

THE LIBRARY



Periodical Collection
CLASS
BOOK

SPIRIT

cat
B
001

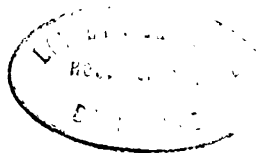
OF

THE XIX. CENTURY,

FOR 1843.

BY ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE.

NON SINE LUCE.



BALTIMORE:

PRINTED BY R. J. MATCHETT,

Corner of Gay & Lombard streets.

....

1843.

Digitized by Google

205
SP 39

CONTENTS.

	PAGE	PAGE
JANUARY.		
The Third Defence of Robert J. Breckinridge against the Calumnies of Robert Wickliffe. In which it is proved by Public Records, by the Testimony of unimpeachable Witnesses, and by the Declarations and Oaths of the said Wickliffe, that his Accusations are, within his own Knowledge, destitute of Truth,	1-88	
FEBRUARY.		
A Discourse on Usury—Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Louisville, Ky., Oct. 30, 1842, by W. L. Breckinridge, Pastor of the Congregation.	89	
The Funeral of the Mass. Chapter VI. Against the Taking Away of the Cup,	111	
The Bi-Centenary of the Westminster Assembly. July 1st, 1643-1943. Action of the Synods of Philadelphia and Mississippi. Letters from Mr. Montgomery and Mr. Lacy.	110	
Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome. Controversy with the Domestic Chaplains of the Arch-Bishop of Baltimore, No. V. of the Protestants. The Apocrypha.	124	
The Latter Day Glory of the Messiah's Kingdom, Nos. I and II,	131	
Theological Examiner, No. VI. Is the church of Rome the church of Christ, or any part thereof?	130	
Essays on the Conscience, Translated from the French of J. La Placette, Pastor at Copenhagen. No. III. Three definitions; and some operations of the Conscience.	132	
Short Notices of Books and Pamphlets. The Third Volume of D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation. Pond's Morning of the Reformation. Rockwell's Travels. Collins's Miscellanies. Sermons by Dr. Whittingham, &c.—The Marriage Question, by Mr. Cooke, &c.	141	
Business Notices, &c.	144	
MARCH.		
Controversy with the Domestic Chaplains of the Arch-Bishop of Baltimore.—No. VI. of the Protestants. "Doctrines and Practices" of the church of Rome in regard to, 1st, Tradition; 2d, the Vulgate; 3d, Sense of Scripture,	145	
Review of "An Essay concerning the Unlawfulness of a Man's Marrying with his Sister by Affinity; with a Review of the various Acts of the highest Judicatory of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, touching this and similar connexions. By Colin McIver. V. D. M." Philada.: H. Hooker, 178 Chesnut st. 1842. 18mo. pp, 163,	151	
The Funeral of the Mass.—Chapter VII.—Against the Mass,	157	
Fourth Letter to the Ruling Elders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States,	165	
Action of the Presbyterian Church in spreading the Gospel; Insufficient and Ill-directed,	178	
Original Letters of Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe, to John Breckinridge (the elder), with two from himself to Col. Monroe; in regard to the Treaty for the Purchase of Louisiana, and matters connected therewith,	180	
Short Notices of Books and Pamphlets. The Fables of La Fontaine, translated by Wright—The Nestorians by Grant—Judaism Overthrown, by Litch—The New Test Tested, by W. L. Breckinridge.—Dowling's Reply to Miller's Theory of the End of the World,	189	
Business Notices, &c.	192	
APRIL.		
Prophecy Interpreted Literally or Spiritually; or the Millenist and Millenarian Views of Scripture Interpretation.—I. Dissertations on the Prophecies Relative to the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ—by the Rev. George Duffield, D. D. 2. The Great Commission—by the Rev. John Harris, D. D.,	193-268	
MAY.		
Fifth Letter to the Ruling Elders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States,	269	
Controversy with the Domestic Chaplains of the "Arch-Bishop of Baltimore."—No. VII. of the Protestants.—1. The Bishop's Oath of Allegiance to the Pope of Rome.—2. A Form of Papal Excommunication.—3. Jesuit's Oath of Secrecy,	280	
The Electing Love of God,	285	

PAGE		PAGE	
<p>The Latter Day Glory of Messiah's Kingdom.—No. III. - - - - -</p> <p>Economy of Men and Means in Religious Charities; the Duty and Method thereof.—French Evangelical Society and Presbyterian Boards Ruling Elders.—Their Condition as it is, and as it should be. - - -</p> <p>Theological Examiner.—No. VII.—Is the Head of the Papal Community the Head of the Christian church? - - - - -</p> <p>Important Movement in the Evangelical churches of the city of Baltimore.—Formation and first Efforts of the "Society of the Friends of the Reformation," - - - - -</p> <p>Short Notices of Books and Pamphlets.—Borrow's Bible in Spain. Address of American Protestant Association.—Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland.—Lillie's Perpetuity of the Earth.—Princeton Review for April, on the Rights of Ruling Elders, - - -</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JUNE.</p> <p>A Discourse against Millerism and Millenarianism, by the Rev. W. Baird, of St. Mary's, Georgia, Controversy with the Domestic Chaplains of the "Arch-bishop of Baltimore."—No. VIII. of the Protestants.—The Apocrypha; Reply to the Arguments of the Priests, - - -</p> <p>The Funeral of the Mass.—Chapter VIII. Containing Answers to the Objections of the Romish Doctors, "Conflagration at Petersburg," in 1837. Beginning of the end of that famous Adventure of Mr. Converse, Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Shore, - - -</p> <p>The Bi-Centenary of the Westminster Assembly. July 1, 1643—1843.—Report and Recommendations of the Standing Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, - - - - -</p> <p>Short Notices of Books and Pamphlets.—Thornwell's Reply to Letters in the U. S. Catholic Miscellany, addressed to him by "A. P. F."—Essay on the Composition and Delivery of a Sermon, - - -</p> <p>Business Notices, &c. - - - - -</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JULY.</p> <p>Fragments of a Discourse concerning the Progress of Liberty, - - -</p> <p>Controversy with the Domestic Chaplains of the "Arch-Bishop of Baltimore."—No. IX. of the Protestants. Hatred of the church of Rome to the Bible, - - - - -</p> <p>The Funeral of the Mass.—Chapter VIII. continued. Containing Answers to the Objections of the Romish Doctors, - - - - -</p> <p>The Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland; with a Brief Account of its Origin, and of the</p>	<p>288</p> <p>293</p> <p>296</p> <p>383</p> <p>307</p> <p>311</p> <p>317</p> <p>328</p> <p>335</p> <p>338</p> <p>348</p> <p>366</p> <p>367</p> <p>369</p> <p>384</p> <p>390</p>	<p>State of Affairs then, and at the present moment, - - - - -</p> <p>In what Year of the World did the Saviour become Incarnate?—Some Observations on the Difficulty of Settling that Question—and on the Moral and Prophetic value of it, - - -</p> <p>On the Application of Cold Water as a Remedy for Scalds and Burns. By Maxwell McDowell, M. D., Late Professor in the University of Maryland, - - - - -</p> <p>Some Reflections on the Influence which Physical Developments Exert on the Progress of Civilization, Short Notices of Books and Pamphlets.—Puseyism Examined. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne.—The Burning of the Bibles, &c. By John Dowling, A. M., &c.—The Zincahi; or an Account of the Gypsies of Spain. By George Borrow, &c.—Papal Rome as it is, by a Roman, &c.—Apostolic Baptism, &c. By C. Taylor, Editor of Calmet's Dictionary.—Father Clement, a Roman Catholic Story, - - -</p> <p>Business Notices, &c. - - - - -</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AUGUST.</p> <p>The Disruption of the Kirk of Scotland.—Its Causes and Consequences, - - - - -</p> <p>Agitation in Ireland: Affiliated Clubs in the United States: O'Connell, Repeal, Anti-Slavery and Popery, Controversy with the Domestic Chaplains of the "Arch-bishop of Baltimore."—No. X. of the Protestants. Blasphemy of the church of Rome; More about Excommunication; - - -</p> <p>The Funeral of the Mass.—Chapter VIII. (and the whole Treatise) concluded.—Containing Answers to the Objections of the Romish Doctors, - - - - -</p> <p>St. Bartholomew's Day.—August 24, 1572—August 24, 1662, - - - - -</p> <p>The Labours and Sacrifices of the Romish People and Priesthood, - - -</p> <p>An Address delivered before the Temperance Society in the Woodford church, on the 13th November, 1831, and published at the request of the Society. By Robert J. Breckinridge, A. M., - - - - -</p> <p>Business Notices, &c., - - - - -</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SEPTEMBER.</p> <p>An Address delivered before the Colonization Society of Kentucky, at Frankfort, on the 6th day of January, 1831.—By Robert J. Breckinridge, - - - - -</p> <p>Controversy with the Domestic Chaplains of the "Arch-bishop of Baltimore."—No. XI. of the Protestants. Laurence Sterne and the Hogan Curse: Hatred of the Bible, - - -</p> <p>Life of Alexander Henderson—From his Birth, 1583, to his Entrance on Public Life, 1637, - - - - -</p>	<p>393</p> <p>398</p> <p>404</p> <p>409</p> <p>417</p> <p>420</p> <p>421</p> <p>430</p> <p>435</p> <p>442</p> <p>447</p> <p>454</p> <p>455</p> <p>467</p> <p>469</p> <p>488</p> <p>493</p>

PAGE		PAGE
	The Latter Day Glory of Messiah's Kingdom.—No. IV.,	
501	Critical Observations on Rom. viii. 19,	
507	Some Hints regarding Types and Correspondencies,	
509	Popery at Emmitsburg: a Skirmish of Posts,	
511	Short Notices of Books and Pamphlets.—The (London) Christian Observer.—A Vindication of the Scottish Covenanters, &c.—Speech of the Rev. Dr. Matthews on the Lawfulness of Marrying a Deceased Wife's Sister.—Apocalyptical Key, &c.	
512	Business Notices, &c.,	
516		
	OCTOBER.	
	An Interpretation of John iii. 3—5. Part 1,	
517	Notes on the History of the English Presbyterian Church—Part 1,	
525	A few Observations on several parts of the Revolution in the Polity of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States, commenced in the General Assembly of 1843; with a Detailed Statement and Examination of the Principal Arguments used to defend the rejection of Ruling Elders from participation in Presbyterian Ordinations,	
533	Life of Alexander Henderson, Part 2. From the Swearing of the Covenant, 1638, to the Pacification at Berwick, 1639,	
561		
	NOVEMBER.	
	The Doctrine of a Spiritual Millennium before the Second Advent of Christ, inconsistent with the Confession of Faith,	
565	A Leaf out of the Old Book;—Presby-	
	terianism in one of the Synods dis-	
	owned in 1838;—Recent Develop-	
	ments,	576
	Documentary History of the New Hymn Book, lately authorised by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. States of America,	579
	An Interpretation of John iii. 3—5. Part 2,	587
	Life of Alexander Henderson, Part 3.—From the General Assembly, 1639, to his Mission to London in 1643,	599
	Some Statistics showing the state and operation of the Principle of Double Representation in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, The Office and Rights of Ruling Elders in the Presbyterian Church; Conclusions of the Synod of Philadelphia lately met in Baltimore, relating thereto,	607
		611
	DECEMBER.	
	The Right of Ruling Elders to impose hands in the Ordination of Ministers of the Word, shown out of the Apostolic and Primitive Church,	621
	The Liar-Murderer,	631
	Life of Alexander Henderson, Part 4. From the Formation of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643, to his Death, August, 1646,	640
	Notes on the History of the English Presbyterian Church,	650
	What Ordinary Power exists to change the Faith and Fundamental Principles of the Presbyterian Church? The Question considered in relation to the Doctrine of Incest,	659
	Close of the Work.—Farewell Address, Business Notices, &c.	662
		666

SUPPLEMENT.

There will be sent to the subscribers to this Periodical— in Pamphlet form suitable for binding with the volume for this year, the speeches delivered by the Editor of this work, in the late Synod of Philadelphia—on the questions of *Jurisdiction* and *Ordination* in the Presbyterian church in the U. S. A.—especially as the Office and Rights of Ruling Elders, are involved in those questions.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

JANUARY, 1843.

No. 1.

THE THIRD DEFENCE OF ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE AGAINST THE CALUMNIES OF ROBERT WICKLIFFE. IN WHICH IT IS PROVED BY PUBLIC RECORDS, BY THE TESTIMONY OF UNIMPEACHABLE WITNESSES, AND BY THE DECLARATIONS AND OATHS OF THE SAID WICKLIFFE, THAT HIS ACCUSATIONS ARE, WITHIN HIS OWN KNOWLEDGE, DESTITUTE OF TRUTH.

TO ROBERT WICKLIFFE, SIR.—It was one of the capital errors of my life that I ever trusted you or aided in promoting you; and it is a righteous retribution of God that I should be compelled to show how unworthy you are of the confidence of an honorable mind or the regard of a loyal heart. It is indeed true, that in forming my first relations with you, I was betrayed by circumstances. At my entrance upon the duties of active manhood, I found you avowing the political opinions and acting with the political party to which I adhered, and that in very stormy times; and it was natural that I should not distrust you. As to our private relations, I found you in a position which seemed to prove that trust had been reposed in you by the personal and legal representatives of my father; and my confidence in their discernment and integrity would naturally lead me to follow, and possibly even to exceed their example. That I stopped short where I did, that I renounced your friendship as soon as I knew your principles, that when I understood you, I chose to brave your vengeance rather than have the least appearance of approving your character, are proofs which must satisfy every upright man, that my intentions have been right. If in the long and bitter persecutions you have waged against me, I have in any instance departed from that tone of dignity and moderation which becomes a gentleman and a Christian, as indeed I think I have not, candid men will consider the extremity of the injuries you have sought to inflict, and of the insults which, with a perfect certainty of impunity, you have heaped upon me. In the Defence which I am now about to submit, I think I shall be free from all temptation to transgress the line of conduct I have marked out. For you have allowed yourself to descend so low, have displayed in a manner so humiliating, your want of feeling, of honor and of truth, have displayed so palpably, those degrading passions which even the vilest of our species are ordinarily ashamed to exhibit, have so thoroughly proved yourself unworthy of the resentment of a generous spirit, have put yourself so completely in my power, that I feel nearly as much out of the reach of such temptations as spring from the indulgence of personal hatred, as if I were writing in the character of a third party, the defence of some slandered man who had

been dead a century, or were delineating under some strong necessity a few leading traits in the life and character of some historic ruffian.

With such feelings towards you and such opinions of you, it may seem strange that I should trouble myself any farther with your calumnies. The solution of this difficulty will perhaps be obvious to those who will attentively read this defence. I have also preceded my *Second Defence* with a short paper published at the end of the No. of the *Balt. Lit. and Rel. Magazine* for April 1841, and the present one with a card printed in the autumn of the present year in several newspapers in Lexington Ky., detailing the most important considerations which governed my conduct in this respect, and which need not therefore be repeated here.* It is enough at present to remark that the extreme diversity of human opinions and the nearly insurmountable difficulty of assigning to remarkable men their exact position, will always justify an extraordinary attention to their claims on the part of those who have special duties to fulfil in regard to them. Men still dispute whether Bacon took bribes, or Machiavel was a cheat; and it may occur, hereafter, that others actuated by the same incredulity will seriously question whether Joe Smith, the Mormon, might not possibly have been honest and Robert Wickliffe truthful. Men still question the claims of Mansfield to be called the greatest judge, as well those of Napoleon to be called the greatest captain of his age; and why should they not with equal injustice dispute yours to be placed amongst the most perfidious and pitiless haters in your

*A CARD PRELIMINARY TO A THIRD DEFENCE AGAINST THE CALUMNIES OF ROBERT WICKLIFFE.

CABELL'S DALE, Fayette Co., Ky., Oct. 7th, 1842.

That portion of the public which takes any interest in the affairs of an individual, so little solicitous as myself to obtrude on its notice, may remember that during the early part of last winter, *Robert Wickliffe, Sen.*, published and circulated very extensively, a series of most atrocious charges against me: the third attack he has publicly made upon me since the summer of 1840.

To those who may think I should have replied long ago, to these renewed slanders of this bad old man, I beg respectfully to say, that residing, as I do, far from the scene of these publications, and from the sources of most of that proof by which their calumnies must be confuted, engrossed moreover in duties both public and private, which do not admit of being suddenly laid aside at will, I have not had it in my power till very lately to visit Kentucky, and give such attention to this humiliating controversy as the interests of truth, and the obligations I owe to myself, to my family, and to the memory of the best of fathers, require at my hands.

Such as may suppose that any controversy with such a person, requires an excuse, rather for its continuance, than its delay, are requested to remember that *Mr. Wickliffe* is not known throughout the country as he is in Kentucky; that his great wealth, his respectable connections, and his former standing, taken in connexion with his unparalleled hardness of assertion, give a certain consequence to his vile accusations; and that all experience teaches us that no calumny is too improbable, or too outrageous to find willing listeners and retailers, and therefore, that the safe, as well as the honest and the manly course, is to meet it with a full and timely refutation. Added to all this, we owe it to society to disarm madmen.

The only favor I ask of mankind in regard to this subject, is a candid hearing. Having now completed such investigations as I could make during a hurried visit to this country, and in the midst of incessant interruptions, it is my purpose, at my earliest leisure, after my return to Baltimore, (from which the pressing duties of my ministry do not allow a longer absence,) to write out and publish my Third Defence against this relentless persecutor.

If any faith can be put in the public records of the country, and the testimony of many of the best men it has produced, I am fully able to prove that *Mr. Wickliffe's* infamous charges are utterly false. If any credit is due to his own solemn oath, or any meaning can be attached to his most deliberate conduct, I can clearly establish that he knew them to be false when he fabricated and uttered them. These things, few who have attentively read my two former Defences, will probably think difficult; and if God spares my life, I will surely, and soon, do them.

ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE.

generation? It is a painful duty which you have imposed upon me to record some of the elements from which our children's children may decide upon merits and traits which I think there can be little doubt must become historic.

In the beginning of what you call your *'Reply'* to my *Second Defence*, to which Reply I am about to submit an answer, you say, "*many advised me to silence.*" I think, Sir, before we are done, you will allow it was wise counsel. In the same connexion you add, "*I know . . . I do myself no good.*" I must say, you never uttered a more sensible remark. For in the best sense of the phrase, what good could it possibly do you, to have succeeded to the utmost pitch of your hatred? I was not in your way, I was no longer a resident of Kentucky, no longer a lawyer who might eclipse you, or a politician who might overshadow you, or even a citizen the example of whose life might rebuke you. I was the son, the brother, and the near kinsman of persons of whose friendship you have often and publicly boasted; I was the relative, and therefore the natural friend of your children, and whatever I might think of you, I had uniformly treated them with kindness and respect. I professed to have become a Christian, and therefore to have changed whatever of evil there was in my principles, and to have repented of whatever of sin there was in my conduct; I had become a preacher of the gospel, and therefore had consecrated my life to objects which you will hardly admit it could profit you to defeat. What good therefore could it do you, to pursue such a man with unrelenting ferocity? But besides, you knew well enough, that if I should at any time feel disposed to turn upon you, it would go hard with you, if you escaped at all; you also knew that by birth, by training, by temperament and by principle, I would be amongst the last persons likely to endure beyond the point where good name would be forfeited by silence; and that even if I should prove insensible to the worth of that compared with which life has no value, I was united on all sides and by ties of every kind to men who would not fail to stimulate my sluggish sensibility. Added to all this, your own odious life invited every species of attack, and had been so often and in so many humiliating aspects the subject of animadversion, that the most extravagant vanity could not blind you to your danger in this quarter. Truly, Sir, have you spoken in this, if in nothing else. You have done yourself no good. If the lesson had been taught you earlier it would have saved you much of that misery and shame which your reckless disregard of the rights and feelings of other men has so largely entailed upon you; and though you have learnt it something of the latest, it may even yet, if God has not given you over to irretrievable contempt and ruin, save the closing years of your life from utter execration. If I were as much your enemy as you have proved yourself mine, it would be impossible for me to desire or to execute a deeper vengeance than to have planted in your heart the very passions which madden it, and then with calm and lofty scorn turn upon yourself all your phrensied efforts to indulge them. To correct the past is not now in your power. If the lesson I shall now administer does not induce you to improve the future, the fault will be your own.

I shall not consume time in going over the origin of our personal and public difficulties. I have already done this three times at least; in my private letter of July 2, 1832, in my published Speech of October 12, 1840, and in my Second Defence, printed in 1841. I saw reason to differ from you on a question of local policy and constitutional law; I felt constrained to oppose your doctrines and plans upon subjects which involved the honor and the prosperity of my native state; I was obliged to take issue with you upon points of public morality and the obligations of Christian duty. Besides all this and nearly coincidently I had reason to distrust your integrity as a man, your fidelity as a lawyer, and your honor as a gentleman; but upon these matters our difficulty was private. All this I have fully and publicly explained. It is no marvel that we parted in anger, and forever. There is no marvel perhaps, that one constituted as you are should have pursued me ever since, and that you pursue me still; that you should back-bite and traduce me privately; that you should strive to poison the hearts of my immediate family against me; that you should write and publish speeches expressly to degrade me; that you should attack first my public and then my private character without the least regard to decency or truth; and now finally that you should disturb the ashes of my father by flagitious slander, and with rude insult assail even my venerable mother, in order to wound and harrass me. That one wearing the human shape should so long, so steadfastly, so utterly devote himself, and that in a manner so essentially base, and for purposes so thoroughly malevolent to the ruin of a fellow being, is indeed a most humiliating exhibition of human wickedness; and while the whole facts of the case demonstrate in a very remarkable way, the turpitude of the human heart, the signal defeat of the horrible undertaking is a new incentive to virtue by being a new and most comforting proof, that with the blessing of God, a life which has been simple, upright and manly is always capable of triumphant vindication.

I cannot say that I feel any great difficulty in explaining your conduct; nay there are various characteristic motives from which it might proceed. Some persons have hastily concluded that you had lost your senses; which I suppose is no farther true than that all very bad men are in a manner deranged. The overflow of your disappointed ambition needed a channel, and its bitter current was directed towards me because I had first effectually broken it. The natural manifestation of a constitutional timidity, which rankled against a hundred enemies would be to select that one whose principles rendered personal responsibility the least probable. It is said that those who injure us deeply never forgive us; and if it be so, you had reason enough for hate. Moreover my firm resistance of your conduct in regard to the claims of my father's heirs upon the Iron Works, so touched the very key of many various interests, so implicated your character and embarrassed and jeopardised your vast speculations, that shame, avarice, and disappointment conspiring with personal and political hate, swept away all the better sentiments of your nature. It is also true that it would be a great mistake to suppose that your hatred and abuse of me, are very serious departures from the principle of your conduct towards many other persons; and perhaps fair

samples from your attacks upon me could be matched from any one of hundreds of denunciations you have levelled against your enemies. There is a state of mind too, in which accuracy of statement becomes habitually indifferent to certain minds; their only care being that their facts should be apt for an intended end. There is also in some men a moral constitution so peculiar that any one thing appears as true as any other, a fact being to them what an argument is to others, good or bad according to its use. There is a kind of memory too which is so capricious that it records with perfect accuracy things which never had an existence, and rejects facts, even more striking, with which it is perfectly familiar. So there are persons constituted in such a manner that they never forget any thing that does them any good, and never remember any thing that does them any harm. Besides, Sir, men may indulge any habit until its indulgence is essential to them; and the more unnatural and outrageous the indulgence may be, the more eagerly is it pursued. It is said the public prosecutor during the Reign of Terror could not digest his dinner unless he had caused blood to be shed; and in ancient Rome, even her matrons habitually glutted their eyes with the murderous conflicts of the amphitheatre, and when the shows were over, sat down to feast in the midst of the arena slippery with human gore. Last of all, how uniformly is it true that the base think all men base, that rogues consider all men rogues, that corrupt and abandoned men, in short, by a sort of instinct for what is vile, never hesitate to impute to others the very offences to which they are themselves habitually prone. Amid these ample and varied principles and facts, there can be little difficulty in comprehending that moral derangement which makes the heart the seat of imperishable malignity, and so blinds the understanding as to lead men to charge others with the very offences they have themselves committed, and to do this in the face of the highest human evidence of their own guilt. Why, Sir, I once knew a man of your own name, who went so far as to charge me in a printed speech with being the father of the famous Kentucky "*negro bill of 1833*," and upon that very account, denounced me with unmeasured insult and scurrility; when I had only to turn to the records of the Senate of that state to prove that the man himself had helped to pass the bill! Did he retract or apologize? Far from it. He attempted to prove by a chain of remote causes, that I was the grand-father at least, if not the father of the vile bill; and abused me worse than at first. In this state of case, *Judge William Ousley*, avowed himself to be the author of it, and declared it had wholly other objects and had originated in precisely opposite views, as indeed all men knew, from those charged by your distinguished name-sake of whom I speak! Did he turn upon *Judge Ousley*? Far from it. He abused me anew, and worse than ever, as the great-grand-father, if not the grand-father of the bill; and I have no doubt if you will ask him, he is now ready to swear that this bill, for which he voted and then denounced me as a traitor because I had it passed (as he falsely said)—is in fact, after all is said and done, my bill.

