to Peter Erasmus Müller in the archives of Det kongelige Bibliothek, Copenhagen, June 14, 1831.
United States he wrote further:

... I have succeeded in getting Hebrew begun at the commencement of the second year; during which I find that I can take the students through the Grammar and Genesis at least; the third year we can master the more important of the other Mosaic books and the Psalms; and this leaves us time in the fourth year to go through Job, Isaiah, or the minor Prophets.1

He added in his letter to Müller:

... in the course of the present session, my senior class have read the whole book of Job & 55 chapters of Isaiah in Hebrew; all the Chaldee in the Bible; two chapters of the Targum of Jonathan and 7 chapters of Matthew in Syriac.2

The theological examination of July, 1839, was presided over by William Lindsay Alexander, who reported as follows:

The Hebrew classes were examined on the History of Joseph, and on the 6th, 9th, and 15th chapters of Isaiah. The acquaintance which they displayed with the meaning of the words, and with the grammatical structure of the language was such as to evince the very thorough and penetrating manner in which they had been taught "the sacred tongue." In Divinity they were examined at considerable length upon the Evidences of Christianity, and upon the arguments in proof of the Existence, Unity, and Trinity of the Godhead; their answers showed that they had been occupied in the careful study of these subjects for themselves, and had made themselves familiar with the most important arguments and objections on both sides of the questions connected with them. The examination, upon the whole, was such as to elicit the warmest expressions of satisfaction with the attainments of the students from those by whom it was witnessed, and to confirm the friends of the Institution in their high estimate of the learning, fidelity, and zeal of those by whom the tuition of the students has been conducted.3

J. M. Charlton, who attended Highbury College between the years 1836 and 1842 and later became tutor of the Western College, Plymouth, has given his evaluation of Henderson's tutorial labors:

1The Biblical Repository, I (1831), 777.
2Henderson's letter to Peter Erasmus Müller, op. cit.
3The Congregational Magazine, III New Series (1839), 530.
In Doctrinal Theology, Dr. Henderson presented to the class, in writing, a full and lucid outline of the whole science, systematically arranged under its leading heads, and pursued in detail through descending gradations of divisions and subdivisions down to its minutest principles. . . . It was a monument . . . of the extensive reading of its author. . . .

It was in the exegesis of the Old Testament that Dr. Henderson particularly delighted, and, it may be added, excelled. . . .

Kindred with the Doctor's own exegetical efforts was an exercise which he imposed on the students themselves. . . . This consisted of short expositions given by the students of the pastoral epistles. . . . His object in prescribing such an exercise seems to have been to familiarise his pupils with the practice of exposition, which he justly regarded as entitled to a frequent place in pulpit ministrations. . . .

In the department of Homiletics . . . his great aim was to prepare us for a description of preaching, which may be defined as intensely evangelical, at the same time to render our sermons practically effective as well as doctrinally sound; and to keep them down to the level of ordinary apprehension without forfeiting a claim to the attention of cultivated minds.1

The most prominent of Henderson's students at Highbury seems to have been James Legge. Legge became President of the Anglo-Chinese Theological Seminary at Hong Kong in 1843 and Professor of Chinese at Oxford in 1876.2

Written Ministry. The Great Mystery of Godliness Incontrovertible.

1Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 363-65. Henderson's daughter adds: "There was hardly any rule in homiletics, on which my father was more apt to insist than the avoidance of half-texts, isolated phrases, or mere Scripture-mottoes taken apart from their connection." Ibid., p. 376.

ible; or, Sir Isaac Newton and the Socinians Foiled in the Attempt to Prove a Corruption in the Text, 1 Tim. iii. 16. Θεὸς ἐπαινεῖτο ἐν ἀγαλμάτι. Containing a Review of the Charges Brought against the Passage; An Examination of the Various Readings; and a Confirmation of that in the Received Text on Principles of General and Biblical Criticism was published in 1830. After making preliminary remarks to clear Newton's name from the charge of participation in the doctrinal views of the party which constituted him their champion, Henderson wrote:

While the great body of critics and general readers have followed the reading of the Textus Receptus, according to which the pre-existence and divinity of the Son of God are distinctly taught, there have been, and still are, those who have called in question the genuineness of that reading, and either follow the Latin Vulgate, which refers all the predicates to the antecedent word sacramentum, or "mystery," or render the passage, "He who was manifested in the flesh was justified," &c. The body of the work is devoted to the examination of the various readings ὅ, which, ὅς, who, and Θεὸς, God, in the light of manuscript authority, the ancient versions, the early Fathers, and printed editions.

The rendering ὅ is shown to be supported by no positive and indisputable manuscript; by the unquestioned verdict of only the Latin versions; by none but the Latin fathers; and by only two printed editions. The rendering ὅς is shown to rest on the allowable evidence of only three manuscripts; on none of the ancient versions unequivocally.

1The treatise was occasioned by the re-publication of Isaac Newton's Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture, by which an attempt was made to prove a corruption in the text of 1 Timothy 3:16. E. Henderson, The Great Mystery of Godliness Incontrovertible, p. iv. Vide also, The Biblical Repository, 1 (1851), 777.

2E. Henderson, The Great Mystery of Godliness Incontrovertible, pp. 5-6.

3Ibid., pp. 25-36.
cally; on none of the Greek fathers "as a direct and positive quotation" of the Apostolic text; and, essentially, on Griesbach's edition alone. The third reading, μηδέν, is shown to be borne out by "upwards of one hundred and seventy" manuscripts; by four versions, including the Philoxenian Syriac and the Arabic of the Polyglott; by the explicit phraseology of the Greek fathers; and by a large number of approved versions, including the Complutensian Polyglott.

In the last chapter of the treatise the internal evidence, likewise, is shown to support the reading of the Textus Receptus, after which the final conclusion is drawn:

While, therefore, the enemies of our Lord's Divinity attempt to give eclat to their opinions, by mixing up with the publication of them the name of a great philosopher, it cannot but prove satisfactory to those who have cordially embraced that doctrine, to find that the passage which has been the subject of investigation, so far from suffering any detriment from the most rigid critical scrutiny to which it may be brought, only gains in point of stability and authority, and continues to demand an unhesitating reception of the great mystery which it proclaims: GOD WAS MANIFESTED IN THE FLESH.

Part III of the Appendix contains a "List of Works in which the Subject of the preceding Investigation is discussed." The study was acclaimed by Archbishop Howley of Canterbury as "a valuable specimen of critical ability, successfully exerted in the investigation and discovery of truth."

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1 Ibid., pp. 37-43.  
2 Ibid., pp. 44-72.  
3 Ibid., p. 86.

4 The work was reprinted in the Biblical Repository, II (1832), pp. 2-56, with the "local and controversial" paragraphs omitted, and with Part III of the Appendix only.

5 The Biblical Repository, I (1831), 777, and S. Austin Allibone, A Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Middle
A new and enlarged edition of Charles Buck's *Theological Dictionary*, Containing Definitions of All Religious and Ecclesiastical Terms; a Comprehensive View of Every Article in the System of Divinity; an Impartial Account of All the Principal Denominations which have Subsisted in the Religious World from the Birth of Christ to the Present Day; Together with an Accurate Statement of the Most Remarkable Transactions and Events Recorded in Ecclesiastical History, and a Biographical Sketch of Such Writers as Have Exerted a Decided Influence in the Field of Theological Science was brought out by Henderson in 1833.\(^1\)

It was noted in the preface:

... the present Editor has considerably altered several of the original articles, especially such as related to foreign divinity; the circumstances connected with the different religious establishments in Christendom; the history, views, and usages of the different parties that have seceded from these establishments; the literature of theology; and other subjects of a kindred nature. Several that appeared to be of minor importance he has omitted, in order to make room for the insertion of others, of higher and more general interest. The number of additional articles in the present edition amounts to nearly FIVE HUNDRED.

One totally new feature of the Work, as it now appears, is its Biographical department. ... See the articles, AUGUSTINE, BARCLAY, CALVIN, EDWARDS, KNOX, SANDEMAN, WESLEY, WHITFIELD \(\text{sic}\), &c.\(^2\)

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\(^1\)Other of Henderson's editions of the dictionary appeared in 1841, 1848, and 1851.

The same year Stuart's New Translation of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, with a Commentary, and an Appendix of Various Dissertations was republished with prefaces and an index under the care of Henderson and John Pye Smith. "That I should agree," wrote Henderson in his preface, "with my respected friend in every statement he has made, or in every construction which he has put on the words of the apostle, no one will expect." But on Stuart's interpretation of Romans 7, in which the Pelagian view was set forth, Henderson wrote in June, 1853: "Your view of chap. vii meets with my approbation. I deem it most important. The other view seems greatly calculated to keep up and foster a low state of Christianity." This extract, which was printed in Stuart's Third Edition of the Commentary, was cited in R. M. Beverley's Letters on the Present State of the Visible Church of Christ in 1836 as an evidence of "the danger apparently threatening the creed of the Reformation" in dissenting academies.

Under these circumstances Henderson addressed the editor of the Congregational Magazine in December, 1836, and explained his view of Romans 7:14-25:

... I am free to confess, I had occasionally entertained doubts whether what has commonly been called the calvinistic view of it were correct; and these doubts were not only confirmed, but temporarily exchanged, for a contrary belief, by what appeared to be a

1Moses Stuart, A New Translation of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, p. xvii.


3R. M. Beverley, Letters on the Present State of the Visible Church of Christ, pp. 75-76.
forcible presentation of the argument founded on the close connection [sic] between the conclusion of the seventh and the commencement of the eighth chapter. It did seem to me, that a direct antithesis had been made out between the states of personal experience which these passages describe. Under the influence of this persuasion I wrote to Professor Stuart. . . . Since that time I have had opportunities of re-examining the whole subject; and it is not a little remarkable, that only a fortnight before Mr. Beverley’s book appeared, I happened to preach from the 24th and 25th verses, which I treated as exclusively descriptive of the experience of true believers, and that not merely at the commencement of their christian [sic] course, but onward till they reach its termination.1

The arguments in favor of the exegesis of Augustine, emphasizing the Apostle’s own experience as a Christian, were then given, viz. the use of the personal pronouns I, my, and me throughout the passage and the emphatic compound ἐγώ ἐμφατικά, I myself, in verse 25; the change of person and tense in verses 14–25 from the preceding verses of the chapter; the ardor of feeling in the entire description; such expressions as "the inward man," "the law of my mind," and "I delight in the law of God" being applicable only to the regenerate; the inference ἐὰν νῦν in Romans 8:1 relating, not to the internal conflict of chapter 7, but to the ideas of justification and sanctification established in the preceding part of the epistle; and lastly:

What ought to settle the point, beyond all dispute, is the employment of the identical terms (in part) by the same apostle in his epistle to the Galatians (ch. v. 17,) where, it is obvious, the experience of the regenerate is the subject of discourse. "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other; SO THAT YE CANNOT DO THE THINGS THAT YE WOULD. (Comp. Rom. vii. 18, 19.) It is surprising that a passage so perfectly parallel should not have occurred to Professor Stuart. . . .

I conclude these remarks by observing, that there is nothing whatever in the Augustinian construction of the passage, which gives the least encouragement to licentiousness. . . .2

1 The Congregational Magazine, I New Series (1837), 23.

2 Ibid., 24.
Another of Henderson's sermons was published in 1834 under the title of *Pastoral Vigilance*. A Charge Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Samuel Davis, at Needham Market, April 18, 1834, to which are Appended, Notes, Critical and Illustrative, on Acts xx. 26. The common reading, ὄνομα, "the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood," was defended in the notes against Griesbach's rendering, ἄξιον.¹ Aegidii Gutbrii Lexicon Syriacum: Omnes Novi Testamenti Syriaci Dictiones et Particulas Complectens was re-edited under Henderson's supervision in 1836.² A reviewer of the volume in the *Scottish Congregational Magazine* observed that the editor had "added to it where it was deficient, corrected the numerous mistakes which disfigured the copies in former circulation, and arranged their derivatives under their primitives."³ It was concluded that "a more valuable service has seldom been rendered to the theological student."⁴

His Congregational Lectures, *Divine Inspiration; or, the Supernatural Influence Exerted in the Communication of Divine Truth; and its Special Bearing on the Composition of the Sacred Scriptures*, which had been delivered at the Congregational Library in London during the spring of 1836, were published in the same year.⁵ The first of the

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²Henderson's edition of the lexicon was reprinted until 1890, "apparently from the same stereotype plates." Erskine Beveridge, *A Bibliography of Works Relating to Dunfermline and the West of Fife Including Publications of Writers Connected with the District*, p. 163.

³The *Scottish Congregational Magazine*, II (1836), 225. ⁴Ibid.

⁵Other editions of the Lectures appeared in 1847, 1852, and 1854. It was noted in 1852 that the Lectures as then published were
ten lectures was introductory; the second and third treated the modes of inspiration; the fourth dealt with the gifts of inspiration; the ninth related to the canon of inspiration, and the tenth to its cessation. Lectures V through VIII represented the heart of the subject: presumptive arguments for the inspiration of the Scriptures, positive proofs, different modes of operation, and verbal inspiration.¹

By definition "Divine Inspiration" was designated as:

An extraordinary and supernatural influence exerted by the Holy Spirit on the minds of the sacred writers, in such modes and degrees as to lead to, and secure, in documentary forms, the deposition of such historical, didactic, devotional, and prophetic truth, as Infinite Wisdom deemed requisite for the immediate and future benefit of mankind.²

The different modes (or degrees) of operation were: divine excitement to perform the task, invigoration of the natural faculties of the writers, an infallible superintendence and guidance, and direct revelation.³ Cognizant of the objections that might be raised to this aspect of the subject Henderson observed:

Were it intended, by asserting different degrees or modifications of inspiration, that there are degrees or modifications of the authority given by inspiration to the Scriptures, according as it might be proved that different portions were the result of their exertion, then undoubtedly the theory by which they were attempted to be supported must meet with unqualified reprobation from every one, who "trembles at the word of the Lord." But, if it can be

"substantially the same" as they were when delivered, and that the author had "seen no reason to retract what he originally advanced either with respect to different modes of Inspiration, or to its supposed claims to universal verbality." Preface to the Third Edition, p. x.

1A syllabus of the lectures is given in the Congregational Magazine, XII New Series (1836), 191.

2E. Henderson, Divine Inspiration, pp. 353-54.

3Ibid., pp. 364-85.
proved, that what was written under the influence of the lowest conceivable degree of inspiration possesses the Divine sanction equally with that which was written under the most elevated—being the operation of the same Holy Spirit, and intended for the spiritual good of mankind, those who maintain such a distinction cannot justly be charged with lowering the inspiration of the word of God, or, in any way, making it void.¹

The most controversial division of the Lectures was that which dealt with verbal inspiration:

It has been customary, without any preliminary or qualifying consideration, to maintain, that the doctrine of inspiration is to be received simply on the declarations of those by whom the Scriptures were written;—that they were infallible, and consequently if they have expressly affirmed, that they were the subjects of such extraordinary divine influence as the term inspiration implies, we are bound, without any further inquiry, to abide by their testimony. On this ground, the doctrine is supposed to possess all the authority of a direct divine sanction; and to press for further evidence is deemed unwarrantable, if not profane. But it must be evident to every one, who takes a more minute view of the subject, that, to say the least, this is merely to beg the question. It is taking for granted the very point to be proved.²

The claim for the doctrine of inspiration, accordingly, was based upon "the authority of the Son of God," which he described as follows:

If it can be proved, that Christ has attributed to the Scriptures of the Old Testament the qualities and claims of inspiration, then we are bound to receive them as inspired simply on the ground of his declarations to that effect; or, if he has affirmed, that such endowments should be vouchsafed to his apostles as would invest their writings with similar claims—we are equally bound to acquiesce in the decisions contained in these writings, as the infallible dictates of Jehovah.³

Henderson insisted upon "the complete inspiration of the Bible" in all its parts (plenary inspiration), but rejected the idea of "universal, immediate verbal inspiration," or the organic communication not only of the ideas, but of the words, syllables, and letters, on the

¹Ibid., pp. 363-64. ²Ibid., pp. 281-82. ³Ibid., p. 283.
ground that it was nowhere asserted in Scripture; that it was unnecessary; that it was contradicted by the existence of various readings in the original Scriptures; that it tended to reduce the authority of faithful translations by depriving them of all claim to that quality; and, that it was contradicted by the facts of the case as presented by the text of Scripture itself. 1 2 Timothy 3:16-17, the principal dictum classicum to which the supporters of verbal inspiration have appealed, he applied to the Old Testament alone. 2

S. T. Bloomfield described the book in 1837 as exhibiting "that rare admixture of great learning and extensive research, with unaffected modesty and candour, and deep spirituality;—of enlightened views, with soundness of doctrine and sobriety of thought,—which remind us of the good old times of our Theology, when 'there were giants in the land.'" 3 Allon observed at the time of Henderson's death:

His Congregational Lecture on the Inspiration of the Scriptures was largely in advance of the current thought of the period when it was written, and was the pioneer of those larger and more intelligent theories which have since obtained, and which more perhaps than any other book it determined. . . . it became a textbook on the subject of which it treated. Even where all its distinctions were not received, it defined and fixed a large amount of loose and floating notion, and guided to conclusions identical in principle. 4

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1 Ibid., pp. 389, 399-448. As examples of the last, the "two editions" of the Decalogue and the differing accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper were cited. Ibid., pp. 439-44.

2 Ibid., pp. 305-6. Henderson's views on the doctrine of inspiration were strongly censored by Alexander Carson in his Refutation of Dr Henderson's Doctrine in His Late Work on Divine Inspirations with a Critical Discussion on 2 Timothy iii. 16.


Other literary works with which Henderson had to do between the years 1836 and 1840 were: Robert Philip's *Love of the Spirit, Traced in His Work*, which was dedicated to Henderson as the one who had "suggested and enforced" the idea;¹ The *Paragraph Bible*, or the English version "arranged in paragraphs and parallelisms," which was printed for the Religious Tract Society in 1838, the editors having been "advised by T. H. Horne and E. Henderson";² a commendatory preface to *William Buyers' Letters on India: with Special Reference to the Spread of Christianity*; and the revision and abridgment of Jacob Abbott's *Corner-Stone*.³

Henderson entered the Baptism Controversy in 1840⁴ by publishing


⁴ Ten years before William Greenfield, the Editorial Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, had defended the Serampore Mahratta version of the New Testament on the grounds that the word *baptism* implied immersion to the exclusion of pouring and sprinkling, and concluded that if the Bible Society withdrew its support from the Serampore missionaries because they rendered *baptizo* to *immerze*, the same action would have been necessary with respect to the circulation of versions in Syria, Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt, Germany, Holland, Denmark, and other countries for the same reason. Henderson objected to this in his review of Greenfield's "Defence" of that version. *Supra*, p. 185. The Baptists, under the title of the "Bible Translation Society," attempted to use Greenfield's "Defence" in 1840 as ground for their claim that the words relating to the ordinance of baptism should "always" be translated by terms signifying immersion. *The Congregational Magazine*, IV New Series (1840), 364-65. Under these
his Baptism and the Bible Society. A Letter to the Rev. A. Brandram, M. A. on the Meaning of the Word βαπτίζω, and the Manner in which it Has Been Rendered in Versions Sanctioned by the Bible Society. The meaning of the Greek word βαπτίζω was discussed first:

... we have not yet fallen in with a single instance in which it can be satisfactorily proved, that it signifies a submersion of the whole body, without, at the same time, conveying the idea, that the submersion was permanent, i.e. that the body thus submerged, sunk to rise no more. ... the word is never used by any ancient author in the sense of one person performing an act of submersion upon another. ... Even βαπτίζω, from which βαπτίζω is generally allowed to be derived, does not primarily signify to dip, or immerse; but to dye, stain, tinge, wet, irrespective of the mode, which may be either by affusion or immersion.

The etymological import of the words used in the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic to render the word βαπτίζω was then traced, after circumstances Henderson published his Baptism and the Bible Society, which was, for the most part, a reprint of his review of 1830. Vide, The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XVIII New Series (1840), 267-73 for an unabridged republication of the pamphlet.

1 The Bible Translation Society of the Baptists Shown to be Un-called for and Injurious in a Series of Letters to W. B. Burney, Esq. By a Baptist appeared in the same year, confirming Henderson's remarks and advocating his position. The ensuing year F. W. Gotch published A Critical Examination of the Rendering of the Word βαπτίζω in the Ancient and Many of the Modern Versions of the New Testament, with Especial Reference to Dr. Henderson's Animadversions upon Mr. Greenfield's Statements on the Subject. A review of Gotch's treatise by Henderson, and Gotch's "Rejoinder to Dr. Henderson" both appeared in the Congregational Magazine, V New Series (1841), 356-60, 769-70. Henderson's views on baptism were re-examined by Alexander Carson in his Baptism in its Mode and Subjects in 1844 (pp. 262-79).