I think, Sir, this case fairly illustrates the nature and force of that ruling passion which I have had occasion to exhibit so much at large in my former publications, and which I shall be obliged to animad-

vert upon throughout the present defence. Three general heads will contain most of what I shall say, in answering what you call your 'Reply' to my Second Defence. *First*, I say and will prove that your accusations are in the broadest sense, absolutely false. *Second*, That they must have been known to you to be false when you uttered them. *Third*, That some of the very things falsely charged on me, and others similar to them, and others still worse, were perpetrated by yourself. If I make good the first proposition, my own character is delivered from your venom. If I establish the second, it proves you to be a false and dishonorable man. And if I sustain the third, it convicts you on your own hypothesis of being yourself worthy of every horrid epithet you have heaped upon me, capable of every detestable motive and action you have attributed to me, and justly subject to the execration you have invoked upon me.

I begin with what is probably the most specific of your calumnies. Overwhelmed in our personal encounter in October, 1840, and driven with ignominy from the ground on which you had assailed me in your Speech of the preceding August; your second printed Speech of 1840 was little else than a low, vile and scandalous libel, intended to divert public attention from the infamy of your previous conduct, and to cover me with a mass of filth which you thought it most probable I would turn from in disgust, or if I undertook to purge it away, the very process might raise new questions, and thus perplex the public mind and afford you new occasions for reiterated slanders. Amongst the worst of your accusations was one couched in these words, "This said Robert J. Breckinridge found among his father's or his brother Cabell's papers, George Nicholas's and Walter Beall's bond for indemnity, which he says he has lost, but which I have always believed he, for motives which he knows I know, has hitherto suppressed." The *motives* for the alleged suppression you thus state; "This would close every part of the gentleman's duty as agent or administrator for his father's estate, and take from him every excuse for not settling with his heirs, by accounting for not only monies received, but lands of great value sold and sacrificed by him." And then you add that I had "played off from that day to this an intended deception on the heirs" of my father. (See pp. 6 and 7, Speech falsely called of Nov. 9, but really of October 12 and 13, 1840.)* In answer to these foul charges, and in illustration of other parts of your conduct, I explained the relations between my father and Nicholas and Beall, as well as those between myself and the estate of my father, and through many pages clearly and incontestibly proved every syllable you had written in this regard to be false, and so known to be by yourself before it was penned. All this will plainly appear by looking over pp. 8-19 of my *Second Defence*.† Driven completely to the wall, it became necessary for you, unless you would succumb under the triumphant demonstration of my innocence and your own guilt, to make some show of proof about this suppressed bond. Blinded by your malignity, you

* This Speech will be cited hereafter as your *Second Speech*; the first attack as your *First Speech*, and the one I am now answering, as your *Reply*.

† I cite my Speech of Oct. 12, 1840, as my *First Defence*; my second publication, which was in reply to your *Second Speech* of 1840, was always entitled my *Second Defence*, and is so cited in this paper. The editions quoted are those of Baltimore, in which the *pagings* is different from the Kentucky editions, as they are, in that respect, from each other.

have made the attempt, and by it have at once proved yourself vile beyond all parallel, and delivered yourself up manacled into my power. "The records of the land shall now speak and prove Robert J. Breckinridge an honest or a dishonest man." Such are your words on the 43d page of your *Reply*. Thanks be to God those records settle that question. You proceed to quote from the 6th page of your *Second Speech* the words already quoted by me, then cite a few lines of indignant denial from my elaborate and complete refutation above referred to, and proceed thus, "Now reader could you believe that a man existed upon the face of the globe that dare to utter what he has done with a perfect knowledge of the existence of the bond; and that he or his lawyer, at his instance, had filed it in the clerk's office of the Fayette Circuit Court, artfully concealed in the folds of the old mortgage, among the papers of his suit against Lee, Beall and Nicholas. I hear trouble you to read the bond, as copied by the Clerk from the original in his office, in the hand-writing of the slanderer's father." Then follows on pp. 43-4, an office copy of what you pronounce the suppressed bond; and after it on pp. 44-5 an office copy of "*the old mortgage*" in whose folds the alleged bond was "*artfully concealed*."

I shall speak presently of the true nature of this paper; at present I desire to fix attention to the fact, that it is the identical paper with whose suppression you charge me. So you call it in the words already quoted from your *Second Speech* of 1840; "*a bond for indemnity, which he says he has lost, but which I have always believed he, for motives which he knows I know, has suppressed*." So you call it again in the foregoing quotation from your *Reply* of 1841; "*the bond*" which "*he, or his lawyer at his instance, had filed*" and "*artfully concealed*;" the very "*bond*" "*copied by the clerk from the original in his office in the hand writing of the slanderer's father*," and which you print on pp. 43-4 of your *Reply*, saying "*I here trouble you to read the bond*." So you repeatedly refer to it, and call it; thus on p. 45, "I detected the gentleman's artifice in concealing *the bond*;" again on p. 48 you say "*the contract as evinced by the suppressed bond*;" again on the same page "*by suppressing the bond*;" and so on repeatedly. Here then is a settled point; this paper, an office copy of which is printed by you on pages 43 and 4 of your *Reply* is the one you charged me in 1840 with suppressing; this is the paper you always believed I had suppressed, and not lost as you say I asserted; this is the paper for suppressing which I had a special motive, which was well known to you and which I knew was so known, which was that I might put off indefinitely a settlement with my father's heirs in order to defraud them. This is the paper constantly intended, and now published to prove by "the records of the land," "Robert J. Breckinridge an honest or a dishonest man." We have now come to an issue from which I can see no escape except in my own dishonor if I am guilty, or if I am innocent, in your conviction as the most hardened, audacious, and unprincipled calumniator. Sir, I am a man fond of plain dealing, and from principle and habit given to that which is direct and unequivocal. I eagerly accept this precise and conclusive issue.

Be so good, Sir, as to peruse the statement which follows, and then for a single moment consider what every other man on earth who reads it must think of you.

State of Kentucky, sct—Court of Appeals Office.

I certify that the Indenture, by way of Deed of Mortgage from Walter Beall to John Breckinridge, dated the 28th day of July, 1802, a copy of which is printed on pages 44 and 45 of a pamphlet now shown to me, entitled "Reply of Robert Wickliffe to Robert J. Breckinridge"—is duly recorded in this office, in Book G., pp. 197, 8, and 9. That the agreement between J. Breckinridge, Walter Beall, and G. Nicholas dated the 1st day of March 1798, a copy of which is printed on pp. 43 and 44, of the aforesaid pamphlet, is also duly recorded in this office, in Book G, pp. 199, 200, 201, 2, and 3—immediately following the aforesaid mortgage; and as appended to it. And that it appears from the attestation of Achilles Sneed, formerly Clerk of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, annexed to said Indenture and Instrument of writing in said Book G, pp. 203 and 4, that they were both produced in his said office at Frankfort on the 20th day of January 1803, and the said Indenture proved by the oath of Nathaniel Hart on that day, and on the 25th day of February 1803 further proved by the oath of John C. Carr, and on the 19th day of March 1803 fully proved by the oath of George F. Cotton. Given under my hand this 27 Sept., 1842. J. SWIGERT, C. C. A.

The fact then turns out to be that the paper alleged to have been suppressed by me was duly and fully proved and admitted to record in the most public clerk's office in the commonwealth in which the contracting parties all lived and died, and in which all the property involved by it lay, about the time I attained my third year; and that it had existed in this permanent, public, indestructible, and by express law, notorious manner, for nearly thirty-nine years before you printed the ferocious pamphlet which I am consigning to unmitigated infamy. Now, Sir, what becomes of your scandalous accusations? What is the testimony of the public records? In the nature of the case, and under the light of the highest proof known to human tribunals, is it not clear as the sun at noon, that you have printed foul and degrading falsehoods which are not only without colorable excuse, but which, as the case turns out to be, could not for about thirty nine years nor since I was three years old, by any possibility have been aught else but the rankest fabrications?

But Sir, let us look a little farther; this "suppressed bond" is a remarkable paper, and you have made it my duty to inquire carefully into its history. You say in your *Reply*, p. 43, that the office copy which you print was "copied by the clerk from the *original* in his office, in the *hand writing of the slanderer's father.*" The Clerk of the Fayette Circuit Court, also appends his certificate, which you print on p. 44, that the copy given to you is truly taken "*from the original on file on my office in the suit John Breckinridge's administrators vs. Beall's Heirs, Lee's Extrs. &c.*" I shall show presently why it was there, how it came there, and who put it there. At present we have it proved that the original was there and there seen by you and copied by the clerk for you. With this fact before your memory, be so good as to read and ponder the statement which follows.

I have examined the original paper copied in a pamphlet styled "Reply of Robert Wickliffe to Robert J. Breckinridge, 1841," pages 43 and 44, and find that there is appended to said original paper from which said copy is taken a certificate by Achilles Sneed, Clerk of the Court of Appeals, certifying its acknowl-

edgement or proof, and that the same is recorded in the Clerk's office of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, in the year 1803, and said paper is marked on the back—“Recorded Liber G, folio 197 and examined: Fee and tax, 3,77½ cents.

Att. A. SNEED, C. C. A.”

The paper referred to, and proven and acknowledged as a part of said last mentioned paper is the one in said pamphlet, pages 44 and 45, and signed by Walter Beall.

A copy of said paper on pages 43 and 44, certified by Jno. H. Hanna, is on file in the suit of John Breckinridge's *hs. &c. vs. W. Beall's reprs.*

Given under my hand as Clerk of the Fayette Circuit Court this 29th day of September, 1842. H. J. BODLEY.

Observe that the *original*, which you saw and handled, which you caused to be copied and certified, which you printed, commented on and circulated, all to prove that I had suppressed it,—this *very original had appended to it* the highest possible evidence, to wit, the certificate of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals, that nearly thirty-nine years before that time it had been proved and recorded in his office, and therefore for that period was incapable of being suppressed. You did not get a copy from a copy; you got it from *the original*. You had in your hands and before your eyes upon that original the most conclusive of all proof that you had before printed and were about to print again a charge infamous in itself, and absolutely incapable of being true. And yet such are your principles and sentiments that you not only proceeded deliberately to publish that I had suppressed the paper, but in your publication of the office copy you suppressed the certificate of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals which you found attached to the original—thereby not only knowingly publishing what was false but mutilating a record in order to deceive the public. Look on the 43, 44 and 45th pp. of your *Reply* and see if you can find the certificate of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals that both the “suppressed bond” and the “old mortgage” to which it was attached, both of which you print in full, were on record in his office? Look at Mr. Bodley's certificate and see the proof that the certificate of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals is an integral and most material part of these original papers. Look at the certificate of Mr. J. R. McGowan, deputy to Mr. Bodley, (pp. 43 and 44,) and observe that those aforementioned instruments of writing are truly copied. And then sir, tell us—what has become of the certificate of the clerk of the Court of Appeals which proved me an innocent man, and you a deliberate calumniator? Who suppressed it sir,² and from what motive?

Here then I have established by the record two negatives; the *first not only* that I did not, but that since I was three years old I could not suppress ‘the bond’; the *second*, that the bond never was suppressed at all, but has been notorious in law, and openly accessible in fact to all mankind for about forty years. At this point I might stop, as the case is settled. But I will go farther, and show in the clearest manner, and by the most precise evidence, that this ‘suppressed bond’ has been almost from the period of its execution in 1798 up to the present time, a paper absolutely notorious, a paper long, often and ardently disputed in the courts of law, a paper with which you have been familiar for above thirty years. Amongst the tens of thousands of private papers I have handled during a very

busy life, there is not one with whose suppression I could have been charged in regard to which it is more completely in my power to meet such an accusation with annihilating evidence; and nothing surely but the merest fatuity of hate and falsehood—the curse of judicial blindness—could have betrayed you into the folly of selecting this as the paper on which to make specific and to defend your general calumny. Besides all personal considerations, there is a most sacred obligation resting upon me to set the history of this paper in its true light, since it is in connexion with it that you have dared with an effrontery absolutely fiend-like, to impeach the honour and integrity of one of the purest gentlemen that ever lived; I mean my honored father, whose unsullied name you have coupled with charges as false as the black heart in whose pollution they were engendered.

The paper which you call the 'suppressed bond,' as it never was suppressed, so also it never was, in any proper sense, a bond at all. It is a very elaborate contract by which John Breckinridge agreed to sell to Walter Beall and George Nicholas, all his right, title, and interest in the Iron Works and various other property, real and personal, and actually transferred to them contracts, covenants and claims to a very large amount, and of multifarious character; by which Beall and Nicholas undertook to indemnify him in various ways from various liabilities; by which Beall agreed to sell to him in consideration of his own sale to him and Nicholas several tracts of land specified in the instrument; and by which, in a certain contingency, which I will speak of more particularly again, my father reserved the right to cancel the contract. These, with some minor covenants, are the contents of this contract, executed on the 1st day of March, 1798, by John Breckinridge of the first part, and Walter Beall and George Nicholas of the second part, all three before that joint owners of the Slate Creek Iron works and a principality round about, now all concentrated in the person of the "Duke of the Town Fork"—by ways and means as yet best known to himself, but which when they come to be understood by the public will probably be considered a dear purchase of the estate.

I have before me a considerable bundle of private papers relating to this contract and to two mortgages from Walter Beall to my father, which grew out of it, (in a way I will presently explain) covering the period which elapsed from its execution in 1798 till his lamented and premature death in 1806. These papers consist of letters to and from Beall, copies of deeds, contracts and accounts, memoranda directing various agents in various particulars relating to the complicated transaction, lists of lands, notices, &c. &c. The whole of them appear to have been once in your possession, as a number of them are endorsed in your hand-writing; and my supposition is that one of the administrators of my father, perhaps Mr. Harrison, placed them in your hands about the year 1811, when you instituted proceedings on one of the mortgages mentioned above, and that my brother J. C. Breckinridge, withdrew them some time between 1814, when he became Trustee of the estate of my father, and 1823, when he departed this life. It would be perfectly easy to prove from these papers that you knew all about this "suppressed bond" more than twenty years ago, although you have the hardihood to say on p. 49 of your *Reply*.

that you had never seen it, having previously and as far back as 1832, written to me (as I have shown in my *Second Defence*, p. 12-13) that you fully understood the whole matter shortly after my father's death. But I shall prove all this so clearly in a more direct way that it is not necessary to consume space here.

On the 23d day of April, 1801, Walter Beall executed to my father a mortgage on a large amount of real and personal estate to secure the payment of £1000, confessed on the face of it to be due to him, which is all that I discover in the deed in regard to the consideration upon which it was made. This mortgage was acknowledged on the day of its date, by Walter Beall, before Benj. Grayson, Clerk of the Supreme Court of the Bardstown District, and by him duly recorded in his office, as he certifies. The allegation of Walter Beall, now repeated by yourself, is that the £1000 for which this mortgage was executed was no other than the price at which my father agreed to take one of the tracts of land mentioned in the "suppressed bond" or contract of 1798, which Beall paid him as part of the price of the Iron Works, the title of which tract had proved to be, or at least was alleged to be bad. It is upon the comparison of this mortgage with the contract of 1798, backed by the statement of Beall, that you now charge my father with overreaching him; in regard to which I will try to mete out justice to you when we come regularly to that part of the case. At present, you will observe that by your own facts and reasoning we bring down the history of the "suppressed bond" to April, 1801, incorporate it with another record in another part of the commonwealth, and identify with it the character and fate of a deed which has been litigated since 1803, and is litigated still; in most of which litigation you have been directly concerned as counsel, and therefore must know your own statements about the suppression of the paper and your ignorance of it, to be false.

On the 22d day of July, 1802, Walter Beall executed to John Breckinridge a second mortgage, which begins by reciting the "*article of agreement made and entered into between the said Breckinridge of the one part, and the said Beall and George Nicholas of the other part, bearing date the first day of March, 1798,*" and then minutely describing it; and closes by annexing the said agreement to the mortgage, and making the condition on which the mortgage is to become void, "*the perfect execution in all its parts of the agreement entered into between the said Breckinridge on the one part and the said Beall and Nicholas of the other part, on the 1st day of March, 1798.*" A considerable amount of property is covered by this mortgage, and amongst the rest the interest of Beall in the Iron Works and adjacent lands, which interest is stated to be eighteen forty-eighths; an important fact which I hope you will try to remember. In the body of the mortgage, it is recited that Walter Beall had given a previous mortgage to John Breckinridge, dated on the 23d of April, 1801, and recorded in the office of the Bardstown District Court, (being the mortgage whose history I have given in the preceding paragraph,) and then Beall proceeds in this instrument to devote any overplus that might remain of the estate covered by the former mortgage after satisfying it to the objects of the present deed. This mortgage was duly proved and recorded in the office of the Court of Appeals of Ky., as I have already proved by the certificate of Mr. Swigert printed on a previous page.

This is the mortgage printed on pp. 44 and 5 of your *Reply*, in printing which you suppressed the attestation of Mr. Sneed which was appended to it. This is the mortgage of which you speak on p. 45, when you say in the sentence immediately following the printed copy of it, "on searching for the old copy of the mortgage which I had left in the papers many years since, which I knew referred to the Bond," &c. This is the mortgage of which you say on p. 2 of your letter of June 22, 1832, to my brother William L. Breckinridge, (for a description of which, and all the correspondence of that period, see pp. 6, 7 and 8 of my *Second Defence*,) that shortly after the death of our father "I found among his own papers a mortgage from Walter Beall to indemnify and keep him harmless for all contracts made for lands within the company's bounds;" and this you say on p. 1, was "shortly after your father's death"—that is, shortly after December, 1806. But the very intent and object of this mortgage was to give perpetual force, security and notoriety to the '*suppressed bond*,' and that, so called bond, was not only recited and described in the instrument, but annexed to it and recorded with it; and you admit that "*many years since*" you knew these facts, and indeed held in your own hands the original deed, and filed a copy of it. That is, you had many years since precise information in regard to the paper whose history is now brought down to March 1803, when it was admitted to record in the office of the Court of Appeals, which if any other man had made the charges you now make, would have convinced you that he lied; and if he made them with your amount of knowledge on the subject, that he lied knowingly; and if he made them in order to injure some innocent man, that he lied maliciously. Upon what principles you will escape the like conclusions, is, I must say, a mystery to me.

There are before me several letters which passed between my father and Walter Beall during the year 1803, in regard to the first mortgage above described, that is the one of 1801, and the payment of the amount secured by it, which letters, as endorsements in your hand-writing prove, have been examined by you. In the same file of papers, and with the rest once in your hands, is a copy of an agreement dated 25th of May, 1803, between Walter Beall of one part and John W. Hunt and Thomas Hart of the other, for the sale and purchase of Beall's interest in the Iron Works and for other purposes, which is certified by the late Gen. Thomas Bodley to have been acknowledged before him as Clerk of the Circuit Court, on the day of its date by all the parties to it, and to be duly recorded; and also a copy of a mortgage from John C. Owings, by his attorney in fact B. Vonpradells, and Thomas Dye Owings to Walter Beall, dated the 18th of Jan'y, 1803, and certified by General Bodley to have been duly acknowledged and recorded, to secure the payment of about forty-five thousand dollars for Beall's eighteen forty-eighths in the United Iron Company, and for other purposes. Both these instruments contain express stipulations that Beall shall be indemnified against the covenants in the contract of 1798, and the mortgage of 1802, between himself and my father. The two Owings covenant in their mortgage, and Hunt and Hart undertake in their agreement, in the very same terms "*to indemnify and save harmless the said Beall against all and every demand which John Breckinridge may have against him the said Beall, in consequence of a mortgage or other assurance*

given to the said Breckinridge to indemnify him as a member of the company;" that is to say, against "the suppressed bond," and the mortgage made to insure its faithful execution. Whatever may have been the issue of these contracts, about which I have no certain information and no concern, they prove the notoriety of the relations of Beall and my father, show the reiterated confirmations by Beall of his contracts with my father, and while they illustrate the history of the 'suppressed bond,' give more and more force to the evidence by which, as you are pleased to express it, "the records of the land" prove you "an honest or a dishonest man." That you were perfectly familiar with one at least of these instruments is clear from your own repeated declarations; for instance you say on p. 6 of your *Second Speech* of 1840, "*the deed of mortgage from Owings to Beall had not been recorded according to law;*" a statement which appears to be inaccurate and made for a purpose; for in your letter of June 22d, 1832, to my brother William, (on p. 3,) when speaking of the very beginning of your connection with this business, you say "on further search I laid my hands on Owings's contract or mortgage to Beall and ascertained that he, Owings, was bound to Beall to execute his contract with your father as to indemnity," that is as to the covenants in the "suppressed bond" of 1798. So that here again you are convicted by a third set of deeds and records, admitted by yourself in 1832, and again in 1840, to have been well known to you soon after my father's death.

On the 20th of October, 1803, the late Col. John Allen filed a Bill in Chancery in the Federal Circuit Court for the District of Kentucky, in the name of John Breckinridge vs. Walter Beall and others, for the purpose of coercing the payment of the £1000 secured by the mortgage of 1801. I have in my hands a copy of the letter from my father to Col. Allen, dated Sept. 4, 1803, directing this suit to be brought; you have seen it in the bundle already mentioned. Walter Beall had given a mortgage to other persons, resident in Virginia, older than his first mortgage to my father, and covering the same property; which prior mortgage it was necessary to foreclose. The questions whether one bill could cover the whole case, and whether the Federal Court would in that case have jurisdiction, were submitted to Col. Allen's own judgment, he being then a very eminent lawyer in full practice, and my father having retired from the bar after his election to the Senate of the United States about four years before. Col. Allen appears to have decided both questions affirmatively, and as you say, incorrectly, but as you admit in accordance with the prevailing opinions of that day. In the letter to him, my father says, "I think it not unlikely, from what has lately passed between W. Beall and myself that he may attempt to shake the consideration on which the mortgage was given. Be so good, therefore, so soon as his answer comes in, as to inclose me a copy of it. Should any testimony be made necessary, I will attend to it myself." And so it turned out. Beall's answer filed on the 18th of August, 1804, sets out his and Nicholas's contract with my father in 1798, (the *suppressed bond*,) files his original of it and makes it part of his answer, denies the consideration of the mortgage of 1801, and avers that he was not of sound mind when he made it; which two last points we will attend to in another

place when we come to discuss your endorsement of them against my father's memory. Beall's original of the "suppressed bond" remained amongst the papers in this suit until the 25th day of May, 1826, when his heir at law, Samuel T. Beall, gave an order on the Clerk for it, which order and the receipt of the late Judge Stephen Ormsby for the paper, are now on file. The use Ormsby made of it, we shall see afterwards, if your nerves will bear you through the narrative. There are in the papers a number of depositions bearing upon both questions raised by Beall as to the consideration of the mortgage of 1801, and as to his sanity when he made it; they are generally dated in 1805. The last notice I find during the life of my father, is an endorsement in his beautiful hand-writing, on the back of an old letter of Walter Beall's, which is used as an envelope for papers relating to this transaction, in these words, "*Oct. 1806, directed Mr. Allen to set this suit for hearing;*" this was about two months before his death. Now, Sir, if you will turn to the 9th page of your *Second Speech* of 1840, you will find that according to the state of your very versatile powers of memory, at that time, you believed, or at least said, that you "*had discovered*"—such are your words—not many years after my father's death, that he "*had a contract with Walter Beall for a thousand pounds, and a mortgage to secure its payment, on which he had brought suit in the Federal Court. That court having no jurisdiction, I dismissed the suit, and brought suit against Beall's Executor and Devisee, in Fayette.*" In your letter of June 22, 1832, to my brother William L. Breckinridge, already quoted, you say on page 2, "*After searching among your father's papers and the records where he had practiced, I found Walter Beall's mortgage acknowledging that he owed your father £1000, filed among the records of the Federal Court.*" That is, this case in the Federal Court, was perfectly known to you, examined by you, dismissed by you, and our original papers in it, as well as others already traced to you, taken possession of by you; and therefore you had perfect knowledge, not only of the nature and existence of the mortgage of 1802 with the "suppressed bond" annexed—but of the mortgage of 1801, sued on in the Federal Court and resisted because of the defective consideration based upon that "suppressed bond" and because Beall by reason of his alleged madness did not discover the trick when he signed the mortgage. All these facts you knew soon after December, 1806, when my father died; and all the original papers are now traced, through records and suits, into your own hands, by your own precise admissions. And yet, Sir, such is your capacity to forget and remember at will, and such your power of assertion, and such your opinion of the state of discernment and moral sentiment in the community, that you venture in 1841, (see p. 49 of *Reply*) to say "*I could never get sight of the bond*"—that is, of the paper attached to the mortgage of 1802 and on which that mortgage was based, which I have just traced into your hands; the paper which was, as sworn by Beall and reiterated by you, the basis also of the mortgage of 1801, and as such resisted, and which "*contract and mortgage,*" are again traced into your hands. Nay, you declare "Had I have seen this bond, the gentleman knew from my conduct in his aunt Meredith's case, that I would have suffered my tongue to have been drawn from my throat sooner than have aided in the

recovery." And yet in your letter to me of August 29th, 1832, (on p. 5) you say that in hunting for a suit which had been brought in the Federal Court to try the validity of Blackwell's claim, which has under your management cost us so much money and vexation, "I found that your father had brought suit upon his £1000 mortgage against old Walter Beall in that Court, that Beall had answered, *alleging that the mortgage was without consideration, and fraudulently obtained from him when in a state of entire derangement. I also saw that Beall had proven his derangement by a number of witnesses. As the Federal Court had not jurisdiction, I got leave in this case to withdraw the bill and mortgage, (I believe,) and for the first time conceived the idea of suing on the mortgage to meet the demand of Lee's executors.*" This must have been before 1811, because the suit on the mortgage was instituted by you in that year. So that what you could never get a sight of, was well known to you for thirty years and more, and what if you had seen, would have so stirred your honest heart that the pulling out of your chaste tongue would have been a light suffering to the bare idea of helping to enforce so bad a claim—was not only sued on by you thirty years before, but you yourself in 1832 claimed the honor of the first conception of that suit as a grand financial manœuvre, and point to the very period and circumstance of the birth of the happy conception. Oh! "honest—honest—Iago."

By what authority you were originally authorised to take upon yourself to act for the administrators and heirs of my father, to ransack his papers, to dismiss suits, and to institute new ones upon his outstanding contracts, is a matter which you sedulously involve in mystery; and the more you talk and write about it, the more obscure the question becomes. In the letter of June 22d, 1832, (p. 1) to my brother William, you intimate that your original connexion with the business of that estate was very early and very confidential, for you say "your brother Cabell was young and out of the state, and neither of the administrators seemed to be competent or inclined to act;" whereupon as one fully empowered, you set to work to act for them. This view of the matter is much strengthened in your letter to me of August 29, 1832, (top of p. 6,) in which you say, "your father's estate had no representative but myself, and the suits were daily increasing, your brother Cabell at College, Harrison at home, and Grayson drunk." In my letter to you of July 2d, 1832, written after understanding the purport of your letters to my brother William, I say (on p. 2 of copy before me) "I have long understood both from yourself and others that you were retained by the administrators of my father, and afterwards by the late trustee of our estate, as attorney and counsel for us, in all our business." In reply to this, in your letter of August 29, of same year, p. 3, you say, "I should like to have the day and date when I told you that I was retained by your father's Executors, and then by your late brother, in all your father's business. I could not have told you so, because it would not have been true. So far from it, for several years after your father's death I was not even consulted on his business. Mr. Grayson, I understood, was appointed or assumed the duty of the lawyer, declaring that when he wanted counsel he would engage one, your sister protesting that I should have nothing to do with the business." On the 7th page of your *Second*

Speech of 1840, you set out professedly to "give a sketch" which should explain this matter in full, but with characteristic art wander from the subject, leaving it as uncertain as before what was in reality the nature of your engagement. On page 8th, referring to events that must have happened about the year 1809, you say one of the administrators (which must have been Mr. Harrison,) "asked me if Mr. Grayson (the other administrator) had not employed me;" to which you replied, as you say, "I told him Grayson had not employed me;" which is directly opposite to what you were pleased to say two years afterwards, as we shall see immediately. On page 9 you say, "From this time *I voluntarily took upon myself* the whole of the business of the late Mr. Breckinridge's estate:" which is again in the teeth of what you allege in a bill in Chancery filed against the Administrators and Heirs of the same Mr. Breckinridge, in September, 1842, to recover those fees for professional services, which in October, 1840, you stated before a public assembly had been entirely gratuitous, (see p. 40 of my *Second Defence*.) and which, as above declared, were voluntarily taken upon yourself. In the Bill in Chancery, just referred to, you say, "after the death of the late John Breckinridge, one of his administrators, *Alfred Grayson*, who was also a distributee, requested this *complainant's professional services generally*," and then you proceed to give a long and hardly intelligible account of an agreement struck up between you; which is contrary to what you say in 1840 you had told Mr. Harrison about 1809. "Shortly before or after" this interview with Grayson, you say you had one with Harrison (the other administrator) who "*renewed the proposition of general employment*," upon which, after some more rigmarole, the said Wickliffe told the said Harrison, as you say, "*that he was willing to appear in all cases where he practised, where he thought the administrators needed counsel, and where he felt no personal objection to doing so; but a general promise to act as counsel, he would not make*," &c.; which is contrary to the allegation of 1840, that your services were voluntary. As I have already said, taking your various declarations, it is very difficult to say precisely what we are expected to believe, and precisely what you desire us to understand as being your position in regard to the personal and legal representatives and the estate of John Breckinridge; but these shuffling and inconsistent statements contain the grounds upon which you justify in the first place, acts of apparently unlimited trust and authority, in the second place, secret machinations subversive of the very interests you were engaged to watch over, and in the third place, open treachery and the direct concentration in your own person of the contested estates.

Let us now proceed with the history of this most notorious of all suppressed bonds, after it came into your possession, as friend, agent, lawyer, interloper, or whatever else you may have been for the representatives of John Breckinridge. In the month of September, 1811, you wrote, signed and filed a bill in Chancery, in the Fayette Circuit Court, in the name of *John Breckinridge's Adm'rs and Heirs vs. Lee's Ex'rs, and others*, which sets out in substance that John Breckinridge and George Nicholas had made a contract dated August 6, 1795 with John Lee, for the purchase of Blackwell's claim for nineteen thousand and odd acres of land, (*the bill describing and*

making profert of the contract) upon which Lee's Executors had brought an action at law against Breckinridge's Adm'rs; that Breckinridge had during his life sold to Walter Beall and George Nicholas his interest in the Iron Works, and in this claim of Blackwell, by an instrument dated March 1, 1798, (*this is the suppressed bond,*) which was further assured by a mortgage from Beall to Breckinridge, dated in 1802, (*this is the mortgage to which the suppressed bond was attached;*) that Thomas Dye Owings had subsequently purchased the entire interest of Nicholas and Beall, including what they had purchased from Breckinridge, and had expressly bound himself by deed of record to fulfil all the obligations of both of them to Breckinridge; upon which state of case the bill prays generally against Nicholas's and Beall's representatives, specially against Owings, and for an injunction against Lee's Executors. The injunction was refused, and after a tedious litigation, Lee's Executors recovered from us at law upon the contract of 1795, and we paid a sum of money amounting, principal, interest, and costs, at this time, to thirteen or fourteen thousand dollars. It was to indemnify himself against this risk amongst others that some of the main clauses were inserted by my father, in the contract of 1798 with Nicholas and Beall, and that the mortgage of 1802 was taken from Beall; it was to avoid the payment of this money that our bill of Sept. 1811 was filed by you; it is to recover from those who ought to pay, and to subject the property bound for it that we have prosecuted this suit ever since; and it is because you, our original counsel, became, by hook or crook, claimant of the most valuable part of the property, while as our counsel you were prosecuting our claim against it, that you, at first secretly, and when I detected your operations and condemned them, then openly turned against us and denounced in succession, us, our claims, and the memory of our father, in order to hold on to your enormous gains, and cover your enormous wickedness. I suppose a clearer case of equity never existed; but as I have sufficiently explained it, and your outrageous conduct in regard to it, in my *Second Defence*, I hope you will refresh your versatile memory in regard to the whole matter by referring to pp. 8-11 of that publication. Inasmuch, however, as we are on the subject of suppressed papers, I beg to call your attention to a curious little incident, not very different in principle from that perpetrated in the matter of the suppressed certificate of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals attached to the mortgage of 1802, and omitted by you in printing the mortgage. In the above-mentioned bill in chancery, as I have already said, which as you will hardly deny, and as I will immediately prove, you wrote, *profert is made of the original agreement of John Breckinridge and George Nicholas with John Lee, for the sale of Blackwell's claim; it was therefore in all probability, in your hands in the year 1811.* After we had got our decree against the Iron Works in 1830, according to the prayer put into our mouths by you, and according to our clear right,—for which you abuse me in your publications, and *Richard H. Chinn, Esq'r*, in your private letters to my brother William and myself; after you had promised again and again to see our lien paid off, and we had waited a year and more that it might be done, which interval you employed to fortify your position against us, and we despairing of getting our

money otherwise, advertised the property for sale under our decree; you then employed your connexion and pupil, Mr. Payne, in April, 1831, to file a petition in the name of Luke Tiernan, Thomas Ellicott and Jonathan Meredith, Trustees for Samuel Smith, whose name and claims you, while counsel for us, used to possess yourself of the estate mortgaged to us, praying the Court to set aside our decree and let in your new clients (that is yourself,) to be heard upon certain matters in which our interests and theirs (that is yours) conflicted. Amongst other grounds alleged in this petition, one is in these words, "*Because the claimants (that is, us, by you) have failed to file a copy of the agreement between John Breckinridge and George Nicholas with John Lee, for the purchase of Joseph Blackwell's claim, and which is made an exhibit in the original bill.*" Now, Sir, where do you suppose this paper was from 1811 to 1831? Why, Sir, in your hands! You got the paper, set it forth in our bill, retained it in your hands twenty years, and then urged the absence of it as one reason why our decree should be set aside, and you let in to controvert our claim. In the absence of the regular judge of the circuit, and in a manner most unusual and suspicious, after the judge presiding had upon argument refused the prayer of the petition by a public decision from the bench, he subsequently came into court and set aside his own decision, granted the prayer of the petition, set aside our decree, and let you in to raise difficulties without end and to litigate two or three complicated, if not bankrupt estates, before our money should be refunded. I was not present at this scene, but I repeat it as I have always understood it to have occurred, and as I repeated it to you in my letter of July 2, 1832. You did not then nor for years after deny its substantial accuracy; so that having personal knowledge that your version of the matter on p. 54 of our Reply is utterly untrue in most of its particulars, and the rest being without proof, I must be allowed to discredit your assertion that the *regular* judge and not the *locum tennes*, set aside the decree. The record will show. What passed out of the court house to change the mind of the judge is unknown; also what became of the affidavit you filed in the case, swearing that you had no other interest in the claims, (which it now appears you owned absolutely) than as the attorney at law and in fact of the trustees of Samuel Smith. But the particular point to which I wish now to direct your attention is, that several years after this remarkable transaction, viz. on the 19th day of April, 1834, you brought forward and filed in the cause the very paper whose absence, being in fact retained by you, although it belonged to us, was one of the grounds alleged by Mr. Payne for you why we should be defeated, and why the trustees of Smith (that is yourself,) should succeed! Yet after all this concatenation of deceptious wickedness, you boldly publish on p. 48 of your *Reply*, a duplicate of this contract of August, 1795 with Lee, and through four pages (46-49) argue to prove that it and an agreement of Aug. 14, 1796, between my father and George Nicholas and a private memorandum by my father, dated June 19, 1805, since filed by us with an amended bill to illustrate the nature of the contract of 1795 with Lee, and to enforce a point charged in our original bill by you, (to wit, that Mr. Nicholas was bound for two-thirds of the money due Lee,) were all the while kept out of view by me, since I was a small boy. That is, you keep the paper in your hands

from 1811, meanwhile using its absence as a plea against us, till 1834 when you file it; whereupon after we find and file collateral papers to elucidate its contents, you charge me with the corrupt retention of a paper which had been for twenty-three years in your hands, and ever since on file in the suit. For the certificate of the clerk, appended to the office copy before me, testifies that you filed the paper on the 19th of April, 1834, as before stated, and as the endorsement on it in his office proves; which endorsement you take good care not to publish along with the paper. This whole proceeding forms one of the most remarkable exhibitions that has ever fallen under my notice, and would cover an ordinary man with irretrievable disgrace.

But my principal objects just now are to prove that you were perfectly familiar, all along, with the existence and character of the paper in regard to which you bring such false and vile accusations against me, and that you knew always, that the conduct of my father and of all of us in regard to it, and to the duties imposed by it and the claims arising out of it, was fair, honourable, and without disguise. All this is clear past doubt, if I have correctly represented the bill of 1811 against Lee and others, which is still depending in Lexington, as being in fact founded upon the contract of 1798 and the mortgage of 1802 which was given to secure its execution, to which it was attached, with which it was recorded, and with which you print it, suppressing the certificate of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals. To put this point to rest, an extract from the bill itself with the clerk's certificate annexed, is here printed.

“Your orators state that on the 1st day of March 1798, the said John Breckinridge sold out to a certain Walter Beall all his right, title and interest in and to the Slate Iron Works, and all his claim to lands within either three miles of the furnace or forge and that the said Beall and Nicholas among other things covenanted and agreed to pay to the persons from whom the said Nicholas and Breckinridge had bought any land within the bounds aforesaid, the prices for the said lands that said Nicholas and Breckinridge were to pay in the event of establishing the titles thereto, and that all future expenses of investigation or establishing at law or otherwise the titles to any of the lands sold, to be incurred by the said Beall and Nicholas and the said Breckinridge to stand bound for his personal services only which your orators aver he always did. Your orators also charge that the said moiety of the 19062 acres in the name of Blackwell lies within three miles of the furnace or forge and was in the contemplation of the parties at the time of the contract and did as they verily believe pass thereby to Beall and Nicholas. Your orators further state that the said Walter Beall for the further and full assurance to the said Breckinridge and towards indemnifying him against possible loss did on the 23d day of July 1802, by his certain Deed of Indenture mortgage and transfer to the said Breckinridge all his interest in the said Iron Works and lands, &c. as will more fully appear by said mortgage herewith filed and made a part of this bill.”

I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true extract from the bill in chancery of John Breckinridge's Adm'rs against John Lee's Ex'rs, &c. which is in the hand-writing of Robert Wickliffe, Esq'r: said bill was filed in September, 1811.

Given under my hand this 14th day of September, 1842.

H. J. BODLEY, C. F. C. C.

Now, Sir, do you not see how this proof divides in sunder the very joints and marrow of your case? In 1841 you profess utter ignorance of a paper which I trace from a public office, and as a public record, into your hands soon after 1806, and out of them as a public record and

into the courts of justice in 1811. In 1840 you profess utter amazement at finding a paper in a suit, in which very suit you are now proved to have filed it after writing out a particular description of it, in 1811; for it appears of record, as it does also on inspection, that John Breckinridge's original of the contract of 1798 was attached to and made part of Walter Beall's mortgage to him of 1802, and remained so physically as well as legally, part of it, until you by accident or by design got them torn apart. In 1811 you make a paper then notorious, the foundation of a bill in chancery, describe and file it; in 1840 you are base and blind enough to accuse me of having destroyed the paper; in 1841 you find the paper just where you put it in 1811, and then are stupid and corrupt enough to accuse me of having secretly slipt it into the place to which it had rightfully belonged for thirty years. A paper, too, which I had a thousand motives to preserve, and not the shadow of a motive to destroy, even if it had been possible, which I have proved it was not, to have done so.—Upon the question of "honest or dishonest man," which you have raised between us, the "records of the land" to which you have appealed, appear in truth, to be very conclusive.

Your charge is, that I had slipped the contract of 1798 into the mortgage of 1802, amongst the papers where you found them in the Clerk's office, at some very recent period. On page 43 of your *Reply*, you quote a passage from your *Second Speech* of 1840, and one from my *Second Defence*, printed in 1841, in regard to your original and rather indefinite charge about concealed papers; and then after printing the contract and mortgage on pp. 43–45, the former as the specific paper suppressed, the latter as the one by which you were lead to find and identify the other, you say on p. 45, "*On discovering the original mortgage and bond, I demanded of the clerks present, by what means the mortgage and bond had got into the papers,*" &c. You say in a sentence above, that the *copy* of that mortgage of 1802, which you had "*filed and left in the cause,*" had "*been abstracted from the papers.*" These things are very curious; you describe a deed and file it, and then protest you never could get sight of it, and that it had been destroyed as you had always believed; but lo! the first time, as far as it is known, that you look for the paper, you find it precisely where you left it, and then in undissembled amazement cry out, "*I left a copy which some one has abstracted, and left the original!*" Most assuredly this is a strange and portentous crime which "some hands," have wickedly perpetrated, and it is most natural and most characteristic that you should freeze with horror over it, and proceed at once to ferret it out. "The clerks could give no account of the manner in which the papers came into the cause;"—unhappy clerks! But they "stated that the last persons that handled the papers were the *reverend gentleman* and his attorney, Madison C. Johnson, Esq'r." Aha! now we are on the track. "Knowing Mr. Johnson to be a perfectly upright man—I forebore to make any further remarks, until I could see him." Very proper; very prudent; very safe. Well, as Mr. Johnson was incapable of the heinous crime of using hocus pocus to turn "*a copy*" into "*the original,*" then surely surely, we have "*the reverend gentleman,*" safe in the net at least? What said Mr. Johnson? "He stated that he was totally ignorant how the papers came into the

office." This is conclusive; for as he and "*the reverend gentleman*" were "the last persons that handled the papers," and these papers had been there exposed to all mankind only about thirty years, and no proof exists that they had not been in their proper place all the while, and Mr. Johnson is innocent, *ergo*, "*the reverend gentleman*" is guilty; and it is proved that he did this enormous wickedness, viz. transmute, what the immaculate Mr. Wickliffe says was once only *a copy*, yea and a copy of a nonentity, into the veritable *original*; nay he did this specimen of the black act, under Mr. Johnson's nose and eyes, so cunningly, that he did not either see the cloven foot or smell the sulphur! Surprising! But Mr. Johnson is not only an upright man, he is also a very discreet one; "*he had some time before, taken a list of the papers on file, and on reading it discovered*"——!——what? Here at last we have "*the reverend gentleman*" fairly caught; for here is a list of the papers on file, "*some time before*" his portentous visit; a list taken by "*a perfectly upright man.*" And upon consulting this list, to oblige you, "*he discovered*——;" alas! what? "THAT THE BOND WAS ON FILE!"——Base, vile, reckless calumniator——why should not every honest man spit at you? Why should not the children in the streets hiss at you as you pass along? Yes, Sir, "*the bond was on file,*" when Mr. Johnson, taking the chief management of this case, some years ago, was led, may I not say providentially? to make an abstract of the pleadings, and a minute of the exhibits filed in it! I do not remember, nor does he as I understand, precisely the period at which this abstract was made by him; it was after April, 1834, because it contains the paper retained by you from 1811, and filed in the former year as already shown. My knowledge of this conclusive memorandum was accidental, if I may use the expression. My young kinsman, *John Cabell Breckinridge, Esq'r*, now of Burlington, Iowa, examined these papers for me in the month of February, 1841, and furnished me with an abstract of the case that I might be perfectly accurate in the *Second Defence* which I was then preparing against your calumnies. He mentioned to me, incidentally, in a letter of the 25th of that month, that he had "procured from Mr. Johnson a short abstract which he has drawn up of the case of *Breckinridge's Heirs and Administrators vs. Lee's Executors and others*," which he adds, "has assisted me in the investigation of that suit." I immediately desired him to obtain for me, from Mr. Johnson, a copy of his abstract, which was sent to me in a letter dated the 28th of March, 1841. I went to Kentucky in June, 1841, to be with a beloved brother in his last sickness; and my *Second Defence* is dated "*Cabell's Dale, near Lexington, August 20th, 1841.*" The abstract of Mr. Johnson is conclusive proof that both the bond and mortgage had been on file in the proper place some years before this, and the verification of that abstract by Mr. John C. Breckinridge in February, 1841, also positively proves, that they were there at that time; that is, that at and for years before the period of my visit to the office with Mr. Johnson, they were in that office, as there found afterwards by you; and, as I have already proved, as there placed by you as far back as 1811; and thus the means resorted to by you to ruin me, afford a new and powerful demonstration of my integrity and of your amazing villany. So much of Mr. Johnson's abstract as relates to the

present matter is, in my copy, in these words: "The following papers are on file, 1st, the bond of Breckinridge and Nicholas to John Lee, (its contents above stated.)" This is the bond, doubtless, held back by you till April 19, 1834, and then filed. "2d. A copy of the judgment of *Lee's Ex'rs. vs. Breckinridge's Adm'rs* for £1704-14-6, and \$209 costs. 3d. *The Agreement of Sale by John Breckinridge to Walter Beall and George Nicholas.*" This is the suppressed bond! "4th. *The mortgage of Beall to Breckinridge.*" This is the deed to which the preceding paper was annexed; "the original," into which "*the reverend gentleman,*" by the black art, transmuted "a copy." "5. The deed of John Cocky Owings to Thomas Dye Owings. 6. The mortgage of Thomas Dye Owings to Walter Beall." This is the instrument in which he undertakes to indemnify my father; and which after pleading it again and again, after writing and publishing about it again and again, you deny on oath, the existence of, in your answer and cross bill of March 21, 1842. "7. The deed of Ellicott and Meredith." These are the lasting indications of your treachery.

I think, Sir, if any act of yours could surprise me, what I am now about to adduce as final, on this part of our subject, ought to do so. On the 21st day of March, 1842, as certified by the Clerk of the Fayette Circuit Court, you filed, and "in due form of law" swore to a paper described as being "*an amended answer and cross bill of Ellicott and Meredith,*" in the case "*Breckinridge's Heirs vs. Beall's Adm's and others.*" The copy before me fills 14 large pages. It is a general attack upon every body and every thing connected with any part of the transactions about the Iron Works property, so far as is necessary to uphold your claims upon it; and remembers and forgets, asserts and denies, with a most scrupulous attention to your own apparent interests, and a most edifying contempt of other considerations. I cannot take up the space necessary to elucidate its contents except in regard to the '*suppressed bond.*' You swear, in the early part of the bill, that "*these defendants have no personal knowledge*" of the things alleged in our pleadings; though by "these defendants" you mean yourself, though you drew the most of those pleadings yourself, and have written pamphlet after pamphlet, and charged honest men with crime after crime, upon your alleged "personal knowledge" of these complicated transactions. You swear "that on the 1st day of March, 1798, Walter Beall and George Nicholas by an article of agreement, bought of John Breckinridge, all claims he had to any claim in the Iron Works property, and claims to lands within three miles of the furnace or forge, *as will appear by said article also filed by the complainants in this cause,* and which these defendants make a part of this answer." Now how did you know so as to be able to swear to it, that the complainants, to wit, the representatives of John Breckinridge had filed in this cause, the contract of 1798, to wit, the '*suppressed bond?*' Not from any endorsement on it; for you say on p. 45 of your *Reply*, that neither the contract of 1798, nor the mortgage of 1802, as found by you in the case in 1841, had "any mark usual on the back of papers that are legally and in the usual way filed in the office." How then could you swear that "*the complainants in this cause*" had filed in it, the article of 1798? Plainly thus: they made profert of it and filed it with their original bill in 1811;

you drew the bill and filed the paper, and could therefore well swear to this fact. And therefore if you are to be believed on oath, your assertion that you never saw the paper, and that you had always believed it had been suppressed by me, are not only untrue, but were not believed to be true by yourself when they were uttered. Farther on in your amended answer, the following sentence occurs, "Your orators state that John Breckinridge departed this life in 1806, and the said Walter Beall shortly thereafter, that all the heirs of Breckinridge were under age as they believe at his death, and the eldest a married woman, and from shortly after the death of Breckinridge to this day, the contract in question has been the subject in controversy as the records referred to will abundantly prove." I quote with verbal accuracy the office copy. What was "the contract in question?" My father had three contracts with Beall, to wit, the agreement of 1798, the mortgage of 1801 to secure a £1000, and the mortgage of 1802 to secure the fulfilment of the contract of 1798. Upon the mortgage of 1801 he brought suit during his life, as was well known to you; therefore your words do not apply so naturally to it. Upon the contract of 1798, you brought suit in 1811, and in that and various other suits, it has been litigated up to this hour; therefore your words apply strictly to it. But even if you should now pretend that you meant the mortgage of 1801; that, as you and Beall both assert, had no basis but the contract of 1798. Therefore we have your solemn oath, taken in March, 1842, that this contract of 1798 had been in litigation continually since shortly after my father's death; which is literally true. *But this is the suppressed bond!* Therefore all your statements to the contrary of this, are literally false, or else you are unworthy of credit on oath. That is, if you are to be believed when deposing under oath, it is matter of great notoriety and of public record, since about the year 1806, that no one did or could suppress the contract of 1798, and therefore your charges against me are calumnious; but if any should presume to say (which I do not) that you are not to be believed on oath, even with the pains and penalties of perjury staring you in the face, then surely the accusations of such a person when not on oath, must be lighter than a feather, when they are confronted as I have heretofore confronted yours.