2 E. Henderson, Baptism and the Bible Society, pp. 8-10.

3 In Henderson's review of Gotch's work on the subject the Persic and Armenian versions were introduced as well, and the same conclusions drawn. The Congregational Magazine, V New Series (1841), 356-59.
which it was concluded that the mode of baptism was indeterminable.¹

He observed with regard to the Gothic dialects:

When the Germans would express dip or immerse, they employ tauchen, eintauchen, untertauchen, and not taufen, which is the word by which ἁπτίσσω is translated. The Danes, in like manner, use dyppe, nedyppe, &c. for dip, and not döbe. And that neither Luther, nor the authors of the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish versions had any intention of conveying the idea of immersion, as implied in ἁπτίσσω, is obvious from the preposition, which they have used in connexion [sic] with the verb. Thus we read: Ger. mit wasser taufen; Dan. döbe med vand; Swed. döpa med vatn; Dutch, doopen met water; i.e. "WITH water," and not, in wasser; in water; i vand; i vatn. . . .²

As to other versions, the following general observations were made:

The Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanese, English, &c. retain the original word. The Slavonic, Russ, Polish, Bohemian, Wallachian, and Servian versions use a word which designates the rite, but determines nothing as to the mode of its administration. In the Icelandic New Testament, skíra is employed, which signifies to cleanse, purify. The Malay . . . mandi, the Canarese and Tamil . . . anāna, and the renderings of all the other versions of the East, made by Paedobaptists . . . mean to bathe; with the exception of the Mahratta translation, executed by the American Missionaries at Bombay, in which . . . bāptisā, is retained. The terms employed in these versions are simply expressive of ablation or cleansing, and do not, as some have supposed, restrict the meaning to immersion.³

In his later article on the subject Henderson emphasized his conclusion with respect to the Bible Society: "Such of its versions as do not retain the original word, express its meaning in terms which are generic and not specific in their import. And by this the Society must abide."⁴

¹E. Henderson, Baptism and the Bible Society, pp. 10-12.
²Ibid., p. 13.
The Book of the Prophet Isaiah. Translated from the Original Hebrew; with a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical; to which is Prefixed, an Introductory Dissertation on the Life and Times of the Prophet; the Character of His Style; the Authenticity and Integrity of the Book; and the Principles of Prophetic Interpretation was also published in the year 1840. The idea of a Deutero-Isaiah Henderson rejected, as well as "the theory of a double sense of prophecy," i.e. that any one prophecy has both a literal and a spiritual meaning, an immediate and a future or Messianic fulfillment. He objected to the latter theory on the ground that it was unnecessary, unsatisfactory, and unwarranted. Isaiah 7:14-16; 9:6-7; 11:1-10; 32:1; 42:1-5; 49:1-9; 52:13-53:12; and 61:1-3 were the more prominent passages which were designated as directly and exclusively prophetic of Christ.

The closing chapters of the prophecy he referred to the future restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Thus:

That such a restoration is taught in Scripture, I had been accustomed to regard as more than questionable, how firmly sooner I believed in their future conversion to the faith of Jesus. On examining, however, the different prophecies of the Old Testament, which treat of a return of that people, I have had the conviction forced upon my mind, that while the greater number decidedly apply to the restoration which took place on the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, there are others which cannot, without violence, be thus applied; but which, being, upon any just principle of interpretation, equally incapable of application to the affairs of the Gentile church, must be referred to events yet future in Jewish his-

1 A second edition, which was "substantially the same," appeared in 1857. Henry Cole's refutation of the work, viz. A Summary View of Dr. Henderson's "Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah" was published in 1841.


3 Ibid., pp. xxix-xxx.
tery. In this class I particularly include the last six chapters of Isaiah, which immediately follow the remarkable prediction respecting the future conversion of the Jews, at the close of the fifty-ninth.

That the Jews shall cease to exist as a distinct race on their incorporation into the Christian church, the Bible nowhere teaches; nor is such an event probable in the nature of things.

Nor is there any thing in what I conceive to be the doctrine of Scripture on this subject, at all at variance with its representations respecting the spiritual nature of the kingdom of Christ. The Jews, when converted, will be required to conform, in every point, to the laws of that kingdom, precisely as the Gentiles are on their becoming subject to its Head and Lord. Not the slightest hint is given, that any forms of ecclesiastical polity, or any modes of worship will obtain among the restored Jewish converts, different from those instituted by the Apostles.

How extensively and how highly the volume was received is best stated perhaps by Henry Cole, whose voice was that of the opposition:

The volume has been making its wide, and uninterrupted, and approved way, through the Christian public. . . . It is time, therefore, . . . that a trumpet of a different sound should be heard amid the general concert of praises.

The merits of the Commentary were acknowledged beyond the pale of dissent. Thus, it is noted in the British Magazine for 1841: "... this commentary on Isaiah is the best, the most learned, and the most satisfactory illustration of the prophetic text that exists in our language." An American reviewer observed what was the distinguishing characteristic both of this and of Henderson's later writings on the Prophets:

1Ibid., pp. vi-viii.


3The British Magazine, and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information, Parochial History, and Documents Respecting the State of the Poor, Progress of Education, &c., XIX (1841), 99.
... Dr. Henderson appears to be familiar with the whole encyclopaedia of writers on Isaiah. There is no interpreter of note and sterling merit, unless it be Cocceius, and indeed no work which can be thought important in the illustration of the subject, which we do not see referred to.¹

More than any other of his works, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, "established his fame as a Hebrew scholar."²

In 1843 Henderson's lecture "On the Conversion of the Jews," which was one in a series of ten on the subject by ministers of different denominations, was published under the sanction of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews.³ By the expression "the conversion of the Jews" was meant, not a political or national regeneration either in their dispersion or in their restoration to Palestine; not a philosophical or mental emancipation; nor the adoption of the system of Christianity or its title; but rather, essentially the same thing as the conversion of the Gentiles: "the spiritual change implied in turning from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God."⁴ Jeremiah 30 and 31; Ezekiel 36:24-28; Hosea 3:4-5; 2 Corinthians 3:16; and Romans 11:14-15 was given as the Scriptural basis for his views. The lecture was concluded with a reference to the sequence of events relating to the conversion of the Jews, and the resultant missionary responsibility:

... if the Jews are not to be restored until they are converted, and if they are not to be converted except by means of the Gospel,

¹The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, XIII (1841), 199.
it is the duty of all who are in possession of this Gospel to contribute by every means in their power towards its propagation among them, that they may become acquainted with Him who is the subject of its testimony, and be saved in Him with an everlasting salvation.¹

Two other books were published by Henderson during these years, both in 1845. The first was The Vaudois: Comprising Observations Made During a Tour to the Valleys of Piedmont, in the Summer of 1844: Together with Remarks, Introductory and Interspersed, Respecting the Origin, History, and Present Condition of that Interesting People.² The object of the publication was "to excite a more general attention and sympathy in behalf of the people" of whom it treated.³ As to the subject matter of the volume it was noted in the preface:

... no notice has been taken of the Waldenses, or the followers of Peter Waldo. The reason is to be found in the fact, that they, with all the other sects which sprang up before the Reformation, have long since ceased to exist. The Vaudois have survived the storms of ages. To them the visit here described was paid; and to them exclusively, public attention is here directed.⁴

Like the Journal on Iceland, the principal interest of the narrative stems from the diverse or general nature of its content; the distinctive element of the work is the account of the politico-religious conditions of the time. In 1858 the book was termed "one of the best popular accounts" of the Vaudois that had been written.⁵

The second was The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, Translated from the Original Hebrew: with a Commentary, Critical, Philological,

¹Ibid., pp. 136-37. ²A second edition appeared in 1858.
⁴Ibid., p. viii. ⁵The Patriot, May 21, 1858, p. 331, col. 1.
and Exegetical. The work was executed on the same principles as the
Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah. Henderson maintained the "strictly
historical character" of the Book of Jonah, as well as the traditional
view of the authorship of the last portion of the Book of Zechariah.

The periodical publications that clearly indicate his author-
ship during this period are: "The Jewish Origin of the Celebrated
Popular Legend, 'The House that Jack Built,'" "Criticism on Rom. viii.
18-23," the "Sixth Chapter of Isaiah," "An Exegetical Essay on 2 Cor.
v. 1-10," and the Foreign Theological Reviews in the Congregational
Magazine.

Denominational and Other Enterprises. Henderson had been admit-
ted as a member of the Board of Congregational Ministers and of the
General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers in 1826. During the
ensuing years various services were rendered to the denomination. In
1851 he served as a member of a Provisional Committee "for soliciting
and receiving contributions" for the establishment of the London Con-

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1A second edition was published in 1858.
2H. Henderson, The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, pp. 200,
365.
For a copy of this article see the Appendix.
4 Ibid., VIII New Series (1832), 709-12.
5Ibid., I New Series (1837), 684-91.
6Ibid., IV New Series (1840), 582-89.
7The Congregational Year Book, 1849, pp. 141, 238.
gregational Library, and afterwards as a member of the Library Com-mittee. In 1832 he became a member of a Committee and of a Sub-Committee of Dissenting Ministers appointed to verify and report upon a collation of various editions of the Authorized Version of the Bible, which had been revised, allegedly, without authority. During the years 1834 and 1835 he supplied the Jewry Street Chapel. In 1836 he served on the Provisional Committee of the Colonial Missionary Society in connection with the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The Congregational Lecture was delivered by him in the same year. In 1837 Henderson was appointed a member of the Committee of The Metropolis Chapel Fund Association, a project that "owed its development in part" to his advice and aid. And, in 1842 he acted as spokesman for the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in presenting congratulatory addresses to the Queen and others upon the birth of the Prince of Wales.

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2. Ibid., IX New Series (1833), 232. Vide, Bibliography, Thomas Curtis and Thomas Turton.
5. Supra, p. 194. The lectureship was instituted in the year 1833 in connection with the Congregational Library. Ralph Wardlaw of Glasgow was the first lecturer. Ibid., IX New Series (1835), 247-48, 440.
7. Ibid., VI New Series (1842), 353-55.
The British and Foreign Bible Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Religious Tract Society continued to receive his support and service. Indeed, "an entire reconciliation" was effected with the Bible Society, and in the Report for 1836 he was designated as a "Domestic Agent."1 His service to the London Missionary Society was, for the most part, in the capacity of a Director. He did, however, superintend the Eastern Department during the illness of the Foreign Secretary in the year 1839.2 Henderson became an Honorary Secretary of the Religious Tract Society upon the death of Joseph Hughes, the first Secretary, in 1834. With the exception of his exertions in behalf of the "reorganized" Evangelical Society of Sweden,3 his contribution was primarily as an advisor. In 1842 he assisted in the formation of a new missionary agency, The British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews.

The British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (the London Jews' Society) had been established on a nonsectarian basis

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2Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 419.

3Correspondence "on the subject of the revival of the Stockholm Society" was maintained by Henderson in the years 1834 and 1835. His recommendation of "the importance of aiding the Evangelical Society at Stockholm to extend their operations" resulted in pecuniary grants and in a set of stereotype plates being sent to the Swedish Institution. Religious Tract Society Minutes of the Committee Commencing 4. March 1834, No. 20, pp. 73, 89, and Commencing 12 May. 1835, No. 21, pp. 14, 178, 371.
in 1809.\(^1\) Six years later, however, its constitution was revised so as to make it "exclusively a Church of England" project.\(^2\) This left the dissenters of England with no outlet for their interest in Jewish missions.