Since you became interested to defeat our recovery of the money, we have payed for the benefit of other people on an ancient contract of our father, you have gradually but steadily changed your opinions of the nature of our claim. This is perhaps natural, and in one of your character, may be easily explained. Still it is curious and instructive to read over your various statements, when openly for us, when shying off to a neutral position, and when finally levelling your artillery at us; to compare your charges against me in private letters to the other members of the family, of neglecting or endangering a most clear and valuable claim, with your oaths in chancery that we have no claim at all; to put side by side your public demands on our gratitude for the services you had rendered us in enforcing these claims, with your declarations on oath, that the claims were iniquitous, and your printed assertions that your honor and reputation required you, even when counsel for us, to resist them and engage on the other side; to contrast your oath, that you had no personal interest, with your subse-

quent oath that you owned all the property; to read your self-gratulations at having, even at the risk of your life, put down a horrible calumny against the reputation of our father, and then read your calm and detailed assurances that the calumny was true. And yet, touching the point which has suggested these reflections, viz., the reality and the equity of our claims, it is, I must say, wholly impossible for me to imagine how any thing could be clearer, or how an honest man or a good lawyer can be in doubt on the subject. One partner pays money for another, upon a partnership contract; shall the money be refunded? This is our claim on the estate of Col. Nicholas. One man sells an estate to another, and a material part of the consideration is, that the purchaser shall stand in the shoes of the seller as to large out-standing contracts about a portion of the estate; afterwards the seller is forced by law to pay large sums of money upon those contracts and for the benefit of the estate sold; shall this money be refunded? This is our claim upon Walter Beall and George Nicholas, under the contract of 1798. One man makes a contract with another, and to secure and indemnify himself under several stipulations of that contract, takes a mortgage from the other party; subsequently he is compelled by law to pay large sums of money; shall he recover the money upon the mortgage? This is our claim upon Walter Beall under the mortgage of 1802. One man sells property to another and takes a mortgage; the vendee sells it to a third person and takes a mortgage to secure himself and the original vender; that original vender is afterwards forced by law to pay money against which both mortgages secured him; can the property in the hands of the under mortgager be made liable? This is our claim upon Thomas Dye Owings. I again demand, is there a lawyer or an honest man on the earth, who doubts that we ought to recover and must recover from these people the money we have paid for them? And yet, when divested of all technical, incidental and extraneous circumstances, this is our whole case; and upon it, partly in consequence of my remote situation, partly through the inattention of the other representatives of my father, but chiefly by reason of the delays and obstacles interposed by our original counsel, who being our lawyer, became in some way claimant of the estates involved, have we been put off, vexed, harrassed, and abused for these last sixteen years. My principal object in recalling this part of the controversy, is to confront your recent statements that our claims are vague and unjust, with the following remarkable letter from one of the most remarkable men of his day. I presume even you will not question the great acuteness and profound legal knowledge of the late *Judge Mills*, nor will you venture, until it shall become your apparent interest to do so, to doubt the strictness, nay the proverbial obstinacy of his adherence to what he believed to be right. He sat as a judge, both in the inferior and the appellate court, upon some of the very matters now in controversy between us; and after his generous desire to appease the fierce contentions of his day, had induced him to resign his seat on the bench of the Court of Appeals, and he had returned to the bar, the course of his professional duties made it necessary for him to write to me the letter which I now print. It is dated about forty days before we took the interlocutory decree in the very matter

about which he writes, which finally obliged you to begin to define your position, and led to all your subsequent outrages upon us and upon all propriety. In a matter still depending in chancery, this proof may be considered, I would suppose, nearly equal to the very disinterested opinions and the very consistent statements even of a person of your known honor and veracity, especially when you have nothing at stake but about fourteen thousand dollars, and a character whose value I shall not pretend to estimate. It is in this light that I venture to submit it to your consideration.

Frankfort, March 6, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—It is but a few years since, the representatives of Lee, through the agency of Andrew F. Price, recovered against the estate of your father, a large sum of money, say seven or eight thousand dollars, by a judgment of the Fayette Circuit Court, afterwards affirmed in the Appellate Court, and that judgment is probably discharged by this time. I presume you, and the family, are apprized that your father held a lien on an estate amply sufficient to satisfy that claim, and secure its restoration to the family—and that I have no doubt, more ample than you are aware—and I presume you are pursuing that lien by suit in some Court; but where, I do not know, and wish to ascertain. Will you be so good as to inform me whether you are pursuing your rights, and in what Court, as I have an interest in knowing, as I have engaged and am about engaging in suits affecting the same estate. But you may rest assured that no engagements which I have yet made or am about to make, run counter to your interest, and will probably unite with it. Indeed I have no doubt that I do possess information touching those claims, and the estate in question, which may be of service to your claim, and which I will freely communicate to you. I have no doubt that your father's lien is more extensive than you are aware of. It may be (which is not probable) that you are not apprized of the full security against this claim, which was held by your father. If you are not, I can communicate it to you. I conceived, when seeing this suit against your father's estate tried in Fayette, that the parties all of them, were not possessed of all the circumstances relative to the matter. I will thank you to answer my inquiries in this matter as soon as suits your convenience. I could more easily explain myself by an interview with you, but I do not know when I shall have an opportunity.

Respectfully, your obt. serv't.

B. MILLS.

ROBT. J. BRECKINRIDGE, Esq.

I have now traced down the history of the *suppressed bond* to 21st of March 1842, a period of forty-four years from its first execution. Since 1811 I have traced its history more particularly in connexion with the mortgage of 1802, to which it was attached. I have, if possible, a more striking and remarkable history of it to record in connexion with the mortgage of 1801; and if your spirits do not flag, I think you will find instruction in the narrative.

In your letter of June 22, 1832, to William L. Breckinridge, you say, on p. 2, "After searching among your father's papers and the records where he practised, I found Walter Beall's mortgage acknowledging that he owed your father £1000, filed among the records of the Federal Court." A little farther on, you add, "I immediately filed a bill to foreclose the mortgage for the £1000." In your letter to me of August 29, 1832, you say, on p. 5—6 "I made a search, and in doing so, found that your father had brought suit upon his £1000 mortgage against old Walter Beall, &c." You add a little after, "As the Federal Court had not jurisdiction in this case, I got leave to withdraw the bill and mortgage (I believe) and for the first time conceived the idea of suing on the mortgage to meet the de-

mand of Lee's Executors." And you say, that for special reasons, (which I will consider to your heart's content, in another place,) "I waited for his (Beall's) coming to Lexington, sued him there, &c." On the 9th page of your *Second Speech* of 1840, you say my father "had a contract with Walter Beall for a thousand pounds, and a mortgage to secure its payment, on which he had brought suit in the Federal Court. That Court having no jurisdiction, I dismissed the suit and brought suit against Beall's Executor and Devisee in Fayette." The foregoing extracts, like all other things drawn from the stores of your inexhaustible memory, are not precisely correct, nor exactly consistent. It is not correct that you found the mortgage alluded to in the records of the Federal Court; for there is a receipt of my father, attested by H. Tunstall, then Clerk of that Court, for the mortgage itself, dated May 8, 1805, now filed there, a copy of which you have printed on p. 51 of your *Reply*, to no other end than I can perceive, but to prove a falsehood on yourself. It was withdrawn, doubtless, to be used in taking proof in the cause; and you found it amongst his papers. You speak of "a contract for a £1000," in addition to "a mortgage to secure its payment;" if such a contract independent of the mortgage and independent of the agreement of 1798, *the suppressed bond*, ever existed, I never could find it; which indeed, is well enough accounted for by your admission in 1840 that it had come more than thirty years before, into your hands; and all I have to say about it just now is, that *when you are done with it*, the rightful owners will be glad to get possession of it. What you say about withdrawing the bill and dismissing the suit in the Federal Court soon after my father's death, is, I presume, also incorrect; for, if you will take another 'search' you will find it is matter of record that the suit abated at "August Rules 1815." It is of no particular importance whether, as you say, in 1832, you waited for Walter Beall's "coming to Lexington and sued him there," or whether, as you say, in 1840, you "brought suit against Beall's Executor and Devisee, in Fayette," the man himself being dead, and so past suing in any court you are likely to practice in; only both could hardly be true. You must be more particular Sir, or you may shake the public confidence in your accuracy. It is no doubt true, that you did come into possession of the mortgage of 1801, from Walter Beall to my father, a copy of which you have printed on pp. 49-50 of your *Reply*; and it is true you did sue on it in Fayette, in the year 1811, as, independently of your own assertion, the following testimony establishes.

"To the Honorable, the Judge of the Fayette Circuit Court in Chancery sitting, Robert C. Harrison, Alfred W. Grayson and Mary H. Breckinridge, Administrators of John Breckinridge deceased, humbly shew that a certain Walter Beall about the spring of the year 1801, was indebted to your orators' Intestate one thousand pounds current money of Kentucky, which debt the said Beall was privileged to discharge in good lands, and being so indebted, the said Beall to secure the payment of the said debt, did, on the 23d day of April, in the year 1801, execute to your orators' Intestate, a mortgage deed, which bears date the 23d April, 1801—is herewith filed and made a part of this bill, from which the Court will perceive among other things in case the said Walter Beall, his heirs, &c., should well and truly pay the said John Breckinridge, his heirs, &c., on or before the first day of November next after the date thereof, the said £1000 which the said Beall might have had paid in lands of good quality and

title, the price thereof to be estimated in cash by men to be chosen by the parties, in case the parties could not agree on such price, then, and in that case the said Mortgage was to be void, but in case the said £1000 or the value thereof in lands as aforesaid, should not be paid on or before the said first day of Nov. next after the date of said Mortgage, then the £1000 and interest should be liable to be recovered by prosecuting said Mortgage at any time said Breckinridge should think proper so to do."

The foregoing is a true extract from the Bill in Chancery of John Breckinridge's Administrators vs. W. Beall's heirs, &c., which is in the hand writing of Robert Wickliffe, Esq.; said Bill was filed on the 4th October 1811.

Given under my hand this 14th day of September, 1842.

H. J. BODLEY, Cl'k F. C. C.

I have before me a certified record of every thing done in this case from the 4th of October 1811, when you filed the original bill, till the 11th of October 1825, made out to be used as an exhibit in the case of *Ormsby vs. Breckinridge* and others, in Jefferson, to which we shall come in due course. As there were two copies of this record filed in the Court below, and the suit is long since determined, I was permitted by an order of Court on the 23d Sept. 1842, to withdraw this attested copy. In your correspondence of 1832 with my brother William and myself, and in your published attacks upon me and my family, you have written and printed a great deal about this case; the most of which is, I need hardly say, at once absurd and false. I had occasion to notice this case briefly, and the Ormsby case very fully in my *Second Defence*, to which (pp. 24–32) I refer you. The special object then was, to examine the truth of your boastful, indelicate and unfounded claims upon our gratitude; it is now, to trace the history of the *suppressed bond*. At a special term of the Fayette Circuit Court, held in July 1819, Samuel T. Beall, the son and devisee of Walter Beall, filed his separate answer in this case, in which, amongst other things, he alleges the fact that a suit, (which you have repeatedly said you afterwards dismissed, and with which you were perfectly familiar,) was brought by my father against his, in the Federal Court, upon the same mortgage sued on in this case; and he sets up the answer then made by his father to the bill filed against him by mine, and makes that answer and the exhibits which accompanied it, part of his own bill. That answer of Walter Beall, exhibited first in the Federal Court in the year 1804, enters therefore into this cause, and is spread out at large on pp. 52–58 of this record; and here we bring you again as matter of record, face to face, with the whole story about the contract of 1798, and the mortgage of 1801. That contract as an exhibit in the answer of 1804, becomes also a part of this cause, and behold it spread out in full on pp. 59–73 of this record. That is to say, a paper which in 1840 you had always believed to be suppressed, and which in 1841 you said you had never been able to get sight of, was in 1819 thrown, as an old acquaintance, into your face, by a defendant in Chancery, and was thenceforward in this new form, matter of fierce litigation uninterruptedly for many years. Notwithstanding this defence which you now say was good, the Chancellor decreed that the mortgaged property should be sold, and our debt paid. In the process of doing this, Peter B. Ormsby of Louisville, became our debtor for several thousand dollars, and when the day of payment came, in-

stead of the money we found a new Chancery suit, in reference to which I have given detailed information on p. 25 of my *Second Defence*. His bill was filed in the Jefferson Circuit Court on the 12th May 1824. The grounds on which he attempted to defeat our recovery were very various, but amongst the chief were those alleged by Walter Beall in the Federal Court in 1804, and by Samuel T. Beall in the Fayette Circuit Court in 1819, thus drawing into controversy for the third time, the validity and the fairness of the mortgage of 1801, and of course, bringing prominently forward, the contract or *suppressed bond* of 1798. On the 11th page of your *Second Speech* of 1840, you speak particularly of this controversy in Jefferson, describe minutely the nature of it, set out the grounds of Ormsby's defence, boast that you were consulted frequently about the case, and wind up by saying, "I directed the mode of defence," that is the defence we should make against this new attempt to cheat us at once of the double inheritance of the property and the good name descended to us. When the cause came up to the Court of Appeals, you became still more familiar with it, and on the 11th page of your *Second Speech* above referred to, you set forth your invaluable and almost preternatural services in it with surpassing eloquence, declaring even that you risked your life in this crowning, as it was also the final effort for thankless clients and ungrateful friends. I must refer you to my *Second Defence*, pp. 26-30 and p. 67, for the full exposure of the empty and unmanly falsehoods into which your vanity and malice had betrayed you; my object in making the present allusions being simply to prove, out of your own mouth, your familiar acquaintance with the Ormsby case in the Jefferson Circuit Court and the Court of Appeals, and thus to establish your knowledge of the history of the *suppressed bond*, as exhibited in the progress of that cause: that is, I will prove here, as in other cases, not only that you have brought accusations as unfounded as they are dishonoring, but that it is impossible you could have been ignorant of their entire want of truth.

On the 23d May 1827, as it appears by the Clerk's endorsement, the record in the case *Breckinridge's adm. advs. Ormsby*, an appeal from a decree of the Jefferson Circuit Court was filed in the Court of Appeals; the cause was argued January 15-19 and 1829; and the decree below reversed April 27, and petition for rehearing overruled; that is, we completely succeeded. The case is reported very fully in *J. J. Marshall vol. I.* pp. 236-67, to which I shall have occasion to refer again. The record in the Court of Appeals is contained in 140 large manuscript pages. In that record the contract of 1798, that is, the *suppressed bond*, cuts a figure pre-eminently conspicuous. 1. It is detailed minutely and at large in the original bill, and being made the basis of the equity set up by complainant, it enters into every part of his case, which case is met by demurrer and by flat denial in our answers drawn by you. 2. The original of Walter Beall (the contract was drawn up in three originals, one kept by each person signing) withdrawn by Stephen Ormsby from the Federal Court, as before shown, upon the order of Samuel T. Beall, on the 25th day of May 1826. 3. The original of George Nicholas, produced in the Court below on the 13th June 1826, by S. S. Nicholas, Esq. counsel

for the defendants, by a rule of Court made on him. 4. Copy contained in the record from the Federal Court of the case *Breckinridge vs. Beall*, of 1803. 5. Copy contained in the record from Fayette, of the case of *Breckinridge's Adm. vs. Beall's Repts.* of 1811, filed by the complainants here. 6. Same, filed by the defendants here.

Now sir, look at the state of this case. In the year 1840, and again in 1841, you were pleased to accuse me in the most unqualified manner, in widely circulated newspapers and pamphlets, with having corruptly destroyed a certain paper which was of great value to my nearest relations, and amongst others to orphan children. Behold I produce a single record in which this paper is spread out in full *no less than five times*; the record of a suit in which the paper itself was mixed up with the gist of the cause in all its parts, and that cause not only the most important one in your own opinion you were ever engaged in for us during twenty years attention to our large business, but really one of the leading cases ever tried in the commonwealth or reported in its law books. What language is sufficient to convey that sense of loathing with which human nature itself ought to repudiate such detestable offences, not only against her own best impulses, but against the very elemental principles upon which human intercourse is a blessing or human society capable of peaceful continuance? In sober seriousness, sir, I would put it to you, is *it still* your opinion that the bond published with such demoniac exultation on the 43d and 44th pages of your *Reply*, was really suppressed? It was originally executed in three originals; at the end of nearly forty-five years, I am able to trace through records and law suits and letters and deeds, every one of these originals, and what is not a little remarkable, every one into immediate, intimate, personal contact with yourself. The original of John Breckinridge was sued on and filed by you in the case against Lee, in 1811; the originals of Walter Beall and George Nicholas were both before you in the case of Ormsby and Breckinridge. Is it still your deliberate conviction, *that you never could get a sight of this paper*, when presented to you on such various and striking occasions in its original shape, and in the multiplied copies which have been in your hands and under your eyes? Do you still believe, that if by some fortunate chance you "*had have seen that bond*" one single time during the long course of years and amid the great mass of litigation which brought it constantly before your face from 1807 or 8 till the present time, *you would have suffered your tongue to have been drawn from your throat, sooner than have aided in any attempt to enforce it!*—Oh! naughty bond, how could you treat so good a man so illy? Naughty, naughty bond, how can you expect forgiveness? What! not allow yourself to be seen when spread out on the land records of the County? When discovered amongst the papers of John Breckinridge? When found in the suit with Beall in the Federal Court? When made the basis of the bill in Chancery against Lee? When filed by Samuel T. Beall in Fayette, in our suit against his father's representatives? When set forth by Ormsby in his bill in Chancery? When five times spread out upon that record in the Court of Appeals? What, not permit yourself to be known when the mortgage of 1801, which was based upon you, and that of 1802 to which you were attached—

have been seen, handled, sued on, and disputed for about forty years? Monstrous! You have but one more act of atrocity to perform, and then your character as a decent bond, is clean gone forever. Having at last opened one of the eyes of the maltreated Mr. Wickliffe so far as to enable him to see your face, just open the other wide enough for him to discover that while you survive it will be an up hill business for him, even by being counsel for both parties, to release his iron works estate from our lien for about fourteen thousand dollars, and then I am very sure he will admit that if you were never suppressed before, you at least well deserve to be suppressed now.

There is one aspect of all your allusions to this contract of 1798 so ridiculous, as *hardly* to deserve serious notice, and yet as it opens a sort of retreat to you, I must not pass it in silence. Your original allusions to the suppressed paper were general and indeterminate; and as far as you were specific, you called it by various names, gave various descriptions of it, and made contradictory statements as to the origin and extent of your information in regard to it. In my *Second Defence* I gathered together, illustrated and confuted your various statements in regard to it, on pp. 11-19 of that publication, to which I refer you. The point of your entire statements, as far as you chose to allow yourself to be intelligible, was, that over and above the well known securities and remedies which my father had against Walter Beall and George Nicholas to indemnify him against out standing contracts made while he was one of the proprietors of the Iron Works, there was a particular paper of which you had a real but a vague knowledge, which jointly bound them to pay to him specifically and precisely, the money we had been obliged to pay for them to Lee for Blackwell's claim; and that I had corruptly concealed or destroyed this paper to avoid a settlement with my co-heirs and so defraud the estate of my father. These charges were made in special connexion with our suit in Chancery against Lee, Beall, Nicholas and Owings, to subject them in their proper order and proportion to the payment of the money actually paid by us on the identical claim of Blackwell, for which very claim, as you asserted, the suppressed paper afforded other and further security of the best possible kind; and therefore, it was not only injurious to my father's estate, but wrong and unfriendly towards you, our oldest and best friend, and proof of my being influenced by Mr. Clay, Executor of Nicholas and Mr. Chinn, attorney for Mr. Clay, that I should refuse to resort to that other and direct obligation of Beall and Nicholas, instead of pushing our claim, as we actually were doing in the suit against Lee and others, against property which was owned by certain friends and clients of yours, or as it turned out by yourself. As the basis of the suit whose management you thus complained of, was the contract of 1798 between my father on one part, and Beall and Nicholas on the other, and as the management complained of was the pushing of that contract and the mortgage of 1802 which secured its execution, and to which it was attached; of course, no mortal could imagine that the contract of 1798 could possibly be the very paper to which you alluded as being suppressed. For besides that this contract was not either in form or substance in any respect such as the suppressed paper was declared to be, and besides that I knew the

paper to be perfectly known to you and to hundreds, it was moreover the very foundation of the suit whose management was complained of, the very thing upon which our claim ultimately rested, the very marrow of the whole business in regard to which the difficulty arose between you and myself, I trying to subject the Iron Works in your hands upon this ultimate right, and you trying to defeat me. My defence therefore, in answer to the charge was, that in reality and even supposing me capable of such an act, I could have no earthly motive for its perpetration, since, independent of any such bond, our security was ample and absolute by the contract of 1798, and the mortgage of 1802, which instead of destroying I was endeavoring to enforce; and that besides, I had never heard before of such a bond as alleged, could not possibly conceive why one should exist, and was of the opinion none such ever had existed. That is, I denied all knowledge and all belief of any such bond, apart from and independently of this contract of 1798, and the mortgage of 1802, the operation of which is distinctly explained on p. 14 and 15, the contract itself, the objects of it, and the parties to it named on p. 8, the suit with Lee founded on it, clearly set out on p. 9, the iniquity of your conduct in engrossing the controverted estate detailed on p. 10, and in general, the existence and character of the contract itself constantly admitted, not only as notorious, but assumed as the basis of my defence through nine pages (pp. 8-16) of my *Second Defence*. Yet in the face of all this, you have the hardihood to assert that the imaginary bond alleged by you to have existed, was in fact, this contract of 1798, and that my denial of any knowledge of that imaginary bond was in fact, a denial of the contract of 1798; and then with a folly, which nothing but the fact that the venom of the adder makes him blind, can explain, to make out your case, you exultingly fasten your charges upon this contract in such a way as to put it completely in my power to prove my case to the uttermost tittle. For if *this* is the suppressed bond, then it is clear no bond at all was suppressed, and you are a gross slanderer; but if *this is not* the suppressed bond, then you are a gross slanderer still, for you have irrevocably committed yourself, that this is it.

While the whole subject is fresh before us, we had as well perhaps settle some small matters relating to your almost superhuman efforts in this case in the Court of Appeals, efforts the more inexplicable as they were made in total ignorance of the paper on which the cause was originally intended to hinge, and which is copied five times upon the record. On the 11th page of your *Second Speech* you use the following language:

I advised the appeal, with the intention to argue the cause in the appellate court; but such was the decline of my health and strength, and the weight of public and professional duties that had pressed upon me for some time before the court approached the trial, that I felt wholly unable to appear in the cause, and so advised the reverend gentleman, who seemed to acquiesce, and consulted with me as to the counsel he should substitute. In this we agreed, and I promised to aid them with my views upon the case, which I faithfully did. But when the day of trial came near, my present slanderer and persecutor had confidence in me *alone*. He appealed to me not only on account of the large sum involved, and which was indispensable, he said, to relieve me, as his security, but because the decree involved the memory of his father, to lay aside my public duties and make an effort

for him. The last consideration was decisive with me. I arranged with Senators, to suspend for a day, the important business of the Senate, and obtained, from the Court of Appeals, the same day, to make my defence. I made it. The decree of the inferior court that nailed the foul charge on the coffin of the deceased—that he had cheated and defrauded a poor senseless lunatic—was reversed and annulled. By this decree, not only was the exalted name and spotless character of John Breckinridge vindicated, but nearly ten thousand dollars were put into the pocket and under the control of his profligate son. This was the last professional service I performed for the family, and God knows, when at night I retired, exhausted and prostrate, from the court room, I felt as if it was doubtful whether I should ever enter the court house again. If I risked my life as I did in the effort, it was in defence of the memory of a departed friend, and well has his ungrateful son paid me for it.

All this and more, I copied into my *Second Defence*, (p. 26) and then proceeded to prove by the records of the country and the testimony of gentlemen of the highest character and station in society, such facts and circumstances as rendered it clear and certain that all its material statements, so far as they affected me personally, must necessarily be untrue; as you will perceive by turning again to pp. 26–33 of that publication. The fact being that I was very ill and expected to die at the time this cause was argued in the Court of Appeals, viz: January 15–19, 1829, and for weeks before and after; I really supposed when in 1840 it became my duty to reply to your scurrilous attacks, that you might have argued it as one of our counsel; and so based my answer upon the tacit admission that your assertions might be true to that extent. After most of that *Second Defence* was published, facts came to my knowledge which induced me to doubt whether you had really appeared in the cause or not; and after having an interview with Chief Justice Robertson before whom and Judge Underwood the cause was argued, and another with Richard H. Chinn, Esq., now of New Orleans, who had been counsel for us in the case, I became convinced your whole statement was a most false and empty fabrication, and that you had not argued the cause at all; and rather by the entreaties of friends, than that I supposed it was material whether I proved one falsehood more or less on a man upon whom a score or more had already been irretrievably fastened, I added the note which appears on the last page of that *Defence*, in which I make allusion to Mr. Chinn and Judge Robertson, and assert my conviction that you never argued the case at all. In your *Reply* of 1841, you publish on pp. 19–20 a letter from your son-in-law, Judge A. K. Woolley, dated Oct. 30, 1841, in which, amongst other things he asserts, as of his own personal knowledge, that you did argue the cause in January 1829, and then narrates what he says Judge Robertson and Mr. Chinn had told him, in such a way as to create the impression that they meant to contradict my statement. On the 36th page of the *Reply*, you say “Judge Robertson authorizes me to say that the statement of the reverend slanderer is, as to him, gratuitous, and I learn that Mr. Chinn makes the same remarks.” We will attend to so much of this as relates to the two last named gentlemen, after we shall have examined the statement of your son-in-law.

It is true that Judge Woolley was of counsel for us in the case of *Breckinridge advs. Ormsby* in the Court of Appeals; it is true he ar-

gued the cause for us, and, as I have reason to believe, did it with great learning and ability. It is also true that I have had conversations with him in regard to your relations to my father's estate, and I will not deny that I may have expressed to him sentiments similar to those stated by him in the second paragraph of his second letter printed on the 35th page of your *Reply*; for I do not deny that at the period alluded to, I entertained sentiments towards you similar to those he has there attributed to me; and I now deeply lament that my subsequent knowledge of your treachery and baseness obliged me to change my estimate of your character. But it is also true that I have had conversations with Judge Woolley wholly of an opposite character from those detailed by him; that I have freely, as freely as delicacy would permit, explained to him the nature of my feelings towards you, and the precise grounds of complaint against you, and that he, in his various attempts to explain to me on your behalf and at your request, the grounds on which you sought to justify yourself, never pretended to approve your conduct. It is also true that Judge Woolley handed to me, at my request, about the year 1830, your account for legal services against my father's estate; that I objected to the form of it, and that he at your request, took it back in order so to change it, as to omit charges against some one or more of the heirs individually; that he never returned it to me; and that he remains a silent witness of your abuse of me for years together, charging me with holding back this account for unworthy purposes, and then saying I had lost it, while there can scarcely be a doubt he gave it back to you. It is true I handed to him along with your account above mentioned, the bond of Mr. Charles A. Wickliffe to my father's estate, which by agreement with him and with you was to be credited on your account against us; and that after this bond is pronounced lost for years together, you credit yourself with the bond as received in 1829 (see p. 40 of *Reply*.) and say (on p. 43) that I "gave up the bond more than eleven years since," (to whom?) and then add "I am informed" (*who by?*) it "was actually handed to Charles A. Wickliffe;" (*by whom?*) Now it does appear to me that an honorable man who has a due regard to truth and his own character, ought, when he comes forward as a witness, especially in regard to matters of this description, to do full justice. And I am sure Judge Woolley would think he had cause to complain if I should act towards him precisely as he has acted towards me, and now proceed to lay before the public such parts for example, of your statements in regard to him as might be suited to accomplish a present purpose, and which he may rest assured I could easily do in such a way as would present him in a light somewhat more serious, if you are to be believed, than that of having changed his opinion of a bad man, or of having, if the fact were so, mistaken the weight of conflicting testimony.

I think, too, an old practitioner like yourself, will find no great difficulty in perceiving how widely different the matter alleged is from the matter proved, even if we admit the exact accuracy of Judge Woolley's statement in regard to your services in the Ormsby case. In 1830 I felt called on to defend my opinions and the party with which I acted against your public and violent accusations; in

1840 I was obliged to do this the second time. For this you accuse me in terms of unmeasured vulgarity and bitterness, with wanton and criminal ingratitude; you say (*p. 12 of Second Speech*) "under a garb of religion and a pretext that he is a missionary of heaven, he has with a virulence and brutishness suited to the mouth of a baron of a brothel, and to no other, falsely and infamously assailed my name and peace,"—by defending myself, my opinions and my party against your attacks, in "*Hints on Slavery*," of 1830, and in my Speech of October, 1840. You say this, and pages like it, connected with accusations of horrible ingratitude on my part, because you had been "*not only the friend of his father while living, but the defender of his fame when dead;*" because you had long and gratuitously served our family, in many important matters, and most especially in this Ormsby case, upon the trial of which you declare you risked your life. That such *allegata* as these should dwindle into *probata*, the sum of which is, "in the case of Ormsby and Breckinridge, I recollect distinctly that you argued this case in the Court of Appeals"—in a letter from your son-in-law, is, I must say, a most 'lame and impotent conclusion.' And do you really think, Sir, that the distinct recollection of Judge Woolley "*that you argued this case,*" is a sufficient ground upon which you may set up a claim to tell ten thousand falsehoods upon me, to write sheets of insolence to me, and to print vile and unfounded calumnies against me, and upon which any attempt on my part to defend myself or to confute your slanders shall be set down as proof of unparalleled ingratitude? All this is the more marvellous when it is considered that in the very pamphlet in which you publish this potent testimony, you abandon the grand foundation of your claim upon our gratitude by making a regular attack upon the reputation of our father, and since the pamphlet was published upset the second ground (the gratuitousness of your services) by bringing suit for your fees!

But is the distinct recollection of Judge Woolley in this case conclusive proof that you ever argued the case at all? Without impeaching the veracity of that gentleman, there are strong reasons to suppose that his statement is erroneous. I desire to deal with perfect fairness towards all men, and I will therefore admit that this point, which, even if it were established in your favor, is very far from justifying either your conduct or assertions, is involved in some obscurity; but upon a very careful attempt to arrive at the truth, my own conviction is, *first*, that it is most probable you did not appear in the cause at all upon the final argument, and *secondly*, if you appeared at all, it was not as asserted by you and intimated by Judge Woolley, to argue it in general, but to present very briefly an incidental and isolated point, to wit, the effect of the mortgage of 1802 (to which the suppressed bond was attached) which was given when Beall was confessedly sane, and which recites and confirms that of 1801, in rendering null and illegal all attempts to invalidate the latter by proof that he was insane when he made it. This second conclusion, I reach upon these grounds; *first*, a vague and general impression upon my own mind that I was so informed shortly after the final decree in the case; *secondly*, an impression resting on the minds of several persons more or less connected with the cause, that this point

in it was suggested by you and that you relied on it always as conclusive, as indeed it is; *thirdly*, from a careful comparison of the pleadings in the cause with the general course of argument in the final decree and with the complainant's petition for a re-hearing, it seems extremely probable that this point which is vaguely stated in the pleadings, and distinctly handled in the decree and petition, must have received its consequence in some such incidental way; *fourthly*, in Judge Robertson's letter to you of November 24th, 1841, which we shall presently consider somewhat at large, he says to you expressly, that you had confessed to him not long before, that you had never read the voluminous record in the case till after the argument began, and that the point you agreed to argue, at the solicitation of Woolley and Chinn, and after the regular argument, was as explained by yourself to him, then, "*the question whether a deed relied on as a confirmation had been exhibited by the pleadings in such a manner as to authorise the court to take judicial notice of it.*" This, Sir, was a fatal confession; and it will be observed at once how it upsets all your printed statements, and so fixes your position in the cause upon your own showing in 1841 as to render doubly infamous your subsequent attacks upon the memory of my father, your subsequent accusations against me for suppressing the contract of 1798, (which formed a part of this "deed relied on as a confirmation,") and your subsequent allegations that you were ignorant of the nature of that contract. Surely, when you consider the conclusive nature of this testimony, and the extraordinary manner in which your own reckless folly has forced it into my hands, you will see a new reason why I should confide in that good Providence which you are pleased to deride, and which you have so much reason to dread. In regard to the other point, to wit, whether you appeared at all, there are very weighty reasons why a candid man should doubt, or rather perhaps, why he should conclude against you. Such are the following. *First*, It is the settled rule of the Court, that ordinarily but two counsel shall argue a cause on one side; there was nothing in this case whatever to justify a separate representation of the interests of the parties appellant; and it is indisputable that Mr. Chinn and Judge Woolley did argue the cause for them. *Secondly*, It is certain that you were not present in Court during the argument of the cause by your son-in-law, a fact proved by this anecdote often repeated by one of the other counsel, viz., that you asked him how "Woolley had done," to which he replied, "the best speech I ever heard in this Court,"—which, of course, greatly delighted you, till you remembered *it was the first speech* ever made before those judges, both of whom (Robertson and Underwood,) were recently appointed and constituted the entire court at the time; under these circumstances, the presumption is somewhat violent that you took little if any part in the argument. *Thirdly*, Filed with the record in the case are memoranda and briefs in the hand-writing of Garnett Duncan and S. S. Nicholas, Esq'rs, our counsel below, and a very elaborate brief of seven sheets, of which 14 pages at the beginning are in the hand-writing—as I believe and am informed—of Judge Woolley, and the remaining 13 pages in that of R. H. Chinn, Esq'r, but I could not find a syllable from your hand, nor any evidence that you had taken any part in preparing any

thing; this is the more worthy of note, when it is remembered that several of the papers in the court below, are in your hand-writing, though you did not practice in that court, and its situation is remote from your residence. *Fourthly*, It is extremely remarkable that nearly every thing about the trial of this cause should be distinctly remembered by distinguished gentlemen who were present, except only your appearance in it. After you had printed in the newspapers that "Judge Robertson authorises me to say that the statement of the reverend slanderer is, as to him gratuitous," that gentleman impelled by a sense of justice and honor, wrote to you a letter dated Nov. 29, 1841, to which as well as to his unwilling and involuntary connexion with this subject, we will come in due time; and on the 2d of December, 1841, he wrote to me inclosing a copy of his previous letter to you. In his letter to me, he says, "A mystery yet hangs over the question whether he (you) appeared in your case." And then he mentions the names of several gentlemen, with whom he seems to have conversed, and which I omit out of deference both to him and to them, "who heard the argument," and yet "not one of them remembers that Mr. W. (Wickliffe) appeared, though they all recollect that W. and C. (Woolley and Chinn) argued for you. Nor can I, for my life, remember any thing of Mr. Wickliffe's argument." I personally conversed with Judge Underwood, who informed me that his memory did not serve him to speak in regard to the subject, and that he had so replied to you in answer to a written communication. It is extremely painful to me to be obliged to refer in this public manner to these excellent and distinguished persons, as it is, I doubt not, disagreeable to them; but, Sir, you leave me no alternative. *Fifthly*, I think I can prove an *alibi* upon you, by the records of the Senate of Kentucky. You say (*p. 11, Second Speech,*) "I arranged with Senators, to suspend, for a day, the important business of the senate, and obtained from the Court of Appeals, the same day to make my defence. I made it." Now, I have clearly shown on pp. 30-31 of my *Second Defence*, that it is fully proved by Order Book, No. 29, of the Court of Appeals, pp. 105-6, that the Court itself had not sat for forty days preceding the 14th of January, 1829, on which day the new judges took their seats and constituted the court; and by the Journal of the Senate, that there were not judges enough in office to hold a court from December 5th, 1828, when Ousley and Mills resigned, till January 14th, 1829, when Robertson and Underwood took their seats; and by the said Order Book, that the case, *Breckinridge advs. Ormsby*, was thenceforward called from day to day (except on the 18th, which was the Sabbath day) until the 19th, when it was fully argued. But on consulting the printed *Journal of the Senate for 1828*, I find the following facts, to wit, That on *Thursday, January 15th, 1829*, Wickliffe voted, by ayes and nays, *nay*, on the question to read a second time a bill to divorce Jane Williams; Wickliffe called for the ayes and nays, and voted *nay*, on the third reading of a bill for the relief of James Stone; Wickliffe called for the ayes and nays, and voted *nay*, on the second reading of a bill for the benefit of Francis Tiernan and Andrew Beirne; Wickliffe called for the ayes and nays, and voted *nay*, on the third reading of the bill "for marking a way for a road from Columbus to the state

line in the direction to Paris, in Tennessee;" *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on engrossing a bill for the benefit of John H. Tyler and Thomas Griffe; *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on a motion to re-consider the former vote; *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on the passage of this bill; *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on a motion to lay on the table till the 1st of June, a bill "to alter the mode of summoning juries" (*see Journal, pp, 217-223.*) Here are *eight* witnesses that cannot be mistaken, whose testimony seems clearly to establish that you were busily engaged during this day in the Senate. *Friday, January 16, Wickliffe*, from the Committee on Courts of Justice, reported three bills, about which pp. 233-4 are mostly occupied; *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on the motion, "that the Senate *do not* advise and consent to the appointment of George Robertson as Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals;" *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on the question to lay on the table a preamble and resolution concluding "that there is no vacancy in the office of either the second or third judge of the Court of Appeals;" *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on the question of the resolution merely; *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on the question of the preamble merely;—(*See Journal, pp, 224-226.*) If we count the three bills first introduced as only one proof of your presence, we have then *five* witnesses whose recollection is as distinct as it is possible for Judge Woolley's to be, that this exciting day was most assuredly not the one on which you "arranged with Senators to suspend for a day the important business of the Senate." Two days of the only four our cause could possibly have been argued by you, are now gone; let us see where you were the other two. *Saturday, January 17. Wickliffe* voted *aye* with 29 against 3 Senators, requesting the Kentucky "Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their best endeavors to procure an appropriation of money by Congress to aid so far as is consistent with the constitution of the United States in colonising the free people of color of the United States in Africa, under the direction of the President of the United States;" (This is an ugly vote, Sir, to reconcile with your present principles;) *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on an incidental question in regard to instructions to the Kentucky Senators in Congress "in relation to the seven years limitation law;" *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on another question connected with the same subject; *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on the main question; *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on the question of adjournment.—(*See Journal, pp. 230-32.*) Here are *five* suborn witnesses that this was not the "*same day*" obtained from the Court and from Senators to prepare for your great, glorious, triumphant "defence." (By the way, there was no *defence* to make, as we were appellants seeking to reverse a decree.) Few will believe that you were out of the Senate, even if the proof were less complete, when that body was discussing vital questions—about *land and negroes!* But there remains one more day that our cause was being heard; let us see where you then were. *Monday, January 19. Wickliffe* voted *nay* on a question to lay on the table till a day certain, a resolution to ask lands from the general government for public education; *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on a motion to couple "internal improvements" with the object of the grant; *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on the passage of the resolution; *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on the passage of a bill "appropriating money for opening a state road from Prestonsburg to the Virginia state line;" *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on

the engrossment of "a bill for the benefit of John Deverin;" *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on the passage of a bill "to amend the law in relation to divorces;" *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on the passage of a bill "to provide for the appointment of attorneys for the commonwealth;" *Wickliffe* voted *aye* on the question to lay on the table a bill "to amend the duelling law;" *Wickliffe* voted *nay* on the second reading of a bill "to alter the mode of summoning juries."—(See *Journal*, pp. 234–40.) Thus *nine* irreproachable witnesses declare that this day, the day on which the final argument for us must have been made in the cause, (I have already shown that Judge Woolley opened for us,) could not possibly have been the one on which you made that unparalleled effort, which at the risk of your invaluable life filled my coffers with money only to be recklessly wasted, and redeemed the memory of my father only to be afterwards more signally consigned to infamy by "*his friend while living, the defender of his fame when dead.*" Now, Sir, it does seem to me, that if an *alibi* can be made out by positive proof, and if, as learned men declare, it is an axiom in physics that the same body cannot be in two different places at the same time; then the most distinct recollection on the part of your son-in-law that you argued a particular cause in the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, on the 15th, 16th, 17th, or 19th day of January, 1829, must be taken with divers grains of allowance; and your positive assertions that you employed the whole of one of those days to prepare your gigantic 'defence,' and the greater part of another of them in that delivery of it which so wofully "exhausted and prostrated" you, may by a very remote possibility be founded on one of those lapses of the memory to which even men of scrupulous veracity like yourself are sometimes liable. As you have become, in your learned and elegant leisure, a casuist and a lecturer on morals, I submit to your impartial judgment the balance of probabilities in a case in which the proof is manifestly so nicely balanced.

"The next impudent attempt of the reverend slanderer is his statement of a palpable falsehood in saying I did not argue the case of Breckinridge and Ormsby, and in further stating Chief Justice Robertson and Mr. Chinn authorised him to say that I had not argued the case. Judge Robertson authorises me to say that the statement of the reverend slanderer is, as to him, gratuitous, and I learn that Mr. Chinn makes the same remarks." Such are your words on p. 36 of your *Reply*. The substance of the testimony of Judge Woolley (*letter of Oct. 30, 1841, printed on pp. 19–20 of your Reply*.) is thus expressed by himself; "I have seen Mr. Chinn and Judge Robertson upon this subject. Mr. Chinn informed me that he had given Mr. Breckinridge no statement as to the case, except he recollected that I, myself, had argued it; that he had no recollection as to any one else in the cause, and that he did not indeed recollect that he himself had argued it, but believed he did. * * * Judge Robertson made a similar statement, recollecting distinctly that I had argued it, but having no recollection as to any other gentleman." I beg you to turn to the last page of my *Second Defence*, where the fact that you did not argue the cause is stated, and you cannot fail to be struck with the false issue which is made in Judge Woolley's statement, and the false fact which is asserted in your own. You accuse me of

“further stating Chief Justice Robertson and Mr. Chinn *authorised him to say* that I never argued the case.” With your leave, Sir, this is pure fiction; I never said or printed that *I was authorised* by either of those gentlemen to say a word on the subject. Judge Woolley says, “Mr. Chinn informed me that he had given Mr. Breckinridge *no statement as to the case;*” “Judge Robertson made a similar statement.” Now, Sir, you and your son-in-law both knew that I had neither asserted nor intimated that either of these gentlemen had given any “*statement of the case,*” nor any *statement* at all, in the strict sense of that term; and therefore neither of you could well be ignorant that you were creating a false impression by using such phrases. What I did say and print, was this, “The proof on which I assert that he did not argue the case at all, is the distinct recollection of every person connected with the case, with whom I have conversed in regard to this fact; and especially of the Hon’ble Geo. Robertson, Chief Justice of Ky., who presided on the trial of the cause; and Richard H. Chinn, Esq., who closed the argument for us, it having been opened on our side by Judge Woolley, whose personal relations to Mr. Wickliffe have prevented me from mentioning the subject to him.” The reader will remember that a mass of new proof to the same point has just been arrayed, which notwithstanding Judge Woolley’s remarkably distinct recollection to the contrary, seems to settle the matter as I then supposed it to be. I think it entirely likely that the same distinctness of recollection may have betrayed him into several slight inaccuracies in repeating what Judge Robertson and Mr. Chinn told him; as most assuredly your unbounded memory entirely misled you as to what the former gentleman authorised you to say, as we shall see immediately. The reader of the paragraph above quoted from my *Second Defence*, would undoubtedly conclude that I had satisfactory grounds upon which to assert that both the gentlemen alluded to had a distinct recollection of the trial of the cause, a total want of all recollection that you had argued it, and a distinct impression from the general state of the facts as remembered by them, that you did not appear in the argument. So much I meant to convey; and whatever may be said to the contrary, I now assert and can prove that facts justified me in saying so much. I regret having relied on the judgment of friends in whom I had great confidence rather than on my own first impression, in adding to my *Second Defence*, the note in which the reference is made to Mr. Chinn and Judge Robertson, because they had not previously consented to it, and probably did not expect such a reference would be made, and because it has, I fear, given them both some trouble. But this is all I can with propriety say; for it is true, that before I wrote that note, I had an explicit conversation with both those gentlemen, upon the very point stated—and I did derive from both of them precisely the impression which was intended to be conveyed in the lines above quoted. The conversation with Mr. Chinn, with whom I have been on terms of friendship both personal and professional for many years, was in the presence of a gentleman long and greatly beloved by both of us, and his impression of the conversation was the same as my own: and that with Judge Robertson, with whom also I have had friendly and pleasant relations since we met in the Legislaturc of

Ky., in 1825, and for whom I have great respect, was in one of the most public places in Lexington, and in the presence of half a dozen persons casually met there, all of whom, with whom I have since conversed, understood him substantially as I did. That under these circumstances you should have the effrontery to publish under the very eye of Judge Robertson, that he "*authorised* you to say that the statement of the reverend slanderer was as to him, gratuitous," is only of a piece with your common doings; but that after he had plainly told you that you had no authority from him to say any such thing, you should still persist in publishing and circulating the audacious calumny in a more permanent form, transcends even your habitual brass. You originally published this statement in the *Lexington Observer and Reporter* of November 24, 1841; on the 29th of the same month, Judge Robertson addressed to you a letter of two sheets, (from a copy of which sent by him to me under date of Dec. 2d, 1841, with your knowledge, the extracts which follow are taken) explaining his view of the whole matter, very fully to you; and yet in contempt of truth, decency, courtesy and shame itself, you went on to print, publish, and widely circulate a pamphlet containing the very same statement, without taking the slightest notice in it that I can discover, of having received such a letter. Why, Sir, at this rate, it is the simplest thing imaginable to prove and disprove all possible things. I give the first paragraph, and several from the latter part of Judge Robertson's letter to you, and leave the public to decide how far you speak the truth when you say *he authorised you* to speak as you have done, and how far what you said was, even if unauthorised, substantially true.

Lexington, 29th Nov. 1841.

SIR,—A friend having, on yesterday, called my attention to the "*Observer & Reporter*" of the 24th inst., I regret to find that, in your "*Reply to Robert J. Breckinridge*" as published in that paper, you have made references to me which I neither authorised nor can sustain, and which, if sanctioned by my silence, might operate injuriously to me and unjustly perhaps to others.

Now sir, you will see that Mr. B. had not said, as you supposed, that I had "*authorised*" him to say that you had not argued the case. And therefore you cannot prove by me that he has been guilty of the imputed falsehood. All I can say is but to repeat that Mr. B. was not authorised by me to refer to me *as he has done*—although I had told him as already stated, that I had no recollection of your arguing his case. Mr. B.'s reference to me is inaccurate only in importing *affirmatively* that I had a distinct recollection of a *negative*, instead of saying, as in strict propriety he should have done, that I had no recollection of your appearing at all in his case in the Court of Appeals, although I distinctly remembered that others had made arguments on it. But he had not, (as you inadvertently charged him with doing) stated in his "*reply*" that I had "*authorised him*" to allege that you had not argued his case. And therefore you will see, by recurring to his published allusion to me, that I cannot "*contradict*" him in that particular, as your comprehensive reference to me would seem to imply that I had authorised you to say I would.

You must perceive also that I cannot sustain you when you say that I *authorised* you to charge that Mr. B.'s reference to me, or "*statement as to*" me, was "*gratuitous*;" for what I said to him, and which I repeated to you, certainly furnished some reason for his believing that you had made no argument in his case, and I gave you no other authority than that repetition implied, to refer to me to prove that his "*statement as to*" me, was "*gratuitous*." And should any person, in consequence of your reference to me, call on me for information on this subject, I would have to tell him as I told you, that I did say to Mr. B. that

I retained no personal knowledge of your appearing in his case in the Court of Appeals, and to add that I have not even yet, the remotest recollection of your saying one word in it.

You are therefore mistaken also in your reference to me, to "contradict" Mr. B's "statement," otherwise than I may herein already have done so, that is, as to its affirmative form and peremptory manner.

Nor as you must know, can I "contradict" Mr. B's allegation that you did not argue his case in the Court of Appeals. But your reference to me implies that I would contradict that assertion, and my silence would sanction that belief, which would be altogether unjust; for, as already suggested, whatever others may recollect,—it cannot be proved by me that you made any argument in that case.

I therefore submit to your candor the question whether you were authorised to refer to me as you have done, and whether my silent acquiescence would not make me an instrument of delusion to the public, and of injustice to Mr. Breckinridge. And I feel assured sir, that on a careful reconsideration, it must afford you pleasure to retract or properly qualify that very comprehensive and indefinite reference, made hastily, no doubt, without considering all its consequences.

The only purpose of this communication is to place myself in my true attitude, and avoid any delusive or unjust implications that might result to others from my silence. And it seems to me to be but reasonable sir, that I should request that, in a spirit of justice and honorable magnanimity, you will give as much publicity to this explanation and correction as you have given to your references to me.

I shall consider it my duty to transmit to Mr. Breckinridge also a copy of this communication.

Yours Respectfully.

TO ROBERT WICKLIFFE, ESQ.

GEORGE ROBERTSON.

Connected with these general transactions are your most distinct charges against the honor of my father. In all your correspondence and all your publications up to the issuing of Your *Reply* in 1841, you had spoken with respect, nay with reverence of him. In it and in subsequent acts you have changed your ground entirely, and now heap upon his sepulchre, insults more degrading and intolerable even than those you had before expended upon me; for I have been chiefly accused of *meditating* frauds upon *sane* men, he of having actually *perpetrated* them on a *madman*. This gives a new aspect to our controversy in several important particulars. It exhibits in a stronger light than ever, the vindictiveness of that hate against which the grave itself cannot protect even the fairest reputation; it identifies my position and character with that of my father, in all this controversy, and thereby puts to mankind this simple issue, whether he and I are to be held infamous on your testimony, or you are to be adjudged a fiendlike slanderer; it converts your quarrel from one with me personally, into one with all who revere the virtues or share the blood of John Breckinridge, and consigns to a degradation equal to your own, such of the pretended friends and degenerate kinsmen of that great and good man, if any such there be, as shall dare even to feign neutrality in regard to such an issue. I, sir, have tried to lead a life free from offence against the nicest honour, and it was hard to assail such a life, as you have flagrantly proved; but my father exhibited a brilliant life of every varied excellence, to attack which is to prove at once your hatred of virtue and to ensure the reward of so great vice. May God enable me to deal with you for this outrage in such a manner as becomes a son and befits a Christian. In doing this I shall first state your accusations; and then prove them to be false, and that within your own perfect knowledge.