In 1842 the Committee for the Conversion of the Jews of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland submitted a recommendation that a Society be formed in London in which "all might unite" to secure additional efforts in behalf of the Jews resident there and in other large towns in England.\(^3\) This recommendation was approved by the General Assembly in the same year:

The General Assembly having considered the recommendation of the Committee relative to the Establishment of an Institution or Mission for the Conversion of the Jews in London, together with the application to that effect of certain Ministers and Elders connected with this Church and resident there, reported to the Assembly by the Committee, do hereby request and authorize the said Ministers and Elders, together with such others in communion with this Church as they may associate with themselves, to act as a Committee on behalf of this Church, and in subordination to the acting Committee before referred to, for the purpose of collecting funds, as well as of managing and superintending such missionary operations among the Jews in London, as it may be found desirable to institute, with instructions to the said Committee in London to avail themselves as far as possible of the concurrence and co-operation of the Christians of other denominations who may be willing to give their aid in this good work of the Lord.\(^4\)

A meeting for the purpose of carrying the proposal into effect

\(^1\)W. T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, from 1809 to 1908*, p. 36.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 47.

\(^3\)The *Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle*, XXI New Series (1845), 82-83.

was held, accordingly, in the vestry of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, on November 7, 1842. Twenty were present on the occasion:

Rev. Dr Burder, Hackney  
Dr Fletcher, Stepney  
Dr Henderson, Highbury College  
John Cumming, Crown Court  
James C. Burns, London Wall  
Wm. Yonge, Brentford  
Ridley Herschell, Islington  
Peter Lorimer, Islington  
James Hamilton, Regent Square  

With the Rev. Alex. Flyte, Alness, and Rev. Rob. M. McCheyne, Dundee, visitors.¹

It was moved by Ridley Herschell, seconded by John Cumming, and resolved unanimously:

1. That a Society be formed, to be called, "The British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews."

2. That the Society consist of Christians, of evangelical principles, interested in the propagation of the gospel among the Jews.

3. That the more immediate field of the Society's operations be London, and the larger towns of the United Kingdom.

4. That the Society shall maintain a friendly correspondence and co-operation with the church of Scotland's mission to the Jews.

5. That the Association cordially invite the co-operation of all kindred institutions. . . .²


²Ibid., p. 2, and The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXI New Series (1843), 82-83. In a letter from one of the Secretaries of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, the following resolution of February 28, 1843, was included: "Resolved that this Committee beg to thank Dr Henderson for his kind communication, and to assure him that they will be happy to assist every effort in making known Christ to the Jews, so far as their laws & regulations permit." The British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, Minute Book 1, pp. 14-15.
Henderson was appointed by "unanimous" request as one of the Honorary Secretaries. 1

With a view to excite "more general attention to the condition and prospects of the Jewish people," a series of lectures by ministers of different denominations was delivered in the National Scotch Church in the spring of 1843. 2 A code of instructions and regulations for missionaries of the Society was drawn up by the Secretaries in the same year. 3 Benjamin Davidson, the grammarian and lexicographer, Israel Naphtali, and Philip Jaffe became the first missionaries employed by the Society, the last two laboring in Manchester and Birmingham respectively. 4 Tracts and portions of the Scriptures in the Hebrew and other languages were published and circulated, among which were: An Account of a Young American Jewess, printed both in Hebrew, and in parallel pages of Hebrew and English; 5 the Sermon on the Mount, under the title of "The Prophet like unto Moses," printed in English; 6 "Script-

1Ibid., pp. 3-4. The other was James Hamilton. George Yonge became the Resident Secretary. Ibid., pp. 4, 16.


3The British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, Minute Book 1, pp. 26, 43. Henderson outlined his views as to the qualifications of missionaries to the Jews and the "plan of operation" in his Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia (1826), pp. 238-45.

4A. E. Thompson, A Century of Jewish Missions, pp. 103-5.


6The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXII New Series (1844), 305.
tural Selections," or "portions of the Old Testament in the original language";¹ and the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language.² A monthly periodical: The Jewish Herald, and Record of Christian Effort for the Spiritual Good of God's Ancient People was begun in the year 1846. And, a Jewish Mission College was instituted in 1847.³

The foreign operations of the Society began in 1846.⁴ This was occasioned by a letter from the Secretary of a Society for Jews in Cologne in June of that year, stating that on the banks of the Rhine there were "about 42000 Jews—with but one or two Missionaries," and inviting "union and cooperation" for the promotion of the one object.⁵ Henderson, accordingly, made a journey to Germany and Holland during the summer "with a view to an arrangement for promoting the object of the Society."⁶

He was advised at Cologne that the best means of assisting the Institution in that place was by contributing to the pecuniary support of any missionaries that might be engaged in the work, as well as by supplying them with copies of the Hebrew and German Scriptures and Ger-

¹The British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, Minute Book 1, pp. 22, 31, 33, 44.
³The Jewish Herald, II (1847), 143. The operations of the College were suspended in the summer of 1853 because of insufficient funds. Ibid., VIII (1853), 241-42.
⁴Thompson, op. cit., p. 103.
⁶Ibid., pp. 195, 197.
man tracts. His contact with Hermann Stern, a Hebrew teacher in Frankfort, and his meetings with Isaac Da Costa and Abraham Capadose, eminent Hebrew Christians at Amsterdam and The Hague respectively, resulted in the employment of Stern as a colporteur of the British Society and in the appointment of Da Costa and Capadose as "corresponding members of the Committee." Later in 1846 Capadose formed the Netherlands Society of Friends of Israel at The Hague, while Da Costa organized a similar institution in Amsterdam. Capadose wrote to Henderson and George Yonge concerning this on October 17, 1846:

I avow to you, very dear Friends, that your zeal, your ardent desire to be useful to the children of abraham have awakened in me a very deep and lively emotion—but you have excited in me a holy jealousy. No, I cannot suffer that this shame should remain upon the Christians of Holland, that it should be our brethren of England who should pray, work, and send forth labourers into the harvest in Holland, while we content ourselves in seeing you in action. We must then absolutely wipe off this disgrace.

Agents of the British Society were located in other parts of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East in the decade that followed.

A tribute to Henderson's services in behalf of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews is recorded in the Jewish Herald for 1858:

Mainly through his zeal for the object, and his influence amongst the Churches, was this Association organised at the outset; and in obtaining for it public attention in examining and selecting its earlier agents, and in arranging that course of lectures to which he himself contributed, and which went so far to gain over the intelligent sympathy of the Christian community, the services which he rendered were invaluable...

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1Ibid., p. 203.  
2Ibid., pp. 204-7, 212.  
3Ibid., p. 228.  
5The Jewish Herald, XIII (1858), 93.
Further, To his pen we are indebted for our earliest publications— for an invaluable lecture on the 'Conversion of the Jews,' and especially for 'Scriptural Selections,' which have been published in Hebrew, German, Dutch, and English. . . .

Visit to Denmark. Two academic honors were awarded to Henderson in the year 1840. One was the honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Amherst College, Massachusetts, in the United States. The other was "den theologiske Doctorgrad uden Dissertation" conferred by the theological faculty of the University of Copenhagen. Three years later he revisited the Danish capital.

His observations on the spiritual life in Denmark, thirty-eight years after his first journey to that country, are recorded in his letter from Copenhagen, dated August 15, 1843:

To me it is peculiarly gratifying to witness and to hear of the good fruit which has been produced, and which is being increasingly produced, by the circulation of the Scriptures, and of other religious works which it has originated. Completely tired of the vain and deceitful philosophy which at one time threatened to banish the doctrines of Divine revelation from the kingdom, the inhabitants, in very considerable numbers, are anxiously inquiring after a better way. . . . In many parts of the country, meetings are held for prayer and reading the Scriptures; and in many of the churches, a portion of the Lord's day is appropriated by the Clergy to the public reading of the Bible, accompanied with such expository remarks as may be required in order to elucidate such parts as may seem obscure. In some of the dioceses the Bible is daily

1Ibid.


3Hannibal Peter Selmer, Kjøbenhavns Universitets Aar bog for 1840, p. 134.
read in the schools; and particular pains are taken to make the young persons who are to be confirmed well acquainted with the New Testament.1

The letter concluded: "During the brief intercourse which I have had with friends of the Society, I have had opportunities of encouraging them to persevere in the good work. . . ."2 Thus, Andersen says in his work on the Danish Missionary Society:

When the change of course away from the deistic enlightenment in Denmark led so decidedly to Bible Christianity, it is due not only to Mynster and Grundtvig, which so often we are inclined to think among ourselves, but in a high degree the connection with the English evangelical opinion, which was opened through the establishment of the Danish Bible Society and through acquaintance with prominent representatives for piety in our cousin country.3

And again:

So Denmark stands in great debt to Ebenezer Henderson, because no matter how great feebleness gradually came to cleave to the operations of the Danish Bible Society, it was still in its first period one of the most important means of support for the absorption and resurrection of Christianity among us.4

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2 Ibid., p. lxxii.

3 Oskar Andersen, Festskrift i Anledning af det danske Missionsselskabs Hundrede-Aars-Jubilæum, I, 24. "Naar Kursvendingen bort fra den deistiske Oplysning i Danmark saa afgjort førte til Bibelkristendom, skyldes det ikke blot Mynster og Grundtvig, som man saa ofte hos os er tilbøjelig til at tro, men i høj Grad den Forbindelse med engelsk evangelisk Opfattelse, som anbrides gennem Stiftelsen af det danske Bibelselskab og gennem Kendskabet til fremragende Repræsentanter for Fromheden i vort Fætterland."

4 Ibid., I, 27. "Danmark staar saaledes i stor Gæld til Ebenezer Henderson, ti, hvor store Skrybeligheder der end efterhaanden kom til at klæbe ved det danske Bibelselskabs Virksomhed, det var dog i dets første Periode et af de vigtigste Støttemidler for den kristelige Fordybelse og Rejsning hos os."
Tour in Piedmont. In July of 1844 Henderson made a tour to the valleys of Piedmont in the northwest corner of Italy. The occasion of the visit was cited in his book on The Vaudois:

Roused by the threatening appearances of a fresh storm, many of the friends of the Vaudois in this country have been induced to inquire: Whether some more pointed expression of national feeling ought not to be called forth in reference to their grievances? The writer was requested last spring, by a gentleman who takes a lively interest in their welfare, to enlist the sympathies of his ministerial brethren in London on their behalf, and to urge the propriety of presenting a memorial to Her Majesty, praying that instructions might be sent to Her Representative at the Sardinian court, to exert all the power of British influence, which he could legitimately employ, for the removal of intolerant enactments, procured at the instance and by the intrigues of the Jesuits, and to secure their protection in the enjoyment of vested rights and privileges, guaranteed to them by treaties of the 20th October, 1690, and the 4th August, 1704, to which the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the States General of Holland were contracting parties.