On p. 48-9 of your *Reply*, speaking of the mortgage of 1801 from Walter Beall to John Breckinridge to secure the payment of £1000, and of the contract of 1798 for the sale of the Iron Works to Beall and Nicholas, you say "Beall's heirs and under purchasers, of which Peter B. Ormsby was one, contended that, 1st, *Breckinridge had no claim earthly for the £1000 mortgage, but that he entered Beall's room when he was a lunatic and mad, and obtained his signature to the mortgage conveying property to the amount of more than \$100,000. That the mortgage was obtained under pretence that Breckinridge had lost the 600 acre tract on the Ky. river, and that the said land had been patented to Breckinridge, when by the original contract it was expressly stipulated that Breckinridge was to have no recourse upon Beall in any event whatever, should the 600 acres of land be lost. Ormsby had, from about 1833-4, a bill of injunction charging those facts in the Jefferson Circuit Court. I had obtained the decree on the mortgage, not knowing nor believing that there was a word of truth in the allegation that Breckinridge should have no recourse if the 600 acres of land should be lost. The proof was irresistible that Walter Beall was a lunatic at the date of the mortgage. It was not only proven by the family physician but by many others, some of them the first men of the country; such as John Rowan, George M. Bibb and Martin H. Wickliffe. But the family and friends of Beall could find no such original bond. The original when I read it proves every word stated, and fully proves that Mr. Breckinridge was in no event to look to Walter Beall if the land should be lost.*" On p. 52 you say, our recovery against Beall was "*against all the principles of equity and justice, on a mortgage taken from a lunatic, and for a claim which his father's own hand and seal proves to be without the shadow of foundation.*" On p. 64 you speak as follows, "In the prosecution of the claim against Beall *I believed the only question was his capacity to make the mortgage, I acted on the principle that whether he was insane or not, he owed the £1000 and ought to pay it. But the discovery of the original bond and the testimony, now show that not a cent was due Mr. Breckinridge, and that Beall was a lunatic when the mortgage, in which Beall acknowledged the £1000 to be due, was executed.*" In the next paragraph, you assert that the claim of my father was, "*as iniquitous a claim as the world ever witnessed.*" So much for your declarations in the *Reply* of 1841. Subsequently to this, to wit, on the 21st of March 1842, having previously drawn up, you filed and swore to the "Amended answer and cross bill of Ellicott and Meredith, in the case Breckinridge's heirs &c. vs. Beall's adms. &c." herein before referred to. This answer is made "a cross bill against the heirs of Breckinridge," and against us you charge and swear that the 1000 acres of land in Jefferson, and the 600 on the Ky. river were the entire consideration paid my father for the Iron Works, and that Beall, by an arrangement with Colonel Nicholas, paid the whole of that consideration; and then proceed thus, "These defendants state that John Breckinridge procured a patent for the 600 acres of land, and holds the title of it to this day, but pretending that the same was lost before the death of Beall, obtained from him when in a state of mental derangement, a mortgage acknowledging that he, Beall, therefor owed him one thousand pounds, &c."

The *first* point involved in these statements, is the insanity of Walter Beall. Upon this point, I begin by referring you to my *Second Defence*, p. 28. The reference made by you in your *Second Speech* of 1840, to this alleged madness, was in this form, to wit, that the fact of it had been set up in the Ormsby case to my great annoyance, and with obvious danger to the good name of my father, and that you had so effectually put down the charge, that it gave you a peculiar claim upon my gratitude, and presented my conduct to you in a very aggravated light. My reply was, that the whole thing was a ridiculous fetch on your part, and a vile pretence on that of Beall and those claiming under him; that it had been made prominent in the suit in the Federal Court in 1804, again in that in Fayette in 1819, again in that in Jefferson in 1826, again in the Court of Appeals in 1829, and that it was an adjudicated point that the man was sane. At present you take the opposite ground, declare your ignorance of records with which I have herein demonstrated you were perfectly familiar, and upon the proof taken in the cases above mentioned, and upon the record of these cases, with every one of which you were thoroughly conversant, you pronounce an opinion opposite to that of the officers of justice, and declare the man to have been unquestionably mad; and to fortify your insolence and self-convicted faithlessness, publish scraps of depositions refuted and disproved, as to most of them, as far back as 1804, and as to all, as long ago as 1826. This then, is the first point of my present Defence, to reiterate that made in 1840 in my *Second Defence*, which is by itself, conclusive of the case.

But you insist on going behind the judgment of the Courts. Very well. In the Law Reports of J. J. Marshall, vol I. pp. 236-67, the Decree of the Court of Appeals of Ky., in the case *Breckinridge's heirs, advs. Ormsby* is fairly before you and all mankind. Meet the argument of that decree (which you have heretofore printed that you gained, and that at the risk of your invaluable life) with something better than assertions knowingly untrue, and idle declamation about law and equity, utterly unsupported by a reason offered or an authority referred to. The Court states the whole case in all its parts, goes over the whole defence against us in every aspect of it, argues every point presented, weighs the testimony, settles the law, decrees the equity; and the case is so out and out for us, that you once exclaimed in ecstasy, "*By this decree was the exalted name and spotless character of John Breckinridge vindicated.*" (*Second Speech* of 1840, p. 11.) True, sir; but not one only, but a pack of hyeanas might howl at it forever, and the upright decree and the spotless name would abide as they are. I cannot, in a publication like this, print a decree covering above thirty pages; nor is it necessary to do so, to refute the legal dicta of a man whose professional opinions are regulated only by his interests and his passions.

You insist too, on going into the facts. Very well again. How do they stand? On the face of a deed executed in 1801, Beall confesses himself indebted to Breckinridge in the sum of £1000, without saying a word as to the character or origin of that indebtedness, and proceeds to mortgage property to secure the payment of that debt. Some years afterwards, to wit, in 1804, Beall, to avoid the

payment of the money, filed an answer in Chancery, in which he says he was insane at the particular period when he made the deed. But it turns out that at three periods subsequent to the execution of the mortgage of 1801, and anterior to the answer in Chancery of 1804, Beall had recognized and confirmed that mortgage by three additional and independent deeds of record, made every one of them, at periods of confessed perfect sanity, to wit, the mortgage of 1802 to Breckinridge, the contract with Hunt and Hart of 1803, and the deed of sale and mortgage with the Owingses in 1803; the last two transactions being without the privity of Breckinridge, and as he supposed, not compatible with his interests, on which account, he sued Beall to collect his money. Here then, on the merits, is a new, independent and triumphant vindication, notorious and of record for forty years past.

But you must go back into the proof. Well again. How stands the proof? General Robert Breckinridge, who as the agent for the Trustees of Beall's brother in Va., wound up and settled with Beall, a large and complicated business involved in a mortgage of older date than ours of 1801, upon the same property in part, found him always a sane and shrewd man of business, before, during and after the year of alleged madness; Robert Scott was the agent of Colonel Morrison who was executor of Col. Nicholas, Beall's partner in the Iron Works, and as such transacted an immense business with Beall for years, before, during and after 1801, and knew him to be a sane man; Col. Morrison himself, did large business with Beall from 1799 to 1803, much of it in 1801, and always found him a sane man; Cuthbut Banks, the friend, host, and agent of Beall in important and confidential transactions, at and about the period of alleged madness, knew him to be sane; Nathaniel Hart, sen., who still lives, and who was one of the witnesses who subscribed and proved the mortgage of 1802 from Beall to Breckinridge, transacted a large business with Beall for years together, covering the disputed year, and found him always in his senses; and other proof just of the same character, and to a still greater extent, taken in the several cases before stated, and conclusive by itself, has been long known to you; proof, every word of which I would rejoice to print, if my limits would permit; proof, which not only vindicates "the exalted name and spotless character of John Breckinridge," but goes far to account for there being any proof of our opposite character, by showing, on the part of divers witnesses, or at least conducing to show, that Beall was capable of feigning the imbecility which he afterwards alleged, to avoid the payment of his honest debt.

There is a fatality which seems to attend the vilest offenders, by which a merciful Providence always entraps them into their own conviction. That you should, for any purpose, attack the reputation of a virtuous patriot who had been dead five and thirty years, is bad enough; but that this should be done when you knew you were wrong, when the victim of your malice had been as you admit your benefactor, as you boast your friend; that it should be done to wound his family, and degrade his son, is unnatural and revolting beyond all ordinary wickedness. But that before doing such act, you should furnish, upon your solemn oath, the amplest proof with which to

confront your own subsequent accusations, is one of those striking interpositions of Divine Providence, which it so shocks you that I should trust and appeal to, and of which our controversy has developed so many. Foreseeing that you would one day utter these horrible falsehoods, God has been mercifully pleased so to ordain it, that you should depose beforehand to truths precisely opposite to them. Read again your accusations against my father, and then read the paper which follows, and if there is left one spot in your soul not callous to all right impulses, ask yourself if there is any epithet of contempt and scorn in our copious speech, which a son of John Breckinridge would not be justified in hurling at you.

The deposition of R. Wickliffe, taken at the Court House of Lexington, Ky, on the 22d day of April 1826, to be read in evidence in a suit in Chancery, depending in the Jefferson Circuit Court, wherein Peter B. Ormsby &c., is plaintiff, and the administrators and heirs of John Breckinridge, deceased &c., are defendants,—who being duly charged and sworn to speak the whole truth, depose and saith, *That he knew Walter Beall during the year 1801, long before, and afterwards till his death.* That he recollects of hearing Felix Grundy say, in a laughing mode, that Tom Owings had run old Beall, that is, the said Walter, mad, and hearing another man, whom he thinks was a dun, and who had business with Walter Beall to settle, *reflect upon Beall for pretending to be crazy.* This deponent being in Bardstown, passed the door of said Beall, and observed him walking through the house from one door to the other, and after viewing him, came to the conclusion that Beall was in a state of distress. *But had no idea then, nor has he now, that Beall was deranged. This he thinks, was about 1801.* Afterwards, to wit, *some time in 1803, he became the lawyer in most or all Beall's business in Bardstown, and being sent for by Beall, in company with the Honorable Stephen Ormsby, who had, he understood, rendered Beall considerable service in getting him out of his difficulties, as was supposed, with Colonel Owings, to Beall's house in the country, said Beall seemed to be in high spirits, and in the course of the night we spent there, Mr. Ormsby alluded to this affair with Mr. J. Breckinridge. Beall replied that he would fix that, or fix Breckinridge.* That Breckinridge had taken the advantage of him by misstating facts to obtain the contract, and went on to state the particulars in which he had been cheated and misled by Mr. Breckinridge, with some minuteness, and seemed to have the most perfect recollection about them. The particulars this deponent can't now recapitulate, but that he charged Breckinridge with acting in bad faith so circumstantially, that this deponent mentioned it to Mr. Ormsby on their way to town next morning, by remarking that Beall told a bad story on Breckinridge. To which Ormsby replied yes, but damn the old fellow, he won't tell the whole truth about it, the truth is, that Beall intended by the deed to Breckinridge to cover his property, and Breckinridge intends to hold him to it. This, I think, was the substance, if not the words of Judge Ormsby. The conversation made the stronger impression on me at the time, *as it was the first imputation I had ever heard against the purity of Mr. Breckinridge's character.* I afterwards married a relation of Mr. Breckinridge, and at his house he alluded to the subject. He spoke with temper of Beall, so much so, that I did not relate what Mr. Beall had stated in my presence, but that with other circumstances, tends to impress the facts I have first stated, the more strongly upon my mind. I lived in Bardstown when I understood depositions were taken to prove Beall's insanity in relation to the contract with Breckinridge, and remember to have heard his counsel say he had proven him insane. *This deponent can only speak from what he saw, and he has on his mind not a shadow of doubt that he was not insane. That at the time he spoke of the contract at his house, he was as much in his senses as ever he saw him, and appeared to have the most perfect recollection of the facts attending the contract with Breckinridge.*

Question by Complainant's Attorney.—Were you in the habit of seeing Walter Beall frequently in the year 1801? Answer.—I do not recollect whether I saw Mr. Beall frequently or not in 1801. I did not then live in Bardstown, but

attended the District Court in 1801, and sometimes the Quarter Session Court, but at this time, no particular interview in that year is impressed on my mind, except the one referred to. Nor should I be able to state that it was in 1801, but from the fact that it was when I heard he was deranged, which I learn now was in 1801. I was frequently at Bardstown and frequently saw Mr. Beall, but at this time, cannot give dates.

Question by Complainant's Attorney.—Was or was not the conviction you have expressed that Walter Beall was not insane in 1801, founded more upon circumstances which transpired afterwards, than upon actual observation of him in 1801? Answer.—What I have stated is mere opinion, formed from what I heard said at the time, from seeing him, and from what passed afterwards, after he was released from his contract with Owings, which I learnt he made, which was the cause of his insanity, or apparent insanity. I had the interview with him I have stated, in which he stated the facts concerning his contract with Mr. Breckinridge. I am not able to state further than I have the facts on which I formed and have always since entertained the opinion, that Mr. Beall's insanity was assumed, or did not exceed great distress of mind. I well remember to have heard it said in conversation by some, that he was deranged, and by others, that he only feigned insanity. I wish it also to be understood, that although I knew Mr. Beall well, and frequently saw and conversed with him at various times and places, that I never had much to do with Mr. Beall or his business, until about the year 1803. And further this deponent saith not.

R. WICKLIFFE.

The foregoing is a true copy of the deposition of R. Wickliffe, which was filed in the suit of Ormsby vs. Beall &c., in the Jefferson Circuit Court on the 26th day of May, 1826. It was certified to have been taken and sworn to before William West, J. P. Fayette County. And on the back of said deposition is a memorandum in the hand writing of G. Duncan, Esq., Def'ts. Att'y., "not read G. Dn."

Attest.

EDM'D. P. POPE, C. J. C. C.

Sept. 23, 1842.

Why this frightful deposition was not read on the trial below, must be matter of conjecture, and is not essential here. Not being read there, it did not of course go up to the Appellate Court in the record of our appeal against Ormsby, (the suit is the same, though the title of it given in the Clerk's certificates above, is different;) and not finding it in that record, you were too easily induced to suppose it had perished, and to act as if it had. But what shall we say of a man who in 1826 swears that there never was on his mind a shadow of doubt that Beall was sane in 1801, and that this opinion was formed from what he heard at the time, from what he saw of him then, and from what he knew afterwards; and who, in 1842 swears that the same Beall was indubitably crazy in 1801? Who swears to the former fact, as a fact likely to support the validity of a particular deed, and swears to the latter fact as likely to destroy the validity of the very same deed? Who swears to the former fact as likely to exculpate, and to the latter fact as likely to inculpate the very same man, that man being long dead on both occasions? I repeat, what shall we say of such a man? Or rather, is it not saying every thing, merely to declare that Robert Wickliffe is the man? Why, sir, if your exhaustless iron ore was a mass of diamonds, I would not for it all, incur even the suspicion of such an act.

But the *second* point remains to be noticed. Beall might not have been deranged, and yet he might have been defrauded in the transaction of 1801; and you now declare he was. And although it is worse to defraud a mad man than a sane one, yet it is bad enough

to defraud any body; and this, you say, you believe John Breckinridge did. I will now prove he did not.

That Beall should have confirmed the mortgage of 1801, by no less than three distinct, subsequent, deliberate acts of record during the two following years, reaching up to the very inception of the suit against him on the first mortgage, as I have shown he did, creates a most violent presumption in favor of the fairness of that transaction; and when the characters of the two men, (Beall and my father,) as exhibited by yourself, and as regards the latter as loudly proclaimed by the voice of his own generation and of that which has succeeded it, are considered, that presumption cannot be shaken except by the clearest proof. But there is not a particle of proof even looking in that direction. Beall asserts, and you after him, that the sole consideration of the mortgage of 1801, was the failure of title to 600 acres of land, for which he was not responsible; but if that were true, his inference would not follow, as I will prove, and there is not one syllable of this in the mortgage; and you have, yourself, said, as I have before shown, that you found amongst my father's papers, a *contract* upon which this very mortgage was based, which I again say to you, its rightful owners will be glad to get when it has served your purposes. Beall has said, and you after him, that he was the sole paymaster to my father in the purchase of the Iron Works in 1798, and that he paid in part in the aforesaid 600 acres; but the agreement of 1798 for the sale of the Iron Works, shows upon its face, that Beall and Nicholas were jointly the purchasers, so that Beall's word contradicts his written act; and the act itself, as well as the mortgage of 1801 contradicts his word, for neither of them connects the other with itself. You swear in your answer and cross bill of 1842, already several times referred to, that "John Breckinridge procured a patent for the 600 acres of land, *and holds the title of it to this day:*" but it is matter of record, that this is wholly false, for I have before me the certificate of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals dated May 8th 1805, that a conveyance of this land by John Breckinridge and wife to Walter Beall, was admitted to record in his office on the 12th day of May 1801. Assuming the mortgage of 1801 to be founded on the contract of 1798, Beall attempts to avoid the force of the confirmation of that mortgage of 1801 in the subsequent mortgage of 1802, by saying he had forgotten at the moment the nature of his covenants in and obligations under the contract of 1798, and you repeat all this after him; but the contract of 1798 was not only under his eyes when he made the mortgage of 1802, but it is actually recited in it, appended to it, and recorded with it, as I have abundantly proved before; so that this poor untruth dies merely by the touch. Upon the face of all the transactions therefore, large and complicated as they were, every thing is fair, clear, and consistent.

Let us then go behind the deeds, and standing on the contract of 1798, admit that Beall was sole pay-master to my father for his interest in the Iron Works sold to himself and Nicholas, that the 600 acres was a payment in part for that property, and that the mortgage of 1801 had no other consideration than the re-conveyance to Beall by Breckinridge of these 600 acres. This is the utmost ever asserted by either Beall or yourself; and from these facts, you say the fraud

on Beall is so obvious that if you had once seen the contract of 1798, you would sooner have had your tongue pulled out than aided in enforcing the mortgage of 1801; for, as you say, it is perfectly plain from the contract, that Beall was not to be responsible for the title of the 600 acres. Now, Sir, I am many years from the bar, and rusty in my old profession; but I must say greater nonsense was never uttered by a man calling himself a lawyer. Beall undertook to assign a platt and certificate for a certain piece of land, for a very large consideration, to wit, for a £1000, stipulating, however, that he would not be responsible for the goodness of his title; but surely this did not exonerate him from being responsible that his platt and certificate were for the very land he pretended they were for? But this was precisely what they were not! My father had a patent issued in his own name upon the platt and certificate which had been originally assigned by Samuel Beall to Walter Beall, the latter transferring to my father the responsibility of his brother Samuel to him for the goodness of the title which he would not himself guarantee. The responsibility of Samuel Beall to my father, would have been ample for the goodness of the title, provided there had been any title at all to the land actually sold by Walter Beall; but did that exonerate Walter Beall upon a covenant not to be personally responsible for the goodness of the title, when in fact the platt and certificate did not cover the land he sold, nor come any where near it? So far as the title to the 600 acres is involved, whether that matter entered at all into the question of the mortgage of 1801 or not, these are the literal facts; they are shown to be so by papers now before me, upon many of which are endorsements in your hand-writing, and therefore they are all well known to you. And, what is most extraordinary, amongst other papers there is one in the hand-writing of my father, headed thus, "Observations in my suit vs. W. Beall in the Federal Court, to be decided at his request by Gov'r Greenup and Mr. John Pope, the 25th inst., (May, 1805,) in Lexington," containing in 5 pages, heads of the facts, proof, and argument in regard to the very points now before us; which paper is endorsed in my father's hand, "Obs'vs," below that, in yours, "of Mr. Breckinridge," and lower still, in my own, years ago, "Breckinridge vs. Walter Beall." How the arbitration fell through I have never ascertained; but this paper alone, being fully known to you and being a clear and conclusive exhibition of the fairness and indubitable force of the claim you now pronounce "as iniquitous a claim as the world ever witnessed," proves you to be guilty of suppressing the truth, denying your knowledge of it, and then assailing the dead and the living in flagrant violation of it. That upon this state of fact it was evidence of fraud to seek redress of Walter Beall, and evidence of madness that he should make reparation and look in turn to his brother, is to me new law, new equity, and new morality.

But again; if you will turn to your *Reply* (pp. 43-4) and read over the contract of 1798, you will find it expressly stipulated that if my father when he came to look into the nature of Walter Beall's claim to a much larger and more valuable portion of the property which according to your version Beall as sole pay-master gave him for his interest in the Iron Works, should not like the title which was to be

conveyed from Samuel to Walter Beall, then and in that case, "*the said Breckinridge will cancel the said contract.*" Here then is a new turn to the whole business. The right to cancel the contract was, upon a certain contingency, absolutely with my father; and he was the sole judge of the contingency. In 1803 Beall contracted, as I have before shown, with the Owingses (father and son,) to sell 18-48ths of the Iron Works for about \$45,000, and this price was in his opinion so low that he relented, and was or pretended to be crazy a second time in order to get off the bargain. Its probable value was about the same in 1801. In this state of case, rather than cancel the contract he might choose to make good a £1000 which, as already shown, he was clearly bound upon every principle to make good to my father, and therefore might not only equitably but most wisely execute the mortgage of 1801. It is, therefore, certain that the relation of the mortgage of 1801 to the contract of 1798 might have been precisely what you now assert it was, and yet the absolute rectitude of the conduct of my father and the perfect equity of his claim under that mortgage be demonstrated even at this distant day from the papers that have escaped the careless and incompetent handling of such administrators as you represent those of my father to have been, and the fearful dangers of a passage through your hands. In good truth, Sir, virtue is immortal. The acts of an upright man carry with them their own enduring vindication. This consoling lesson has been forced upon me in every part of my controversy with you; and from every quarter, and on all occasions, proof shines forth from the midst of every right action which you have distorted and denounced, to vindicate my righteous cause and to cover with confusion my unprincipled and ignoble accuser. We must expect, in a world like this, to be hated by men like you; it is a precious support to goodness to be taught that we need not fear them.

Who, Sir, was this unprincipled miser and base miscreant whose polluted memory you have dragged between your own character and the public scorn, as if by interposing a hideous object to avert a scrutiny which was becoming insupportable? Who was John Breckinridge? I have heard of a man of that name who being left at a very tender age an orphan boy of slender means and delicate constitution, contrived, no one could tell how, in one of the frontier counties of Virginia, to make himself an accurate and elegant scholar by the time of life at which most youths of the best opportunities are beginning to master the outposts of learning. I have heard that he turned this early and unusual school-craft to such account, and mixed his love of learning with a spirit of such unconquerable energy, that with his rifle on his shoulder and his surveying implements in his hands, he scoured the frontiers of his native state, exposed every hour to death by savage warriors, that with the price of his toil and almost of his blood, he might purchase what he valued above the body's life—the means of life to the spirit, that enchanting knowledge for which his heart panted. Old men have told me, and their eyes have filled with tears as they dwelt on the name of the beloved lad, that when he had left his mountain home for the ancient institution of Williamsburg, eagerly bent on knowing what he might, and while yet a minor, his native county appalled him by an order to represent her

interests and honor in the legislative halls of the most renowned of our commonwealths; and I have heard that from that day forward for a period of six and twenty years, he lived continually in the public eye, until in 1806 he was prematurely cut off in the very flower of his manhood, and when the richest fruits of such a life were only beginning to ripen. As an advocate, the mention of his name even in remote connexion with that of Patrick Henry who was still in his meridian splendor when the young back-woods-man met him at the bar, is enough to prove that from the start the goal was in his reach. As a lawyer, learned, great, and full of strength, the man who was the constant rival of George Nicholas and out of all other professional comparison, and who when just turned of forty, and at a period of our history when distinguished merit was an indispensable requisite for high office, became Attorney General of the United States, had name enough. As a politician, the leader of the first democratic Senate that ever met under the present government of the United States, the compeer of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, and their confidential friend, the author of the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 which constituted the earliest and the boldest movement of that great era, and which were drawn with such consummate ability that Mr. Jefferson considered it too great an addition to his fame to be reputed their author ever openly to deny it, may justly be called great. As a statesman, the present constitution of Kentucky of which he more than any man was the undoubted author, and which the people of that state after a trial of more than forty years refused to alter; the criminal code of that state, the most humane that exists, and which in its great outlines is the work of his hands; the opposition to Jay's treaty, the securing the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, the subsequent purchase of Louisiana, and the incalculable influence of these events upon the destinies of this great nation,—ideas which the proof is complete, had their origin in those democratic societies of the West of which he and that farsighted patriot George Nicholas, were the life and soul—place him in the very front rank. Of the private life of this man, I have heard a character still more remarkable. Simple in his manners, grave and lofty in his carriage, self-denied in his personal habits, and a stranger to the common wants and infirmities of man, no efforts were too great, no labours too immense, no vigils too protracted, no dangers too imminent, no difficulties too insurmountable for his great, concentrated, indomitable energies. And yet this firm and earnest spirit, and this vigor almost austere, were tempered by a gentleness towards those he loved, so tender, that the devotion of his friends knew no bounds; and directed by a frankness and generosity towards all men, so striking and absolute, that even those he could not trust, trusted him. If men have told me truth, his was truly a life, from beginning to end, most imposing and illustrious; a character in all respects noble and pure. He was a man whom all noted while he walked amongst them; and when he fell, all men mourned.

Surely, Sir, *this* cannot be the man against whom you have allowed yourself to utter such dreadful things? Why, Sir, I once knew a man called *Robert Wickliffe*, who in a public testimony to *this* John Breckinridge, said that he was "*the most accomplished gentleman*

that I ever knew"—(p. 8, *Second Speech of 1840.*) And of the same man, after making a thorough examination, as *he said*, of his private papers, he declared, "*I found his papers in such order as to stamp the mind with a thorough conviction that he was a fair and honest man, for he seemed to have retained the evidence of his whole life and transactions with perfect security*"—(*Idem.*) And this same witness said, that a statement made to him by a person named Beall, insinuating that *this* Mr. Breckinridge had "acted with bad faith" about a certain mortgage, made such an indellible impression on this mind that after more than twenty years it was not effaced, because says he, "*it was the first imputation I had ever heard against the purity of Mr. Breckinridge's character*"—(*See Wickliffe's deposition on a previous page.*) And that Robert Wickliffe constantly boasted of his intimacy with *this* John Breckinridge, nay published that the mere hope of vindicating his memory from this very aspersion of this very Beall was enough to induce him to risk his life; and with grateful enthusiasm he declared that his efforts had been successful in vindicating "*the exalted name and spotless character of John Breckinridge;*" and that this "*defence of the memory of a departed friend*" was a sweet consolation of which even the ingratitude of a degenerate son could not rob "*the friend of his father while living, the defender of his fame when dead*"—(*See Second Speech of 1840, p. 11-12.*) The strongest personal grounds, too, for such admiration and devotion have been clearly stated by *that* Robert Wickliffe of *this* John Breckinridge. "*I had a debt of gratitude to discharge to your father's family for his kindness to my wife;*" (see letter of August 29, 1832, to me;) that is, his first wife, (for *that* Mr. Wickliffe was twice married,) who was a near kinswoman of *this* John Breckinridge. Again, in regard to his second wife, he says of the same good man, "*He was her best friend and kind benefactor;*" (see letter of June 22, 1832, to my brother William.) And then a more individual claim is stated. "*I had known Mr. Breckinridge long, and in the latter part of his life, our acquaintance had ripened into an intimate and family friendship, and no man living or dead, ever had more of my respect and esteem. I witnessed his last moments, and bore him to his grave, where I mingled my tears with those of his bereaved family and friends. He died in the midst of his usefulness, to the irreparable loss of his family, lamented by his country*"—(*See Second Speech of 1840, p. 7.*) And still more emphatically the parting charge of the noble spirit as it passed away is recorded, "*I visited him on his death bed, and the few moments I was (alone) with him, convinced me that in the event of his death, he expected my friendship to his family.*"—(*See p. 3, Letter of August 29, 1832, to me.*)

And are these the same men? Is this the same John Breckinridge who is described as the best and greatest amongst men; and again described as having perpetrated the basest and most detestable offences? And is this the same Robert Wickliffe who gives both the descriptions? Is it so, that one wearing the human form can be such a wretch? What obligations of truth, of honor, of decency—what claims of blood, of friendship, of alliance—what obligations for benefits conferred, and that too upon the nearest and dearest of all—what charges even on a bed of death,—all—all violated, transgressed,

despised, trodden under foot! And for what? To gratify an insatiate avarice, and to indulge a consuming hate because that avarice was frustrated. I, Sir, will not avenge this horrible outrage. But think not that you will escape the anger of God. The memory of just men is precious in his sight, and he does not permit offences like yours to go unpunished. There is a day coming when you must meet that great and insulted shade, and answer before God for this tremendous guilt.

The matters over which we have now passed, I hope to your edification, are scattered in detached sentences and paragraphs over many parts of your large pamphlet, but may be considered as especially discussed in the fifteen pages extending from the 41st to the 56th. The matters next in consequence, are those relating to the transactions between the family of John Breckinridge and that of the late Samuel Meredith the younger, which are also scattered all about your luminous publication, but particularly set forth on the nine pages between the 8th and the 16th; to these transactions let us now proceed.

You will not fail to remember that this painful and protracted family dispute between the husband of my father's only sister and her favorite brother and his widow and children, was introduced by you into your controversy with me, without the least particle of excuse or necessity, except what may be found in wounding the feelings or injuring the reputation of persons who were not even parties to your quarrel with me; for as you perfectly knew, and I have proved in my *Second Defence*, the difficulty arose out of business transactions entered into before I was born, fully consummated before my father's death, and enforced at law by the older members of my family while I was a minor; and therefore in all fairness and in strict truth, I was justly to be held a stranger to the moral quality of the controversy, let that be good or bad. Yet in defiance of truth and in contempt of common decency, you proceeded to charge me, in your *Second Speech* of 1840, with being the main instigator of all the difficulty between the two families; with being your especial client in the whole business, and in that business proving myself an "unfeeling wretch;" with pursuing and harassing my "aged, infirm, and destitute aunt" with suit after suit; and, in general, with manifesting such a character and pursuing such a conduct in the whole business, as your client, that the case "wrung your heart more," than any land case you ever had, "in a practice of more than forty years;" and to cap my villany, I had after this successful course of unfeeling brutality towards my aunt, defrauded the heirs of my father out of the estate I had gained in their name. You will find all this on p. 22, and in other parts of the said *Speech*. You did not then openly attack the legal validity or even the equity of the claim on which, as you said, I had recovered the estate; and instead of impugning you openly extalled the character of my father on whose acts it was based, and that of my oldest brother Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, by whose agency it was in reality enforced. I therefore contented myself in my *Second Defence* with a brief and general statement of the origin, nature and mode of enforcing our claim; and proved in detail, that I had never been your client in the case at all, except that being a mere

child when the suits were instituted, my name was used as one of the heirs of John Breckinridge; that the whole business was settled while I was still a minor, and while my brother Cabell was alive and the active manager of our business of this kind; that in fact the difficulty was between the heirs of my father and the husband of Mrs. Meredith, and not between her and myself as you most falsely alleged; that, by your own showing, you had never had a business transaction with me of any kind till after my brother's death, that is, till after this controversy was virtually and conclusively settled; that after the recovered estate had been some years in possession of my family, I had purchased it from them at a full price; that my purchase of it was an act of kindness and almost of absolute necessity towards several of my co-heirs, and very far from appearing at the time to be in accordance with my pecuniary interests; and that the greater part of these facts was well known to you and the rest within your reach when you printed your abominable falsehoods: for all which, clearly set forth and conclusively proved, I refer you to pp. 19-24 of that Defence. In your *Reply*, you do not produce a particle of proof that even tends to shake a single one of these propositions; but you abuse me more virulently than ever, applying to me the most infamous epithets through many pages; misrepresent, as usual, your own conduct and that of every other person connected with the business, from beginning to end; denounce our claim as being not only unjust, but fraudulent and iniquitous; implicate the memory of my father in the origin of this claim, and attack the character of my whole family for having enforced it; and, as in the case of Beall, print parts of the pleading and testimony to fortify your calumnies with a color of proof, and blind the unwary who may not know that all those matters had been carefully examined twenty years ago by the courts of justice and decided for us, and that within your own knowledge and in part by your own procurement. All this you will find on pp. 8-16, and p. 63-4, and in various other parts of your *Reply*. I shall now proceed to do what was unnecessary when I treated this affair before, and fill up what was then omitted of the history of a transaction, which in all its parts is in the highest degree honorable to every member of my family who ever had any connexion with it, and infinitely disgraceful to you. In doing this, I shall feel myself obliged to speak with a freedom which I would willingly have avoided if the recent conduct of some of the representatives of Mr. Meredith had permitted me to do so.

John Breckinridge was, as you have once said, a remarkably exact as well as a punctiliously just man. Moral as well as physical qualities are sometimes hereditary; and perhaps you will at last discover that this ancient benefactor of your family, transmitted one at least of his ruling qualities. It is somewhat remarkable that at the end of more than half a century, I should be able to point out exactly how this disputed claim originated, in an act of kindness performed by my honored father for an unworthy kinsman; and to trace it downwards in acts of the same kindness on the one part, met by constant unworthiness on the other, even to the publication of your infamous *Reply*. Let us begin at the beginning.

Know all men by these presents, that I am held and firmly bound unto Anthony Winston of Buckingham County, (in) the sum of one hundred and sixty-three pounds specie. To be paid the twenty-fith December next, for value received. Signed and sealed the 19th April 1786. SAM'L MEREDITH, Jr.

Test, NIXON PALMER.

This bond is in the hand-writing of the individual signing it. I find it enveloped in a receipt signed "*Antho Winston*," dated "Nov. 11th, 1789," and attested by "Cary Drew;" in which Winston, (who was a near relative, as I believe, of Meredith,) acknowledges that John Breckinridge had paid him £52, 4, 0, in full consideration of a contract entered into between them on the 16th of the previous month. At the bottom of this receipt are these words, "This money I paid Winston for his Bond vs. S. Meredith, jun., in suit in Amherst Cy. J. B'dge." On the back of the bond of Meredith is the following memorandum, which like the last foregoing one is in the hand-writing of my father.

This note was for gameing; and was put in suit in Amherst Court. While the suit was depending, I bought the debt from Winston for between fifty and sixty pounds, and got an order from him for this note.—Shortly after, I purchased 600 acres of land on Elkhorn, from Col. Meredith for £360. This note and some fees Col. Meredith owed me, were reckoned at £60; and for the balance, to wit, £300, I gave my bond to Col. Meredith. This memo. is now made, that no improper use may ever be made of this paper. J. BRECKINRIDGE. 1790.

Col. Meredith had a military survey for 2000 acres, but which held out nearly to 2500, made on the 11th day of July 1774 lying on North Elkhorn creek, in what is now the County of Fayette and Commonwealth of Ky. It was supposed that 600 acres of this land lay on the north side of the creek; and these, purchased as above explained, were conveyed by deed from Col. Meredith and wife to John Breckinridge on the 3d of March 1790. To this deed Samuel Meredith, jun. and his wife Elizabeth Meredith (the sister of John Breckinridge) were, with several others, subscribing witnesses; and by their oaths and that of Philip Roots, the deed was proved at the July term of the Fayette County Court for the year 1790, and thereupon ordered to record, as the attestation of Levi Todd, the clerk, proves. It is very probable that this connexion of Samuel Meredith, jun. and his wife with this original deed, may have been the ground of the strong impression which seems to have rested on her mind that her husband's father and not her husband was the person responsible to her brother; an impression, as it will be immediately seen, entirely erroneous, and known always to her husband to be so; but which being naturally implanted in her mind by so much of the case as she appears to have been originally privy to, led her to judge erroneously of it in all its subsequent stages. This office, as you know, was afterwards burnt, with its contents; but this deed, belonging to a man who attended to his business, had been withdrawn; and it with the certificate of Levi Todd annexed, was again produced to the clerk on the 17th of June 1815, and again recorded, as the attestation of Thomas D. Young, then clerk, shows. There was a doubt whether so much as 600 acres of land actually lay on the north side of Elkhorn, as indeed it turned out there did not; and the north

line of the survey being a disputed line, it was still more uncertain how many acres of land Col. Meredith might actually own on that side of the creek. On which account Samuel Meredith, sen. and Samuel Meredith, jun., both executed an obligation dated three days after the deed, and reciting all the facts, in which they bind themselves to make good to John Breckinridge from adjoining land on the south side of the creek, any deficiency that might exist on the north side. The reason why Samuel Meredith, jun. joined his father in this obligation, is stated on its face to be, that his father had, the day before, conveyed to him by deed all the 2000 acres except what had been conveyed on the 3d instant to John Breckinridge, to wit, except 600 acres. This obligation is witnessed by the aforementioned Philip Roots only, and was delivered by John Breckinridge to Samuel Meredith, jun., in 1797, when the matter was adjusted between them, as will be presently explained, and was filed by said Meredith as an exhibit along with his bill in chancery against my father's heirs in June 1816, from a complete record of which case, made in November 1819, by Thomas Bodley C. F. C. C., when the case went to the Court of Appeals, I draw the most of these facts.

In the spring of the year 1793 John Breckinridge emigrated to Kentucky, and having purchased a considerable portion of Dandridge's military survey, adjoining that of Meredith, settled upon it. He found, doubtless to his great surprise, that Samuel Meredith, jun., his brother-in-law, had, several years before, sold a large part of the land purchased from his father; and also, though not perhaps unexpectedly, that there was a deficiency of quantity on the north side of the creek. The period of the sale by Samuel Meredith, jun., is clearly identified. I have before me a survey made by N. Massie, of the part sold to one John McKibben, dated August 5th, 1789; and this being sold by McKibben to old Col. Clark, and the title being ascertained never to have been in the younger Meredith, Clark was about to proceed at law, when by the intervention of my father, in whom the title was, an arbitration between Meredith and Clark was agreed on. I have before me the original statement of Meredith, in his own hand writing, laid before the arbitrators, dated August 13, 1797, in which he says that he sold the land to McKibben in 1789, admits he had knowledge of the deed of 1790 to his brother-in-law, as being a subscribing witness he could not fail to have, and attempts to excuse his extraordinary conduct in selling land for which he had no title and then becoming a subscribing witness to a deed conveying the very same land from his own father to his wife's brother, by saying that he had before that a verbal promise from his father to give him all the land, and that he thought there would be 600 acres on the north side after taking out what he had sold, and avers that he has "*procured from Mr. Breckinridge his right to all the land that interferes with the sale I made to McKibben.*" It is difficult to be exact in regard to the conduct of men who essentially vary their statements at different times. Thus, S. Meredith, jun., states expressly in the paper above quoted from, "*at the time I made the sale to McKibben, I had no deed myself from my father;*" and this sale as he admits, was in 1789, and as is shown was about the 5th of August of that year. In the same paper he says, "Mr.

Breckinridge's deed from my father, which *was older than mine*, swept the whole of the land I sold to McKibben:" but that deed was dated, as I have shown, on the 3d of March 1790. In his bond to my father dated Sept. 6, 1797, he states that his father's deed to him was dated on the 5th of March 1790, the third day after the date of the deed to my father. And in the joint bond of himself and his father of March 6th, 1790, he and his father both recite that the deed of the latter to him, was dated the day before. But in his bill in Chancery against us, filed in 1816, he alleges that his original deed from his father for the whole 2000 acres was dated March 5th 1789, before his sale to McKibben and before his father's deed to my father; and in March, 1817, swears to this and other facts in order to implicate my father and to get relief in Chancery. So also as to the actual amount he sold to McKibben, there is some mystery; it is first stated at 300 acres, for which it appears Col. Clark contended up to 1797, and which explains the amount stated in the letters of 1794 of my father to Col. Meredith; but the arbitrators settled the amount at 221 acres, in their award. That award, dated August 14, 1797, was filed by Meredith as an exhibit in his Chancery suit against us in 1816; and the essential feature of it is that if John Breckinridge would convey the land by deed with general warranty to Clark, the latter should not proceed against Meredith. Here then, another act of mere kindness becomes necessary on the part of John Breckinridge, to save his reckless brother-in-law from the consequences of his own folly; an act the more important when it is considered that if he had refused to convey the title to Clark, the measure of damages in Clark's recovery against Samuel Meredith jun., would have been the improved value of the estate; and in a forest country, at a period when wood land was worth little in comparison with houses, cleared land and labor, it is easy to understand that the sacrifice required was very far from nominal, and the obligation conferred equal to the saving of Meredith from, perhaps, total ruin. Yet that act of kindness was the basis of all Meredith's subsequent injustice, and all your abuse in regard to the subject. John Breckinridge conveyed to Clark according to the award, reciting the facts on the face of the deed, and took from Samuel Meredith, jun. a bond to convey to him as much land of equal quality an equal distance from Lexington, as should make up the amount thus conveyed, and also the amount of the ascertained deficit. The amount released was 221 acres, for which Samuel Meredith, jun., would be alone responsible, there being no pretext why his father should be bound for it, except parental kindness. The ascertained deficiency was 134 acres, the land originally purchased by John Breckinridge holding out to 466 acres only, instead of 600; for this Samuel Meredith, sen., was responsible under his deed of March 3d, 1790; and both he and his son were responsible under their contract of March 6, 1790, both of which I have before set forth; and as the younger Meredith had received the balance of the estate by gift with this liability in his eye, and was therefore doubly bound both in law to his brother-in-law, and in conscience to his father, to make it good, it was the simplest and most just of all possible acts that he should be held to his responsibility. Moreover, this respons-

ibility was by the joint contract of March 6, 1790 of the two Merediths specifically to indemnify John Breckinridge for any deficit, with adjacent lands of the same military survey. That John Breckinridge should therefore take from the younger Meredith the bond conditioned to convey to him 355 acres, being the joint amount of the 221 acres released and the 134 deficient, without estimating the improved value of the estate conveyed to Clark, was not only most just, but most generous; and none but a fool or a knave could understand the transaction and come to any other conclusion. To insure the execution of this bond by Samuel Meredith, jun., John Breckinridge took from him a mortgage on 355 acres of land adjacent to that originally purchased by him and part of the same survey, conditioned to be void on the complete execution of the bond within five years from its date. The bond and mortgage were both executed on the 6th day of Sept. 1797, (less than a month after the award between Clark and Meredith:) and were both recorded in the Fayette office on the 17th June 1815, at the request of Cabell Breckinridge, as the clerk attests. In the bond of Sept. 6th, 1797, Samuel Meredith, jun., acknowledges that the bond of March 6th, 1790 of himself and his father to make good the deficit, was delivered to him by John Breckinridge, so that he possessed the means of obtaining remuneration from his father, if indeed he had not been paid in advance for this risk in the conveyance to him of about 2000 acres of land, equal to any in the world; in reality the only risk he ever took being simply this, whether the noble gift from his generous father should be less or more by the amount of a possible error, which turned out to be 134 acres; his responsibility for the remaining 221 acres being the result of his own folly and bad faith. In all this business, which is most clear and most positively certain in every part, by acts, deeds, and recorded confessions, it is impossible for any candid person to doubt that the conduct of all the parties, except Samuel Meredith, jun., was precisely such as became upright men. That you, sir, should select the only wrong-doer in a series of extended acts, and fasten your tender sympathies upon him, and traduce the dead and insult the living to win sympathy for him, under the painful and calamitous necessity laid on him to do something approaching to justice, is, I will admit, most natural and perfectly in character.

So far as the intention of my father can be gathered from his deliberate acts, it was his fixed purpose to hold this property, the title to which, both in law and equity, as well the clear and perfect obligation resting on his brother-in-law to make it good to him, I have now so plainly established. But those acts are backed by ample and unquestionable proof, showing in a manner past all doubt, what his views and intentions were. There are letters in existence from him to both the Merediths, father and son, which put the matter to rest. Some of these letters are spread out on the records of the Courts of Justice, others are in private hands, copies of others are amongst his papers, and have been examined by you, years ago. I will give extracts from three only, the first a copy now in my possession, the other two filed by Samuel Meredith, jun., in his Chancery suit

against us; of these, the two first are directed to the elder, and the third to the younger Samuel Meredith.

I shall acquiesce in the sale he (S. M. jun.) has made of my lands, but I shall consider you both liable for their value at the time I receive restitution. (Extract Letter of March 23, 1794, J. B. to S. M. sen.)

In my letter of March last, I informed you that Mr. Meredith had sold the better half of the 600 acre tract I bought of you: and I then informed you I would acquiesce in the sale, provided you would make me restitution for the full value of my land sold, at the time restitution is made. The purchaser from Mr. Meredith threatens him with a suit to recover damages for selling this land without having any title to it, and now only suspends it on my promise to convey to him, upon condition I am made safe by you; and I never shall convey, be the consequences what they may, until that takes place. * * * It was a transgression of every rule of propriety, for Mr. Meredith to dispose of this land after it had been sold and conveyed to me, by a deed to which he was a subscribing witness. (Extract, Letter of J. B. to S. M. sen., dated 17th July, 1794, filed by S. M. jun., in 1819.)

I was not a little surprised to see your advertisement in Stewart's paper, for the sale of your land. * * * You will remember I have your father's deed for the conveyance of 600 acres of land on the north end of his military survey, to which deed you are a subscribing witness. You will also remember that when the deed was given, it was uncertain whether there was that much land on that side of the creek; and that your father and yourself gave me your bond in case there was not that quantity, to convey to me the balance adjoining. Inclosed is a copy of that bond. You will also recollect that you have sold all the land in my deed except 245 acres, and that your tract of land stands charged and incumbered by your bond for 355 acres. Before this tract of land of yours shall ever be sold, I will have 355 acres laid off up and down the creek, on the side adjoining the land conveyed to me by your father. (Extract, Letter of J. B. to S. M. jun., filed by the latter in 1816, said to be dated 7th August, 1796.)

I leave it to you sir, to discover in these extracts, any purpose of abandoning this claim on the part of John Breckinridge; any evidence that he did not consider it both perfect and valuable; any intimation that he did not hold his brother-in-law bound for it; any room for conjecture that it was satisfied, or fictitious, or only held fraudulently for the benefit of the family of Samuel Meredith, jun. All these allegations have been made, and the most of them sworn to, and are now endorsed by you as true, however contradictory in themselves, however inconsistent with the character of my father, and however disreputable to those by whom, and for whose benefit such allegations are set up.

Nor is this all. On the 4th day of December 1818, the deposition of Robert C. Harrison, the brother-in-law of John Breckinridge, and after his death one of his Administrators, was taken to rebut the allegations in Meredith's bills in Chancery that there was an implied trust on the part of John Breckinridge to hold this land for the benefit of his sister, the wife of Meredith; a fact which you now say is indisputable, which you publish the deposition of General James Breckinridge to prove, (p. 13-14 *Reply*,) though it proves no such thing, and which you say was so manifestly true, that although the bill in Chancery of Samuel Meredith and Wife, which you publish, p. 10-12, "was filed in the year 1821, and remained on the docket till 1826, not one of the Breckinridge family—no, not the reverend gentleman himself, daring to venture an answer denying its truth, *under oath*." (p. 14.) I shall speak both of this bill and deposition pre-

sently; just now the point is that this parol trust on the part of John Breckinridge was never denied on oath, by "one of the Breckinridge family." The first extract printed below is from the deposition of Mr. Harrison, the only deposition I find mentioned in the record except that of General James Breckinridge; from which I infer, as well as from your general conduct, that what you say (p. 14) about one of General Robert Breckinridge which "has by some means, disappeared," is one of your usual embellishments. The second extract is from the answer of John Breckinridge's heirs, which is signed "Wickliffe and Breckinridge," and was "sworn to in open court, the 29th September, 1818, by J. Cabell Breckinridge." The third extract is from the answer of Mary H. Breckinridge, widow of John Breckinridge, sworn to before Wm. Boon, J. P. on the 16th January 1819, and filed the 18th of the same month.

Deposition of Robert C. Harrison.—"This deponent being first duly sworn, deposeeth and saith, That after the return of Mr. John Breckinridge to Virginia, where he then resided, from a visit to Kentucky sometime subsequent to the fall of 1788, he, the said Mr. Breckinridge, in a conversation with him, told me that he had purchased of Col Samuel Meredith 600 acres of his Military tract of land, lying on North Elkhorn, state of Ky. In the fall of 1795 I visited Mr. Breckinridge at his seat in Ky., and was then informed for the first time, that on the arrival of him in the spring of 1793, he found that S. Meredith, jr, had disposed of the whole of the 600 acres which he, Mr. Breckinridge, had purchased of Col. Meredith, except the part of the tract possessed by Preston Breckinridge. In the spring of 1800 I again visited Ky., and was about to purchase of Dr. W. Warfield, a part of his tract, also of, I believe, a Mr. McMurdie, adjoining the same, his tract of land. There being no spring on either of these tracts, I was about to purchase of Samuel Meredith, jr., 100 acres of land adjoining the latter tract, on which there was an excellent spring, which as well as I recollect, lay on or near the Henrys' Mill road. Mr. John Breckinridge being informed of my intention, took me into his office at his dwelling house and observed to me that he considered it his duty to acquaint me with the situation of the land I was about to purchase of Mr. Meredith. After a conversation on the subject, in which he observed that he had a mortgage on this 100 acres together with as much more as would make up the deficiency of the 600 acres which he had bought of Col. S. Meredith, and which had been disposed of by his son Samuel, Mr. Breckinridge then took from a bundle of papers the right which he held on the land, and submitted it for my inspection." (This has been already fully described, and therefore need not be described again in the words of the witness.) * * * Being questioned by Defendant, Witness said Mr. Breckinridge was desirous that he should settle in his neighborhood. Being questioned by Mr. Meredith, witness said, "Mr. Breckinridge observed to me at the same time, that he had communicated with Mr. Meredith on the subject and had informed him that he would release the 100 acres of land for which I was in treaty, if Mr. Meredith would give him a mortgage on another 100 acres adjoining the other part on which he had a mortgage, and as well as I recollect, he informed me that Mr. Meredith refused."