Not being at the time sufficiently acquainted with the actual circumstances of the Vaudois, the writer was induced to visit their valleys in the course of the summer, in order to elicit such information respecting their condition as might guide him and his brethren in reference to further proceedings. 1

Journeying on foot, Henderson visited the fifteen parishes into which the territory was divided in a period of three weeks. His account of the ascent of Mont Salsa captures the spirit of his travels:

At the early hour of five o'clock I set out for Rodoret, on my way to Prali, accompanied by Mons. Canton, who kindly offered to be my guide through the intricate and difficult Alpine region which it was necessary to pass. We began immediately to ascend, but after a short time we descended again into the vale of Salsa, and then commenced the ascent of the mountain so called, which I found to be more rapid and fatiguing than any I had yet attempted to climb. . . . For about an hour, we were sheltered from the rays of the sun by the thick forest of pines which covered its northern side, but after we had got about half-way up, they gradually bec-
the mountain became more steep, and the heat more oppressive. Having every now and then resolutely forced our way upwards for a few minutes, we were compelled to sit down to rest on the stones, or the roots of trees—"the ground being too damp from the copious dews of the preceding night to render it prudent for us to recline upon it. It was specially during these intervals of repose that I enjoyed the company of Mons. Canton. We sat and surveyed the mountains and valleys, the hamlets and cottages which comprise his parish, and talked of the value of souls, the preciousness of the Bible, the wonders of redemption, and the adaptation of the gospel to relieve the woes and supply the wants of fallen humanity. The scenes and transactions of former days in the regions before us also furnished interesting themes of conversation. It was this very mountain of Salsa that the Vaudois crossed and re-crossed when forcing their way back to their native possessions. Every mountain, valley, ravine, defile, river, torrent, village, and field, has some tale to tell of the endurance, or the bravery of the persecuted. The sound of the wind acting upon the rocks, is construed figuratively, not superstitiously, into the sighs and groans of the ancient martyrs. Some time before we reached the summit, the trees entirely disappeared; we lost at length every vestige of a path, and were frequently obliged to creep up on our hands and feet—so steep and slippery was the grassy ascent. When we had ultimately gained the highest point, we lay down and enjoyed the interesting prospect. Around us, Rhododendrons, and Forget-me-nots were scattered in great profusion. Deep in the valley before us lay the village of Rodoret, and high up to the west the Balma Alp, the sides of which were covered with snow. Beyond Rodoret lay the mountain ridge of Salmon, which separates the valley of the former name from that of Prali; while, towards the east, the Alps in the direction of Angrogna crowded into the prospect.

While in the valleys, Henderson pledged himself, upon his return to Great Britain, to obtain "pecuniary contributions" towards the extension of a Pastors' Circulating Library at La Tour. The sum of £100, accordingly, was collected during the ensuing year. Meanwhile, the result of his inquiries regarding "the actual circumstances of the Vaudois" proved that, although the people were subject to continued grievances and annoyances on the part of the Romanists, and were liable at any time "to have the scourge of open and cruel persecution again

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1Ibid., pp. 185-87.  
3The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXIV New Series (1846), 149.
let loose upon them," there were "no gross and overt acts" on the part of the Sardinian government which called for any immediate action.¹

"But," he concluded,

while the author does not feel warranted to advise the adoption of any public measures at the present time, he cannot sufficiently implore the Protestants of Great Britain to be constantly on the alert, and ready, on the very first symptoms of a determination to crush the Vaudois, to come forward and rouse the British Lion in their defence.²

¹E. Henderson, The Vaudois, p. vi.
²Ibid., p. vii.
CHAPTER VI
EBENEZER HENDERSON
LATER LIFE IN ENGLAND 1850-1858

I. LITERARY WORK

Retirement from Teaching and Written Ministry. Plans for a union between Homerton, Coward, and Highbury colleges into a single institution of broader scope were matured in the year 1849. The foundation of the new school, New College of London, was laid in the spring of 1850, and the last session at Highbury ended in the summer of the same year. Because of failing health Henderson was retired from the tutorial office at this time.

He continued, however, his literary work, publishing The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and that of the Lamentations, Translated from the Original Hebrew; with a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical in 1851. Jeremiah 23:5-6 was interpreted as Messianic, and Blayney’s rendering was again rejected. The covenants of Jeremiah 31:31-34 were taken as “the old or Jewish dispensation, and the gospel

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economy under the Messiah," both with reference to the Jewish people, and not to the spiritual seed of Abraham. As to the time element of the new covenant it was noted:

... so far as the atonement is concerned, the New Covenant may be said to have been virtually made when Messiah as the Covenant-victim died upon the cross; but, as it respects pardon of sin and spiritual regeneration, it then took effect in the experience of the Jewish people only to the extent of the remnant according to the election of grace. With the Jews as a people, in other words, with the great body of the nation, it still remains effectively to be made. It is in reference to this great event that the Apostle Paul applies the present prophecy in an abridged form, Rom. xi. 27. Then all, i.e. the bulk of the people, shall be made partakers of the spiritual blessings which the covenant entails.2

The last of his commentaries, The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Translated from the Original Hebrew; with a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical appeared in 1855. The idea of identity either in form or symbolism between the cherubim in the first chapter of Ezekiel and other parts of Scripture Henderson rejected as "a gratuitous assumption," and emphasized the principle that "the statements of a writer are to be interpreted in accordance with his position, or the circumstances in which he is placed, and the scope and tenor of his work."3 The temple vision in the closing chapters of the Book was explained in the following manner:

That it was the restoration of the material temple then in ruins that the prophet had in his eye, is the only hypothesis which fully meets the exigency of the case—the hopes of such a restoration having been rendered prominent in the minds of his captive-countrymen by the preceding prophecies which he had delivered to them. It supersedes the necessity of having recourse to fanciful and arbitrary interpretations, removes all contrariety between the delineation in

1Ibid., p. 175.  
2Ibid., p. 176.  
the vision relating to the priests, sacrifices, &c., and the doctrine of the New Testament respecting the complete abolition of the Levitical worship by the institution of the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ; and renders nugatory all expectations of a literal fulfilment in the yet distant future.¹

But, while constrained to abide by the idea of a literal temple, he maintained at the same time "the symbolic import of the structure and its ordinances, just as we understand the typical character of the former temple erected by Solomon."²

A reviewer of the work on Jeremiah observed what is the prevailing characteristic of all of Henderson's commentaries:

... the greatest recommendation of Dr. Henderson, as a Biblical translator and critic, lies in the fact, that, with a full competency to estimate the foreign Biblical labours of the present century, and a determination to avail himself of all that is truly valuable in the scholarship of Germany, he stands firm on the rock of inspired truth, and never ventures to depreciate the oracles of the living God by Neological glosses, or by renderings and criticisms at variance with a sound and well-established theology.³

Editorial Labors. In addition to his own publications Henderson's advice was sought in "delicate and difficult questions relating to the editorial department" of the British and Foreign Bible Society.⁴ A Turkish Genesis and Psalter was revised and prepared in 1852 and a Turkish New Testament in 1853 by Turabi Effendi under Henderson's superin-

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¹Ibid., p. 187. ²Ibid., p. vi.
³The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXIX New Series (1851), 141.
tendence. ¹ He revised and edited a Danish Bible during these same
years,² besides rendering "valuable assistance" in other Northern ver-
sions of the Scriptures.³ For his "essential services" to the British
and Foreign Bible Society Henderson's name was added to the list of
Honorary Governors for life in 1854.⁴

Meanwhile, upon the death of Ingram Cobbin he became the editor
of Albert Barnes' works. The first of these, Barnes' Notes, Critical,
Illustrative, and Practical, on the Book of Job, with a New Translation
and Introductory Dissertation, in two volumes, appeared in 1851. The
Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic was "carefully revised" by the Editor.⁵
After having stated the opinion that Job 19:25-27 expresses the Patri-
arch's "assured expectation of the appearance of our Saviour, and of
his own resurrection and enjoyment of his presence in a future state,"
Henderson added in his preface to the work:

... though Mr. Barnes has done his utmost to make good his
point as to Job's non-expression of belief in the doctrine of the
resurrection, ... yet I cannot but express my conviction that he
has failed in establishing it as the genuine sense of the texts,
taken in their true philological and exegetical import.⁶

¹T. H. Darlow, and, H. F. Moule, Historical Catalogue of the
Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and
²The Fifty-Fifth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society,
1859, p. 313; William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible
³The Patriot, May 21, 1858, p. 331, col. 1.
⁴The Fiftieth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society,
1854, p. cxxxviii.
⁵Albert Barnes, Notes on the Book of Job (1851 ed.), p. xvi.
⁶Ibid., pp. xii, xvi.
Henderson's edition of Barnes' Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Book of Revelation, published in 1852, completed Cobbin's series on the New Testament.\textsuperscript{1} The last Old Testament volume in Henderson's edition appeared the following year: Barnes' Notes, Critical, Explanatory and Practical, on the Book of Daniel, with an Introductory Dissertation, in two volumes. He also revised and edited Barnes' Essays on Science and Theology and The way of Salvation Illustrated in a Series of Discourses, both published in 1855.\textsuperscript{2}

In 1854 John Mason Good's The Book of Psalms: a New Translation, with Notes Critical and Explanatory was brought out under Henderson's editorship. It was noted in the preface:

Though . . . much progress has been made in Hebrew philology and exegesis, in the course of the quarter of a century which has elapsed, since Dr. Good's Translation and Notes were prepared, yet they contain so much valuable original matter, and so much that he may be said to have anticipated, that it would have been . . . a loss to the Church of God, had they been consigned to oblivion.\textsuperscript{3}

The last of his edited works was a revision of George Cheever's William Cowper: His Life, Genius, and Insanity, published under this modified title in 1856.

II. PASTORAL MINISTRY AND DEATH

Pastoral Ministry. Henderson became pastor of the Sheen Vale
Chapel in Mortlake, Surrey, in July of 1852.1 With the exception of his ministry in Cottenburgh, this was his only full pastorate. His daughter says concerning it: "The pastor entered zealously into the discharge of his duties, and those duties were his delight. Two Sabbath-services, a Monday prayer-meeting, and a Thursday lecture, were conducted with regularity. . . ."2 And the Missionary Auxiliary, which had become nearly defunct, was re-established.

His sermon on 2 Kings 2:14,3 which had first been used at Cottenburgh in 1811, reveals a characteristic emphasis of his preaching:

As there was no natural efficacy in the mantle of Elijah, as it was in itself utterly inadequate to produce the effect which Elisha desired, so the external means of grace are of themselves incapable of producing any saving change in the souls of men. In the water of baptism, which is symbolical of the purifying influences of the Holy Spirit, there is indeed an admirable adaptation to exhibit these influences to the mind, just as there is in the bread and the wine used in the Lord's Supper an adaptation to bring to the view of faith His body and blood, of which they are emblems. But neither in the one ordinance, nor in the other, does there reside any intrinsic mystical power or any vital energy to purify the heart, or to afford it true spiritual nourishment.

And thus also it is even with respect to the gospel itself. However rich the words may be, and replete with divine meaning; however excellent or glorious the truths which they express; however

1Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 441. The Chapel had its beginning in the year 1662, when David Clarkson, minister of the parish church of Mortlake, Surrey, was ejected from his charge by the Act of Uniformity. Some of the members withdrew with Clarkson, and a non-conformist church was formed. The chapel building was erected in East Sheen in 1716. John Eustace Anderson, A History of the Independents or Dissenters at Mortlake, pp. 14-15.

2Thulia S. Henderson, loc. cit.

3"And he took the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and smote the waters, and said, Where is the LORD God of Elijah? and when he also had smitten the waters, they parted hither and thither: and Elisha went over."
touching the narratives, and however cogent the arguments, which they embody; however winning and persuasive the motives which they supply;—in a word, however rationally calculated to enlighten the understanding and move the will,—they are nevertheless destitute of force sufficient to overcome the natural obstinacy and rebellion of the human heart, or to inspire it with a new and spiritual life. Of this we are furnished with melancholy proof in the multitudes who read the Scriptures, or who hear the preaching of the Gospel, but remain in an unregenerate state. Means in themselves, therefore, however appropriate as means, and however inexcusable they leave those who enjoy but neglect to improve them, are insufficient to produce true conversion to God. There must be a distinct supernatural agency; the direct agency of the Holy Spirit; the internal exertion of His divine power, opening the heart to attend, preparing it duly to appreciate and cheerfully to yield to the force of the arguments externally proposed in the word.1

The length of Henderson’s ministry in the Chapel was brief. In January, 1853, he was "seized with a giddiness in the heart" during the evening service, which resulted in confusion of thought and loss of facility.2 The condition was diagnosed as "a softening of the brain owing to intense study," and he was urged to "desist from preaching and from all mental exertion."3 After repeated attacks of a similar nature, he relinquished the charge in September of 1853.4

Last Years and Death. In spite of the condition of his health Henderson continued to take "a most active interest in all matters connected with the chapel and in the visiting of his friends."5 During

1Ibid., pp. 446-47.
2Henderson’s letter to Frederick Hammerich in the archives of Det kongelige Bibliothek, Copenhagen, February 13, 1853.
3The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXXVI New Series (1858), 457.
his last years in Mortlake there was "much opposition" in the village against the payment of Church Rates.¹ Rose says concerning this:
"... among those who refused to contribute to the upkeep of the Parish Church was Dr. Henderson who suffered his goods to be distrained upon."² The reason for his action is given by his daughter:

... he regarded this as a religious matter, and invariably held that those who conscientiously dissent from the Establishment, cannot conscientiously contribute to its support. This life-long opinion had never been called into open manifestation. Never in foreign lands had he been forced to pay to the religious institutions of the kingdoms in which he sojourned. Never at home had he resided in parishes where these rates were indiscriminately levied. Even during the first few years of his residence at Mortlake, the rate had not been enforced. As soon as the payment was insisted on, then he felt compelled to make a stand.³

The state of his physical condition became progressively worse in the spring of 1858, and on May 16th of that year Ebenezer Henderson died at Mortlake at the age of seventy-three.⁴ He was buried in Abney Park Cemetery.⁵ Amid the broken utterances of his dying lips one passage was understood: "My heart and my flesh faileth, but God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever."⁶

¹This was a government assessment upon property for the maintenance of the Established Church.
³Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 463-64.
⁴Ibid., pp. 464-67. Cf. Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration Made in the Principal Registry and in the Several District Registries of Her Majesty's Court of Probate from the 11th January 1850 until the 31st December 1858, Ha-He (Wills), p. 171.
⁵Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 467.
⁶The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, XXXVI New Series (1858), 468.
III. CONCLUSION

The years spanned by the life of Ebenezer Henderson were great years both in the advance of Christianity throughout the world and in the revival of religion in Christian lands. To the former cause he was dedicated when in 1805 he proceeded as one of the first Congregational missionaries from Scotland to foreign parts. He never departed from it. But it was to the latter object that a more lasting contribution was made. Indeed, animated by the revival spirit of the Scotland of his youth, this spirit was imparted through him to those of other lands.

Vital and practical Christianity had, for the most part, given way to speculation, doubt, and contempt for the historic faith in Denmark at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the distresses of the first two decades, i.e. the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, the bankruptcy of the nation in 1813, and the loss of Norway by the peace at Kiel early in 1814, set in bold relief the deficiency of rationalism and neology, and emphasized the deeper spiritual need. The formation of the Danish Bible Society later in 1814, accordingly, marked the turning point from the deistic enlightenment to the Biblical Christianity that followed. Three years later Frederick Hunter issued his "pastoral letter," in which it was settled that Christ as the Redeemer belonged to the gospel.¹ And in 1821, as an outgrowth of the Bible Society's operations, the Danish Missionary Society was formed.

To what extent Henderson personally influenced Frederick Hunter, Jens Møller, B. F. Rønne, and others in Denmark during this period can-

¹ J. Oskar Andersen, Survey of the History of the Church in Denmark, p. 43.
not be determined. The fact, however, that both Hunter and Møller had been neologists prior to 1814, but became leading advocates of the Bible cause after that time, is evidence of a change which is traceable to one main source—their association with Henderson. Møller's interest as well in tract and missionary enterprises can hardly be accounted for in any other way. Even Rønne, whose contact with Henderson was more limited, gives evidence that some influence had been exerted by the latter. It is concluded, therefore, with respect to Denmark that Henderson, as the founder and promoter of the Danish Bible Society, made "an important contribution to the resurrection of Danish church life" in the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹

In Sweden, as in Denmark, Biblical Christianity had suffered through the enervating influence of late eighteenth century neology. But whereas Denmark was not spiritually stirred until after the disastrous events of 1807-1814, revival movements in Sweden started while the Napoleonic Wars were still in process. A spiritual awakening began among the pietists in Norrland at the time of Henderson's and Paterson's journey to the north of Sweden in 1808. By 1811 it took the form of a protest against a revised edition of the Catechism and Prayer Book, and as a reactionary movement, continued for many years thereafter. However, a more "typical sign" of the reaction against the religious thought of the period was the establishment of the Evangelical Society in 1809, a Society which Roden says had "greater significance for the

¹Michael Neiendam, "Henderson, Ebenezer," Dansk Biografisk Leksikon, X, 70. "... et betydningsfuldt Bidrag til den Genrejæning af dansk Kirkeliv... ."
spiritual development of our country in the nineteenth century than any other."¹ Henderson rendered assistance in the formation of this Society; he played a vital part in the expansion of the work; and he later advanced the cause of the reorganized Institution.

His greatest influence was exerted upon C. Pr. af Wingård and Cornelius Raham. The change in Wingård's theological position and his support of Bible and missionary enterprises in his own country were a result of his association with Henderson. Raham's free church ideas were derived from Henderson's "First Congregational Church in Sweden." It was also through him that Raham became informed on missions and received the "encouragement" to become a missionary himself. Westin's observation concerning Henderson's importance to Swedish religious life is given by way of conclusion:

First when two zealous young free churchmen from Scotland came to our country and began to inquire into matters, the very important connection between the religious life of the British Isles and our country was firmly knit. Those young men were John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson.²

The eighteenth century in Iceland was one of almost unrelieved disaster. Volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, floods, famines, and epidemics reduced the population by about one-fourth. The continental system of the early nineteenth century brought to the island the added


danger of actual starvation as a result of the blockade of Danish ports.\(^1\) Rationalism had received a hearing. The prevailing religious atmosphere under these circumstances was one of Stoical endurance and Christian resignation, if not hope. It was at this period in Icelandic history that Ebenezer Henderson made a distinctive contribution to the country.

There was, perhaps, no one person outside of Iceland who was more responsible for the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants during the early nineteenth century than was Henderson. He and Paterson first learned of the scarcity of Bibles on the island in 1806, and represented the needs of the people to friends in Scotland. Provision was made through them for the printing of an edition of the Icelandic New Testament, which was completed in 1807, as well as the printing of the entire Bible. Resumption of the work on the latter and the journey to Iceland were approved in 1810 as a result of their recommendations. The editorial responsibilities for the 1813 edition of the Icelandic Bible and New Testament, the shipment of the same, and the distribution on the island in 1814 and 1815 devolved upon Henderson. To secure against the future wants of the people he succeeded in the formation of the Icelandic Bible Society. He also obtained the publication of religious tracts in Icelandic, distributed them, and encouraged the establishment of the Icelandic Tract Society as a means of countering rationalistic trends. These exertions were crowned in 1818 by

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\(^{1}\)This danger, however, was neutralized in 1810 by special action of the British government.
the publication of his Journal on Iceland. It is not amazing, therefore, that Ranyard has concluded: "The name of Henderson is inseparable from Iceland."¹

Ion Vidalin prayed in 1814 that Henderson's labors might be acknowledged "by every future generation." This prayer has been literally realized. "But," it may be asked, "why has this been so?" Three reasons at least may be given in answer. First, because of the devout manner in which he performed his task. Second, because of the purely humanitarian character of his mission. And third, because of the favorable representation he gave of the land and its people to others. At a time when passive resignation to the divine and human powers harshly regulating Icelandic affairs had long prevailed, what greater contribution could have been made to encourage and inspire a new and living hope?

Among the monarchs of Europe during the Napoleonic era none was more deeply impressed by the events that transpired than was Alexander I of Russia, who said after the French invasion in 1812:

"Through the fires of Moscow my soul has been enlightened, and God's judgments have filled my heart with a warm glow of faith such as I have never felt before. It was then that I learned to know God as He is revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and as soon as I understood and knew His will and His law I resolved to consecrate myself and my government to Him for the furtherance of His glory. From that time I became a different man."²

The Russian Bible Society was born out of the impulse of that hour.

During the fourteen years that the Society flourished it was

¹L. N. Ranyard, The Book and Its Missions Past and Present, p. 163.

²Hugh Y. Reyburn, The Story of the Russian Church, p. 220.
"the most noteworthy" of the non-British Institutions. The climax of its operations was reached in the years of Henderson's residence within the Empire. Although he was a co-laborer with Paterson and Pinkerton, his particular work was superintending editions of the Scriptures in the Eastern languages. Pypin says concerning the British agents:

"... only very few of the Russians themselves worked as hard for the Bible cause in Russia as did these three foreigners." Later he concludes that "without them the Russian Society would hardly have existed."

In the end, however, it shared the fate of the other reforming movements which had received the Imperial sanction, and revealed the contradictions of Alexander's own character. Indeed, he had never ceased to be an unlimited autocrat, in spite of his measures for reform. The effect of these measures was a startling display of independent thought and action by the people which tended to encroach upon his own sovereignty. Gradually he departed from these ideals and became an exponent of the historic tradition of the past. As a result, the future not only of the Russian Bible Society but of the Russian people

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1 Thomas Herbert Darlow, "Bible Societies," The Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th ed.), III, 907.


3 Тым., VII (1868), 758. "... недь нихъ русское общество едва ли бы даже существовало."
was sealed. In a word, the years of Henderson's residence in Russia is the story of what might have been, but was not.

Germany, Finland, Lapland, Norway, Bornholm, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands were also benefited through his exertions. He was responsible for "much" of what was accomplished by the Bible Society in Schleswig-Holstein and the North of Germany.\(^1\) He was the first of the British and Foreign Bible Society's agents to visit Norway, and was the only one who had been in personal contact with members of the Norwegian Bible Society prior to its reorganization in accord with the fundamental principle of the British Institution. Henderson, therefore, must have exerted the primary influence from outside Norway to encourage this end. It was through his efforts as well that the Lappish New Testament (1811)\(^2\) and the Faroese Gospel of Matthew (1823) were published. The latter was the first and only portion of Scripture that appeared in that language until 1909.

Henderson's twenty years of labor in the North of Europe, when viewed as a whole, represents a contribution of no small measure to the spiritual life of the Northern peoples. The fact that these exertions resulted from the disappointment of his purpose to proceed on his original mission to India makes the work even more remarkable and suggests the famous lines of Cowper: "God moves in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform. . . ." Lord John Teignmouth, President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, referred to this circumstance at the Annual

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\(^1\)The Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1817, p. lvi.

\(^2\)Paterson also shared in this enterprise.
Meeting in 1819, and concluded that it led to results of "incalculable importance to a large portion of the human race."¹

One can only speculate what his place might have been had he gone on to India. Would he have become a Carey or a Morrison in the field of Bible translation? His abilities and accomplishments in the Oriental languages imply that he might have. These accomplishments are noted in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica:

Henderson was a man of great linguistic attainment. He made himself more or less acquainted, not only with the ordinary languages of scholarly accomplishment and the various members of the Scandinavian group, but also with Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic, Russian, Arabic, Tatar, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Manchu, Mongolian, and Coptic.²

The East, however, was denied him. But the application of his linguistic abilities was not, and ultimately he became "one of the most eminent" Biblical scholars on the continent of Europe.³

During the early nineteenth century sacred philology in England was influenced by Hutchinsonian "symbolism" through the lexicon of Parkhurst. It was also effected by the conjectural emendations of Bishop Lowth. Both systems were strongly censored by Henderson, who advocated the scientific procedure of the school at Halle. In this he was "among the first, people have said the first, who in England carried

¹The Fifteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819, Appendix, p. 201.


³S. Austin Allibone, A Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, I, 820.
on scientific studies in the Eastern languages.  

Yet, he rejected the German school in the realm of theology. This dualism—his acceptance of the principles of German philology on the one hand, but his rejection of German speculative theology on the other—is the unique characteristic of his critical scholarship. Henderson remained throughout his life an uncompromising champion of the well-established teachings of Christianity. Some would say that his theology was cast in a narrow and rigid mold. However, his Divine Inspiration reveals that he was not entirely devoid of independent thought and speculation.

Today Henderson is little remembered for his critical and theological works. But the records of his travels in Iceland, Russia, and Piedmont are still in popular demand. The Journal on Iceland is undoubtedly his best known book. The fact that the volume has been translated into Icelandic after nearly one hundred and forty years and is in the process of publication in that language at the present time is testimony to its enduring value. His earliest travel account, "Journal of a Tour through the Northern Parts of Sweden, in the Autumn of 1608," published in the Missionary Magazine, is practically unknown, but is nevertheless a valuable contribution to the knowledge of Northern


2Written by both Paterson and Henderson.
Sweden and parts of Finland and Lapland.

One of his last journeys to the Continent was taken in behalf of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. He was one of the founders of this Institution and was perhaps more responsible for its early success than any other person. His zeal for the work during his travels in Holland in 1846 gave rise to the formation of the Netherlands Society of Friends of Israel in the same year. Promoting the work of the British Society was his leading contribution to Jewish evangelism. It should be added, however, that Johann Christian Moritz of the London Jews' Society was a member of Henderson's church in Gottenburgh, and that he received both spiritual guidance and encouragement to minister among his brethren.

While Jewish mission work was the "new" enterprise that engaged Henderson's attention after his return to England, he continued to serve the older Societies with active interest and enthusiasm. He made his primary contribution to the London Missionary Society as the successor to David Bogue at the Missionary Seminary. During the last twenty-four years of his life he was one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Religious Tract Society. And, even after his official connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society was terminated, "Dr. Henderson's love to it was unabated."1 In fact, the Turkish New Testament Controversy itself was not without its positive side, in that, together with the Apocryphal question, it gave birth to the "Translating and Editorial Department" of the Society in 1830. His later exertions in behalf of

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1 "The Fifty-Fifth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1859, p. 313."
the Bible Society are noted in the Fifty-Fifth Report:

... he continued to watch over its operations with the deepest interest, and on many occasions gave important aid, either by advocating publicly the claims of the Society, or affording his advice in delicate and difficult questions relating to the editorial department. The Society was also placed under obligations to him for editing versions of the Danish and Turkish Scriptures. ... The Committee ... desire to have in grateful remembrance the untiring zeal, purity of motive, and catholicity of spirit by which his labours for the British and Foreign Bible Society were uniformly distinguished.¹

It remains only to add that "the long, and various, and faithful service" which he rendered as Principal of Highbury College and as a minister of his denomination resulted in benefit to the cause of missions and was a significant contribution to the Church of Jesus Christ. His labors all had one object in view: "the purity of the sacred text, and the spread of the Scriptures to the ends of the earth."² Without an account of his life and work the story of the Great Missionary Awakening would be incomplete.

Great men—pioneers, inventors, explorers, statesmen, and prophets—speak for their times and are often the best illustrations of them. There are many such men in the crowded, awakening years which slowly gathered momentum in the late eighteenth century, and which ushered Great Britain into the new world of the nineteenth. Ebenezer Henderson was one of them. He is still remembered by some; he has been forgotten by others. But whether he is remembered or forgotten, his labors have not been in vain, and in truth, his "works do follow him."

¹Ibid. ²Thulia S. Henderson, op. cit., p. 226.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A
PYPIN'S CONCLUSION

Такъ окончилось существованіе Россійскаго Библейскаго Общества.

Исторія его оставляетъ по себѣ обожженное впечатлѣніе, въ которомъ, конечно, отражается и его дѣйствительный характеръ, столь же обожженный. Представляя собой,—въ большой степени,—осуществление личныхъ идей императора Александра, оно, вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, представляетъ и стремленія значительной части общества. Теперь, когда мы для этой истории имѣли еще слишкомъ скудные материалы трудно рѣшить положительно, между кѣмъ и въ какой мѣрѣ должны быть раздѣлены его достоинства и недостатки,—но читатель, вѣроятно, замѣтить свойства европейскихъ влияній, недѣшныхъ отъ Британскаго Общества, характеръ ихъ примѣненія на русской почвѣ и наконецъ, свойства ultraokonservativной оппозиціи, уничтожвшей русское Общество.

Въ судѣ русскаго Общества, его быстрому распространенію и потомъ его паденіи выказало столько различныхъ свойствъ русской общественной жизни, что его исторія является чрезвычайно характеристическимъ выраженіемъ своего времени. При всѣхъ своихъ непривлекательныхъ недостаткахъ и многихъ постыдныхъ и жалкихъ воспоминаніяхъ, Общество имѣло свои сочувствія и прогрессивныхъ сторонъ, когда поднимало религіознообщественный вопросъ. Его закрытіе, прекративъ его вредныя влиянія, имѣло свой, въ сущності гораздо большій вредъ: оно не уничтожило обскурацізма, а только произвело его въ новой формѣ, и совладая съ другими событиями общественной инициативы и больше прежняго усилило львиный индифферентизмъ русской общественной жизни.


1 INSERT ... того времени, наносило ударъ самой...
APPENDIX B

"THE JEWISH ORIGIN OF THE CELEBRATED POPULAR LEGEND,

'THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT'"

As the occupations and pleasures of childhood produce a powerful impression on the memory, it is probable that almost every reader who has passed his infantile days in an English nursery, recollects the delight with which he repeated that puerile jingling legend—"The House that Jack built." Very few, however, are at all aware of the original form of its composition, or the particular subject it was designed to illustrate. And fewer still would suspect that it is only an accommodated and altered translation of an ancient parabolic hymn, sung by the Jews at the feast of the passover, and commemorating the principal events in the history of that people. Yet such is actually the fact. The original, in the Chaldee language, is now lying before me; and as it may not be uninteresting to the readers of the Congregational Magazine, I will here furnish them with a literal translation of it, and then add the interpretation, as given by P. N. Leberecht, Leipsic, 1731.

The hymn itself is found in Sepher Haggadah, fol. 23.

1. A kid, a kid my father bought,
   For two pieces of money:
   A kid, a kid.

2. Then came the cat, and ate the kid,
   That my father bought,
   For two pieces of money:
   A kid, a kid.

3. Then came the dog, and bit the cat,
   That ate the kid,
   That my father bought,
   For two pieces of money:
   A kid, a kid.

4. Then came the staff and beat the dog,
   That bit the cat,
   That ate the kid,
   That my father bought,
   For two pieces of money:
   A kid, a kid.

5. Then came the fire, and burned the staff,
   That beat the dog,
   That bit the cat,
   That ate the kid,
   That my father bought,
   For two pieces of money:
   A kid, a kid.
6. Then came the water and quenched the fire,
That burned the staff,
That beat the dog,
That bit the cat,
That ate the kid,
That my father bought,
For two pieces of money:
    A kid, a kid.

7. Then came the ox, and drank the water,
That quenched the fire,
That burned the staff,
That beat the dog,
That bit the cat,
That ate the kid,
That my father bought,
For two pieces of money:
    A kid, a kid.

8. Then came the butcher and slew the ox,
That drank the water,
That quenched the fire,
That burned the staff,
That beat the dog,
That bit the cat,
That ate the kid,
That my father bought,
For two pieces of money:
    A kid, a kid.

9. Then came the angel of death, and killed the butcher,
That slew the ox,
That drank the water,
That quenched the fire,
That burned the staff,
That beat the dog,
That bit the cat,
That ate the kid,
That my father bought,
For two pieces of money:
    A kid, a kid.

10. Then came the Holy One, blessed by He!
    And killed the angel of death,
That killed the butcher,
That slew the ox,
That drank the water,
That quenched the fire,
That burned the staff,
That beat the dog,
That bit the cat,
That ate the kid,  
That my father bought, 
For two pieces of money: 
A kid, a kid.

The following is the interpretation:

1. The kid, which was one of the pure animals, denotes the Hebrews.

The father, by whom it was purchased, is Jehovah, who represents himself as sustaining this relation to the Hebrew nation.

The two pieces of money signify Moses and Aaron, through whose mediation the Hebrews were brought out of Egypt.

2. The cat denotes the Assyrians, by whom the ten tribes were carried into captivity.

3. The dog is symbolical of the Babylonians.

4. The staff signifies the Persians.

5. The fire indicates the Grecian empire, under Alexander the Great.

6. The water betokens the Romans, or fourth of the great monarchies, to whose dominion the Jews were subjected.

7. The ox is a symbol of the Saracens who subdued Palestine, and brought it under the caliphate.

8. The butcher that killed the ox denotes the Crusaders, by whom the Holy Land was restored out of the hands of the Saracens.

9. The angel of death signifies the Turkish power, by which the land of Palestine was taken from the Franks, and to which it is still subject.

10. The commencement of the tenth stanza is designed to show that God will take signal vengeance on the Turks, immediately after whose overthrow the Jews are to be restored to their own land, and live under the government of their long expected Messiah.

Canonbury Square, Dec. 1830.  
E. H. 1

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APPENDIX C

LETTERS

I. Henderson's letter from Gottenburgh to Gustaf Rosen, January 21, 1809.

II. Henderson's letter from Gottenburgh to Joseph Tarn, May 4, 1812.

III. Henderson's letter from Gottenburgh to Charles Steinkopff, October 6, 1817.

IV. Rahnn's letter from Gottenburgh to George Burder, July 29, 1817.
It is with a high sense of the honour conferred upon me, in being admitted a member of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in this place, that I acknowledge the notification of the same by the President on the 16th Inst. I do indeed esteem myself peculiarly happy in being honoured by a connexion with a Society whose object is the cultivation and encouragement of the liberal arts; and though I frankly confess my inability to lend the any considerable aid (which I flatter myself they do not look for), I at the same time assure them, that I shall not fail to contribute, to the utmost of my power, towards the attainment of the ends they have in view — especially in such branches as more immediately fall within my sphere of action, and have a more direct tendency to advance the benefit of the community.

As I observe from the Rules of the Society, that it is required of those who are admitted members, that they communicate their biography, I shall note down a few particulars respecting my past years, which though now
I was born, Nov. 19, 1784, in the neighbourhood of Dungannon, a considerable manufacturing town in Upper Scotland. I received the first rudiments of education at a school in that town; and after a lapse of several years, I removed to Edinburgh in order to go through a course of studies prepared to the work of the ministry, for which employment I had conceived a very ardent desire. By a too close application to study I rather endangered my health, so that I was under the necessity of quitting the Academy for some months in the summer of 1804. During this interval I undertook a tour to the Orkney Islands, in which I not only improved my health, but had many opportunities afforded me of communicating instruction to the destitute inhabitants, in the great doctrines and duties of religion. I returned to the Academy in the autumn, and besides prosecuting those branches of learning more immediately connected with theology, I attended a course of lectures on Chemistry.

On the completion of my studies the following year, I was induced to make a tender of my services to a society in
The object of whose object was the propagation of the Christian religion in foreign countries. After previous examination I was accepted along with Mr. Paterson at present in Stockholm) and we were both ordained to the office of Missionaries. at a similar making of Ministers and people. The place of our destination (Bangor) being then a Danish settlement, it was thought most eligible to proceed thither by the way of Copenhagen.

We accordingly left our native country on the 23d July 1805 and sailed for Denmark. On arriving we were sorry to find that the East India Packet was just on the eve of sailing had already her complement of passengers, so that there was no possibility of getting on by her. We resolved therefore to spend the winter in Denmark, and take our departure for India in the Spring Packet. In the mean time, we could not think of remaining idle, and therefore began immediately to preach to our countrymen, and seek among the prospects of usefulness which presented themselves before us that how much sooner we were bent on proceeding to India, we could not think of abandoning our station till we saw them occupied by others. We wrote to our friends in Scotland on the subject, that no one being found at the time willing to undertake the employment they wished us to carry on the
sentiment for a season. Therefore remained in Christian hill
autumn 1807, when the misunderstanding which arose betwixt
Denmark and England necessitated my leaving the coulo-
the only place that remained open for me in Europe in
Sweden; and having previously heard of Gottenburg as a sta-
tion for an English preacher, I accordingly set out
the place, and on my arrival found the accounts I
had received on this head amply confirmed.

The present opportunity which I enjoy of preach-
the word of life to my countrymen: the habits of piety
which I have contracted with many of the inhabitants; a
distinguishing kindness I have experienced from them; an
the present mark of regard shown me by the Members
of the Royal Society, greatly tend to increase my predilec-
tion for the town of Gottenburg so that although I have not
given up all thoughts of going to India, I believe I shall find
the pleasures of remaining here more than amply to

I Remain
Your Most Obd. Servt,
Gottenburg Jan. 21, 1809.
Chenexen Snterson

Mr. Guelfe, Secretary to the Royal Gottenburg Society
Arts & Science
I believe I informed you some time ago of the few Christian friends in this place have been beneficial to my labours, having joined themselves together under my inspection with a view to attend to the ordinances of Christ. I long hesitated, but after mature deliberation, I being pressingly urged by others, I saw it my duty to take the oversight of them in the Lord. We have now for more than half a year enjoyed comfort.
and peace, and have been multiplied.

About a fortnight ago, however, the Bishop
sent for me, and demonstrated strongly
against my proceedings, declaring that
in virtue of his office he was compelled
to bid me desist. I gave him grace
again representation of the matter, but
finding him determined to stop me
I told him that as we were
from a sense of duty to
you, we could only be brought
up with our present
coercion. After a long con
versa be to which he repeatedly expressed
his determination that any thing of the kind
should take place, I told him of my
intention to proceed to Ireland in the
course of 6 weeks, and obtained an assurance
that nothing should be done in the matter
during that time. But should circumstances
not admit of my proceeding, I should at the
expiration of that time wait upon him
and acquaint him with my further
determination.

Now as matters are at present in this king,
there is a probability of their resorting to violent measures
Gottenburgh, Oct. 6th 1817.

My dear Friend,

Your esteemed favour of the 24th reached me in Christiania just as I was busy in negociating the business which formed the subject of its contents. On my arrival in that town I was much disappointed to find that the Bishop was absent on an external visitation but resolved to await his return and in the mean time formed the acquaintance of Professor Hersleb and some other members of the central committee. From the conversation I had with them and the Bishop after his return I found that there was no possibility of effecting any immediate change in the constitution of the Norwegian Bible Society. In consequence of the letter addressed to them by your noble President they have forwarded official letters to the different provinces requesting the opinion of the Bishops and others who have subscribed to the society as to the eligibility of separating the two objects: for without their concurrence and approbation they do not consider themselves authorized to come to any ultimate decision on a point which involves the fundamental rules and principles of the society. The answers have not yet been sent in, but are expected before the end of the year. The central committee itself is divided on the subject; some of the members being of opinion that the society ought to confine itself exclusively to the object expressed in its designation, as by this means alone it will not only be enabled to provide a more effectual supply of the Holy Scriptures, but seem it
necessity and prosperity; while others are afraid that to divide the subsidy now would completely bring it into disrepute in the eye of the public, and that it is of greater consequence to keep up the good opinion that has been formed of the Society, though its resources should be more circumscribed, than to availing themselves of foreign aid at the expense of public prejudice.

In the course of our conversations I had ample opportunities afforded me of explaining to them the reasons why the British and Foreign Bible Society adhered so strictly to their fundamental rules as well as of obviating some prejudices that had crept in, and which, I have reason to believe, have contributed to impair the want of a cordial union between the two societies.

I had been stated to them, that the Society in England wished to consider them in the light of a filial institution, that it was intended that a representative of the London Society should be sent over to reside in Christiania. The idea of representation was thus unfortunately rooted in the mind of many in Norway, and as it at least just at the time the Norwegians were engaged in their struggle for political independence, it assumed a more serious aspect than I would have done at any other period.

It was my intention to have visited some of the other Dikes, but as I had reason to fear that under present circumstances my journey might be regarded by many in an unfavorable point of view, I deemed it most prudent to confine myself to a full statement of the views and principles of the British and Foreign Bible Society to the Gentlemen in Christiania, and to request them to communicate the same to their correspondents in different parts of the country.
The Rev. George Purser.

Gothenburg July the 29th 1817.

Reverend Sir!

Permit me as a stranger to address myself to you on a matter of the greatest consequence not only to me individually, but to the great work in general for promoting of which I know you are most fervently engaged. But before I touch the head-point, I beg your permission more particularly to introduce myself to you and inform you of some circumstances with an aim to the purpose.

I was born a Swede, and at present a Clergyman. From my very infancy, when I had a certain opportunity to read the history of the Amundsen Brethren Mission at Greenland, a spark of wish was kindled in my heart, that I also might be a Missionary. But at that time nobody in Sweden knew any thing about Missionary affairs and consequently encouragement could not be given nor taken to devot myself to such an high and important undertaking as this: to bring the glad tidings of Salvation, from sin and hell, through a Crucified Saviour, to heathen friends, the Lord's good providence, leading me on very obscure and difficult ways brought me at last so far that 7 years ago, became a preacher of the Gospel to my country men.

Since that time, and being previously acquainted with Dr. Mr. Henderson, and afterwards with Rev. Mr. Paterson, I was very happy to become more and more informed of the Missionary proceedings, and reading Missionary Transactions, Register, Magazine, and other Publications in this way, I began seriously to reflect upon the great work, which in present times is going on, forwarded by them who is the King of Kings.
Kings and the Lord of Lords. In consequence of these reflections and the love to my dear Redeemer, which this good Spirit has worked within me, I have decided to offer myself humbly to the Service of His cause, wherefore I wish you would be so kind and communicate these my earnest desires and sincere intentions to the London Missionary Society. My Patron, my dear Brother in Christ, has encouraged me, and I now writing to You Sir, by his advice, as he has informed me of in a letter which I received yesterday. I understand from these, that he also has written to the Society about me. If the Society should please to accept my offer and would grant me the great honor to be a messenger of the Gospel abroad, I entreat You Sir most humbly to favour me with a speedy answer, so that I may have settled my private affairs here the soon as possible. — Brother Patron who attended his wish that I might join the Missionary sent out for the intended Mission to Tartary gave me also a hint of the necessity to make haste in the undertaking which I really intend to accomplish. As to my character I refer you to Mr. William P. Compton, partner of Mr. Tite and Compton, Cumberwall, who is personally acquainted with me since he was here last year in Sweden.

Humbly praying for the Lord's abundant grace in the hearts, both mine and Yours, and wishing the London Missionary Society all prosperity and the richest blessings from the Lord Schwalbe, I have the honour to subscribe myself

Your obedient servant

Cornelius Rahimi

Preacher at the Royal Artillery.