Extracts from the Answer of John Breckinridge's heirs.—After setting out at large, the nature of our claim and denying the facts on which a pretended equity is set up to defeat it, the answer, sworn to as above stated, proceeds thus; "In answer to the allegation which is rather insinuated than charged, that the said deed of mortgage was designed to secure a home to the wife of the complainant and sister of the ancestor of these respondents, they say that if the complainant means that John Breckinridge was capable of colluding with him for the purpose of clandestinely and illegally incumbering his property for sinister purposes or domestic convenience, the charge is scandalous and untrue. If he intends to imply that his brother-in-law designed bestowing 355 acres of first rate land as a gratuity upon his family, it is impossible for them, in the absence of every vestige

of proof, and against the evidence of the writings to admit such implication, either from a consideration of his duties to a large and increasing family, or of the claims of connexions not only independent but wealthy. If however he is to be understood as admitting their ancestor had no confidence either in his industry or discretion, that he looked with regret on his management of his affairs, and was not exempt from fears for the future situation of his family, these respondents will not contradict his charge, and are free to declare their entire belief that if misfortune had rendered it necessary, their ancestor would have extended to his sister every act of affection and generosity which his own nature was so prone to prompt, and which her virtues so well deserved. She never would have wanted a home, while he could have conferred one; and in the event of such want, that spot would have been selected which was nearest to his own residence. In such an event he might have made the land in question the place of her abode; but it is expressly denied that he ever intended to divest himself of the claim which he had to it, or to prevent it from descending with his other property to his children. Having secured his right, in the spirit of indulgence he permitted the complainant to continue in the enjoyment of the rents and profits of the estate. He died in the extension of this indulgence. Even after his death his heirs did not assert their claim for many years, until they were admonished to do so by the approach of a period, after which the very duration of indulgence would bar their claim. It is true that the complainant has held their property for a long time; but they cannot agree that therefore he ought to hold it forever."

Extract from the Answer of Mary H. Breckinridge, sworn to above set forth.—After stating that she had read and examined the complainant's original and amended bills, and the answer of her own children to them, which answer she adopts as her own, this respondent adds that, "She additionally states that she has frequently heard her husband, during his life, speak of the land now in controversy. She is thoroughly convinced from his uniform expressions when discoursing on that subject, that he never did meditate such a gift. She is fully advised of his determination to hold the land as well from his acts and from his declarations. He not only *claimed* it as his own, but prevented Mr. Meredith from selling it," (Here reference is made to the two attempts to sell, described already in the letter of J. B. to S. M. jr, of August 7th, 1796, and in the Deposition of Mr. Harrison.) * * * "She regrets that in being compelled by complainant to answer his bill, she is obliged to touch upon topics in themselves delicate, and of unpleasant recollection. She states however, that her husband, about the time he took his family to Va., in the autumn of 1796, and for some time afterwards, was fearful that Mr. Meredith would squander his property and reduce his family to want, and that he was otherwise dissatisfied with the conduct of his brother-in-law, Mr. Meredith. That he often spoke of the situation and prospects of his sister with great feeling and affection, that he anticipated the time when she might need his protection, and always said that in such an event he would place her on the land in question, where she might raise her family, observing that if the worst come to the worst, it would be a home for her as long as she lived. Such intentions and such expressions of them escaped him on many occasions when in conversation with her. But never did he say or lead her to infer that he intended in any manner whatever to divest himself of the title to the said land or deprive his children of its inheritance. She cannot believe, therefore, that he had any such design."

Nothing can be more manifest than that this parol trust was a mere figment of the brain of Samuel Meredith, without one particle of truth to sustain it. I have already explained how his excellent wife might have been originally deluded into such an idea; and her whole conduct from the moment of his death, clearly proved that it was his act and not hers that originated this scandalous and unfounded allegation. The bill in Chancery of 1821 which you publish at large, merely puts the legal aspect of the case differently, without varying at all the facts previously alleged; that is, as in the previous suit, this allegation of a parol trust was relied on to raise an equity in

Samuel Meredith, the same allegation in 1821 was relied on to raise that equity in his wife. What had been previously sworn to and proved, would have been sworn to and proved again if the second suit had ever been prosecuted, as I will show it never was; and it is a mere falsehood, as I have now shown, that "no member of the Breckinridge family" ever dared to meet this allegation under oath: yea it is a falsehood deliberately uttered by you, since being our lawyer, you could not fail to have known what the family proved and what they swore to. And the deposition of Gen. James Breckinridge fairly weighed contains no more than the answer of my mother and that of the heirs of my father admitted, viz: the purpose of my father to provide for his sister, when it became necessary; or if it be considered as containing more it is proved by the whole remaining testimony to be that far erroneous: all which was perfectly well known to you, and therefore this attempt to injure us all can be set down to nothing else than deliberate malice acting through deliberate falsehood.

We have, however, overrun our case. From 1797, when the matter was finally adjusted by my father, nothing decisive appears to have been done for many years towards enforcing the possession of the land purchased as far back as 1790. This delay has been already explained in part. It is still farther accounted for by remembering that Samuel Meredith, jr., had five years from September 1797, that is, till the autumn of 1802, to comply with the conditions of his bond; that our father died in December 1806, leaving all his children minors, and the oldest married to a man whom you have pronounced incompetent, from his vices, to attend to our affairs; and that this business was of a nature not falling under the control of administrators. Our oldest brother attained his majority about three or four years after the death of our father, and when he became of full age, was still at Princeton, N. J., prosecuting his studies. About the period of his return to the west, the last war broke out, and he—avoiding the prudent example you set him of making money with all your might while the whole chivalry of the west was struggling with the savages and the British on a naked and almost boundless frontier—entered the military service of his country. In 1812 and 1813 the Legislature of Ky. passed those two private bills for the benefit of the estate of my father which you have so grossly mis-stated; and in the year 1814, Cabell Breckinridge undertook that Trusteeship under them, which he discharged so much to our advantage till his death, in 1823. When he began in earnest to look into the extended claims of the estate, he found this one on his uncle Samuel Meredith. The first open assertion of our claim that I have been able to ascertain after my father's death, was by Leonard Young, then a justice of the peace, who from the bench of the County Court in November 1812, when Mr. Meredith desired to have a saw mill established upon a part of this land, rebuked him and declared that the land belonged to the orphan children of John Breckinridge. You will find this remarkable scene hinted at in the answer of Peter Conoway to the bill of Wm. S. Dallam, in the Fayette C. C., sworn to in March, 1821. And here, Sir, you will excuse me for the apparent reproach upon your character, in recording my profound sense of the virtues

of a man who bore in his bosom one of truest, bravest, and noblest hearts that ever man had; a man in humble life and always of obscure condition, who had received some casual and forgotten kindness from my father, and had conceived the deepest admiration for his character, and who from the moment his friendship was needed till he finished his own career of retired but exalted excellence, was every thing to us that his power enabled him to be. No descendant of John Breckinridge could take a shorter way to infamy than by forgetting the friendship of Leonard Young, except perhaps it might be by being polluted with that of Robert Wickliffe.—When my brother Cabell recalled the attention of Mr. Meredith to a claim which he had been so long permitted to evade, but whose justice he never before that presumed to question, as far as even until this day I am able to discover, he was met by a threat of instant death, against all who should presume to enforce it. And this spirit of outrage broke forth at every stage of the proceedings, even up to the year 1824, when he or some one for him, caused a line of fence enclosing nearly one entire side of my plantation to be torn down in mere spite in a single night; of which exploit his daughter, Mrs. Coleman, has been induced to give you the strangely incorrect account printed on the 16th p. of your *Reply*, and the true version of which you will be able to get by applying to Mr. Johnson Hailey of Fayette, who was the manager of Mr. Meredith at the time, and who, as he has told me, much against his will and by express orders, led the forces that tore down my fences the over night; which, as in duty bound, I forced them to put back in open day, and that was the sum total of my offence in the premises. This Samuel Meredith, amongst his other eminent qualities, as you may remember when it suits you, was a man of habitually reckless temper and violent conduct; by temperament and practice a lawless man. Amongst the earliest recollections of my life, are some of his brawls at musters, and if it suited him, at meeting too; and the array of muskets, pistols, cutlasses, spontoons, bayonets on the ends of poles, armed slaves and vagabond hangers on, such as Moon, O'Neal, Paxton, Timpey, Perkins, and the like, by whose help he braved society and often defied the laws. He found, however, that the calm and firm spirit that had been always a check upon him, did not expire with his brother-in-law; and at length proceedings were instituted against him in accordance with the detailed advice of the late Judge Trimble of the Supreme Court of the United States, contained in the following paper, which I submit to you without further remark than this, that the whole issued precisely as he said it must.

I have examined the deed from Samuel Meredith, sen. to John Breckinridge for 600 acres of land, and the bond and mortgage from Samuel Meredith, jun. to Mr. Breckinridge, and I am of opinion,

1st, That the deed of mortgage vests the legal title of the mortgaged premises in the mortgagee and his heirs; and that an Ejectment may be maintained upon it in the names of Mr. Breckinridge's heirs against Mr. Meredith or his tenants in possession.

2dly, That Mr. Meredith's only mode of obtaining relief against the judgment in Ejectment would be by exhibiting a bill in equity praying that he might be permitted to redeem the mortgage; and, in my opinion, a Court of Chancery would decree a redemption only on the terms of his conveying the three hundred and

fifty-five acres of land "according to the conditions of his bond, and the true intent and meaning of the mortgage."

Upon this view of the subject I would advise Mr. Breckinridge's heirs, (as the most practicable mode of bringing the matter to a favorable close) to bring an Ejectment against Mr. Meredith if in actual possession, or if not, against his tenants in possession. By that course they will compel him to become complainant in equity in a bill for redemption. In that attitude he would be required to do equity, before relief would be extended to him; and as the express intention of the mortgage was to secure the conveyance of the 355 acres of land, the making of such conveyance would be made the condition precedent of the redemption. If he should refuse or be unable to convey the 355 acres, his bill would of course be dismissed by the decree of the Chancellor; and by that means the title of Mr. Breckinridge's heirs to the mortgaged estate would become indefeasible forever.

May 2d, 1814.

ROBT. TRIMBLE.

On the 20th of June 1814, about a month and a half after the date of this opinion, a declaration in ejectment in the name of John Breckinridge's heirs vs. Samuel Meredith, was filed in the Fayette C. C. It was served on the 23d; judgment for plaintiff, March term, 1817, and enjoined in chancery at the suit of Samuel Meredith; and in August 1819, injunction dissolved and decree in our favor, and an appeal by Meredith. On the 14th of December 1820, the Court of Appeals rendered the following brief, comprehensive, and final decree for us.

The court being now sufficiently advised of and concerning the premises, delivered the following opinion, to wit,

In this case we have carefully examined the record, and find no error existing in the decree, and no errors being assigned and we deeming it a case in which if assigned they must be unavailing, do affirm the case.

It is therefore decreed and ordered that the decree aforesaid be affirmed. Which is ordered to be certified to the said Circuit Court.

A copy. Test. A. W. WALLER, D. C. for ACHILLES SNEED, C. C. A.

On the 1st of March 1821, a writ of possession issued on the judgment of Breckinridge's heirs, which the sheriff executed the same day by delivering ten tenements to David Castleman, Esq., one of the said heirs. This final act was resisted by Mr. Meredith, (as I have been informed by those who were present,) with an armed posse of slaves and retainers up to the verge of the shedding of blood. It occurred while I was absent from Ky., and before I had attained my majority; and like every other part of the business, conclusively proves your baseness in representing yourself as emphatically *my* lawyer, and *me* as especially your employer, and the recovery as *my* recovery, when the whole affair was a transaction of the heirs of John Breckinridge, I being one out of seven and amongst the youngest of them, and in point of fact, ignorant of the particular steps as they were from time to time taken in the business. On this 1st of March, 1821, the matter, as to the validity of our claim, was finally and irrecoverably settled, and the title of John Breckinridge's heirs to the estate, having been adjudged good in law by a recovery in ejectment, having been decreed complete in equity by a decree in chancery, having been affirmed as clear and perfect by the Court of Appeals, became as Judge Trimble expressed it seven years before, and by the very process indicated by him, "*indefeasible forever.*"

From the autumn of 1802, when the five years limited in Mr. Meredith's bond of 1797 expired, and when the title to the 355 acres embraced in his mortgage became absolute, to March 1821, a period of eighteen years and a half, he had enjoyed the rents and issues of this estate, and had by his sale to McKibben also enjoyed the greater part of the price paid for it by our father in 1790, from that time, that is to say for thirty-one years. These rents and issues could not be estimated at much, if any thing less, than the value of the estate itself; for in that country very few estates under full cultivation have been worth less than twenty years' purchase; and this was independent of waste, which had been immense, as the mere fact of there being ten tenements on such a property must show. That such a claim was perfectly righteous, it is scarcely worth while to argue; that nothing existed in the manner in which the demand for the estate itself had been resisted to induce the claimants to waive this, is obvious from the narrative I have given; and that, in the temper of all the parties at that period, it would be probably enforced, was surely to be expected. On the 20th of November 1821, *Breckinridge's heirs*, not I specially as you have falsely said, commenced a suit against Samuel Meredith, not against his wife, as you have repeatedly asserted, for back rents, &c. You have over and over again said that I had applied to you to bring this suit, and that you had refused; I have once and again defied you to produce a particle of proof to support this sheer fabrication; and I have shown that the notorious facts of the case raised a most violent presumption that your statements were untrue. For I was then barely of full age; from 1816 to the period of bringing this suit, I was almost constantly a non-resident of Kentucky; there were four adult heirs older, some of them by many years, than myself, all of whom had before had some part personally in these controversies, whereas I never had; the trustee of the estate who had directed them all, was then and for two years afterwards not only living, but actively engaged in managing all our business, and by him, and not by me, was Mr. Chinn employed to bring this suit; I have proved by yourself that you never transacted any business with me, and scarcely knew me till the year 1824—(see page 21, *Second Defence*;) and to crown all, instead of bringing, I desired that this suit might be compromised, and did finally compromise it as soon as it was possible after I had power to do so; not because I ever doubted its justice, but because I thought the peace of the two families was more to be desired than any thing we might gain by prosecuting the claim, and that this was impossible while the litigation continued; and after the death of Mr. Meredith, in 1825, there seemed to me no longer any insuperable barrier to this desirable peace, and in 1826 the final arrangement was effected. If you, Sir, succeed in alienating the families once more, it will be an achievement worthy of you, and no doubt most gratifying to your benignant heart; and in the possible occurrence of such an event, it gives me the greatest satisfaction to reflect, that I have, through a series of years, done all to prevent it which seemed to me to be dictated by a spirit of moderation and forbearance. In your benevolent attempts to bring about this result, you attack the final compromise more virulently even than the proceedings which it terminated, and abuse me and

the whole "Breckinridge family," more rancorously here than in any other part of the business. This is the final scene of a transaction extending from 1790 to 1826;—let us briefly examine it.

As I have shown on a previous page, the Court of Appeals of Ky. rendered a decree on the 14th of December 1820, by which the decree of the Fayette Circuit Court dissolving the injunction in chancery at the suit of Samuel Meredith, and decreeing in favor of Breckinridge's heirs, was affirmed in all its parts. I have also shown that the writ of possession on the judgment in ejectment issued on the 1st of March 1821. Between these two events, to wit, on the 28th of February 1821, Samuel Meredith and Eliza, his wife, filed a bill in chancery in the Fayette C. C., praying anew for an injunction to stay the proceedings of Breckinridge's heirs upon their judgment at law, already affirmed in chancery and sustained by the Court of Appeals. This bill, which you print on p. 10–12 of your *Reply*, was sworn to by Mrs. Meredith, and sets forth in substance the same facts alleged and sworn to by Samuel Meredith some years before, in the previous suit in chancery; the main difference between this and the previous case being, as I have already explained, that in the former suit Mr. Meredith alleged the facts, and upon them raised a parol trust in John Breckinridge, and an equity in himself; whereas in this the facts are alleged by Mr. and Mrs. Meredith, and the parol trust is alleged to be for her benefit and the equity therefore to be in her. This is the only part of the whole proceedings at law or in chancery, in which Mrs. Meredith ever personally appeared as a party. The bill is thus endorsed by the clerk, "*Filed February 28th 1821, motion for injunction overruled.*" With the papers are filed two summons only; one is dated April 10, 1823, above two years after the bill was filed and the injunction refused, *and it never left the office*. The other is dated June 30th, 1826, and is endorsed on the back, at one end thus, "Not executed, by order of Plaintiff," and on the other end thus, "Executed on R. J. Breckinridge, 10th July, 1826, on Castleman the 18th July 1826. Not time to execute on the others." But according to your own testimony (page 14, *Reply*.) the written compromise by which Mrs. Meredith agreed to dismiss this suit and to abandon her claim to the land, was dated July 14th, 1826, that is, four days after the above service on me, and four days before the said service on Mr. Castleman, and before service of process of any kind on any of the remaining heirs. It is therefore evident that the compromise was complete except the signing of the papers, before any service of process on any body, and completely executed before service on any but one of a number of defendants, of whom many were minors and more non-residents. That is, the case was in reality never prosecuted at all, and fell with the refusal of the chancellor to grant an injunction, which refusal was followed by the issuing of our writ of possession on the day following it, viz., on the 1st of March 1821. It is therefore not at all surprising that the clerk when applied to by a friend of mine in April 1841, for an official statement of the whole proceedings, should have overlooked this bill, which in strict propriety of speech, can hardly be said ever to have *depended* at all; and therefore that it did not appear in his certificate printed on the 20th page of my *Second Defence*. It is also perfectly obvious

that my statement was exactly true, that the whole difficulty was in no sense one between Mrs. Meredith and myself, as you persist in saying it was; but was one between Samuel Meredith and those responsible for the management of the estate of John Breckinridge. And, Sir, would you not suppose that people were very keen for litigation, when they would volunteer to answer bills in chancery, already years before fully answered, when they are not duly or legally required to do so, when most of them are ignorant of their existence, and while they remain in the full and undisturbed possession of all the property proposed to be controverted? Does it not seem strange that the heirs of John Breckinridge should tremble before this bill in chancery, and yet after it was filed, institute their action for back rents and prosecute it for five years in the face of this terrible menace? Is it not marvellous that this overwhelming bill should be left during all these five years utterly without prosecution or service of process, and that under circumstances of great excitement and of constant litigation in regard to the very property to which it relates? And is it not, Sir, a most characteristic manifestation of your candid and truthful nature that under these circumstances you should publish this bill as containing evidence of the guilt and terror of the whole "Breckinridge family?" A bill on the face of which, and without answer made, the chancellor says by refusing an injunction, that a case is made out in which there is no equity; a bill every allegation of which, when made in another form, had been met years before by open denial, indignant defiance, and positive disproof; a bill which lay in profound obscurity for five years, and then was disturbed only to be dismissed along with the claim it set up, and then sunk into obscurity for fifteen years more, at the end of which its disinterment covers with the pollution of the sepulchre the filthy resurrectionist against whom the grave itself is no protection! No, Sir, if the "Breckinridge family" have nothing laid to their charge worse than their conduct in regard to this bill, they may still continue, by the blessing of God as in times past, to live honored lives and die peaceful deaths; and may confidently expect that the time will never come when there shall not be found amongst them a man able and willing to meet their calumniators.

You will not understand me as casting the slightest reproach upon the memory of Mrs. Meredith. I do not agree with you, nor do I suppose that any person accustomed to observe the infirmities of human nature will do so, in asserting that she must have been perjured, or we must have knowingly enforced a most iniquitous claim. It is enough for us to be convinced that our claim was clearly and beyond reasonable doubt just and perfect; we regret that others, having opposite interests, could not see the facts which appeared to us and to the courts of justice unquestionable, in the same light; but we never presumed to say that they might not differ from us and still be honest. It is one thing to be mistaken; it is another thing to be deliberately corrupt: and you must not suppose, Sir, that all mankind are governed by the principles that control you or are actuated by the passions which consume you. Our cause of quarrel even with Mr. Meredith, was not that he resisted our claim, plain as that claim appeared to be; but that he did this upon grounds insulting to us and derogatory to our

father, and that he attempted by violence and menace to deter the family. Not a member of that family ever felt, nor does one now feel, that it was necessary or proper to say of Mrs. Meredith any thing more than that excellent lady had very naturally fallen into a great error about a complicated transaction in which it was the apparent interest and the evident design of her husband to deceive her, and in regard to which the unquestionably generous designs of her brother and his extraordinary forbearance led her with a temper neither uncommon nor inexplicable to infer more than was warranted by the premises. Nor is there a human being who will look fairly at the facts who can question that the final settlement was dictated on our part solely by a spirit of kindness. We supposed we were giving up a real and a large claim; that she was abandoning one founded on nothing at all. The most casual glance at the whole facts shows that the idea of her being able to establish a parol trust on the part of John Breckinridge, and an equitable title in herself, is utterly absurd and contrary to every fact in the whole transaction. But the fact that we had a most manifest claim in conscience if not in law to the rents and issues of the recovered estate, at least from the issuing of our writ in 1814, is just as palpable as that we had recovered the estate itself. You are pleased to say (p. 64 of *Reply*) that our cause of action for these back rents did not survive the death of Mr. Meredith, "*as the law then stood.*" This might be true, and all the parties to the settlement be ignorant of the fact; for better lawyers perhaps than either myself or your pupil Mr. Payne who acted for Mrs. Meredith and drew and attested the writings, long after their date, thought otherwise; and it is worthy of deep consideration that as soon as the courts of law settled the general principle on which you make the assertion, the Legislature of Ky. by special statute reversed the principle, and thereby asserted in its broadest form the equity of the claim released by us. I shall not undertake to argue the question whether the general principle that actions for tort die always with the wrong-doer, upon which you so confidently pronounce that the claim set up by us for back rents, was after the death of Mr. Meredith not only a fallacy but a deliberate fraud, applied in strict law to the case as it existed; though is it hard for a plain man to see how the ground of the claim set up against us should be an equity in Mrs. Meredith and her heirs to the exclusion of her husband; and yet the death of that husband put an end to our corresponding claims upon his wife and her heirs; so that the utmost pitch of your objection is against the form of our action and not against the validity of our claim—which is certainly a very narrow ground on which to pronounce even a good lawyer, much less a poor preacher, and least of all, women and children, guilty of deliberate wrong. Two things are most manifest, viz., *first*, that we thought we were giving up more by far than we got, and that little as you may say or even prove, we in fact did surrender, it is perfectly easy to prove that we got in return nothing: *secondly*, that we did this under a perfect conviction of the absolute justice of our claims already triumphantly established, and not out of any apprehension concerning any thing that human flesh could do touching them or us, but solely in a spirit of kindness, and from a desire to have peace. And, Sir, so far as I am individually

concerned the Devil himself, who is the father of lies, can never make any thing else out of this case than this—that my great business with its litigation was to stop it as quick as I was able.

You are good enough to close the case over which I have now gone so minutely, with a homily, and devote a page (14–15 of *Reply*) to a very grave subject, handled, it is true, with somewhat too free a dialect for a promiscuous audience. But the subject is solemn, and I am edified to discover that you sometimes entertain thoughts of a retribution in this world at least, if not in the next. Your reading, too, is extending, I am happy to find, and that in poetry as well as history; and having in a previous publication run a parallel between me and Oliver Cromwell, you now compare me to Macbeth. This is a common and profitable exercise for beginners—and your great fault, a too exuberant fancy, is less injurious by far in the regions of romance, than in those of history. But let us hear you.

Macbeth thought the jewels of the crown were the brighter for being steeped in blood; and the reverend and prayerful parson objects not to his Brædalbane estate (as he has dubbed it,) because it has been steeped in and won by fraud. He struts over the grave of his aunt; he treads upon her labor and her very tears; he looks upon the moss that covers the graves of his father and his aunt, and soothes his conscience that the dead cannot bite; but as sure as the murdered Banquo had a God to punish guilt, Mrs. Meredith has one; and let him remember, that what is acquired by guilt, is but a scorpion to gnaw the heart of the guilty wretch; that Macbeth's crown, won by blood, passed from his guilty head, *no heir of his succeeding*; thus may Brædalbane pass into stranger hands, *no heir of his succeeding*. It is one of the mercies of a good God, that this shall be a law of his providence. Scarce a villain lives, however versed in crime, that does not desire that his son shall be an honest man, and live free of his own guilt before God; and God, in mercy, always grants to guilty man that what he acquires by fraud and villany shall not curse his seed. I have an only son, and I trust in God if I have any thing, at my death, that I have not, as a fair and honest man, acquired, that he will never let it curse my posterity; and, in his presence, I declare that had I acquired Brædalbane of my aunt, as I have shown the gentleman has of his aunt, I would sooner follow my last son to the grave, than that a descent through my blood, polluted by the act, should possess him of one acre of it.

“What is acquired by guilt is but a scorpion to gnaw the heart.” An excellent apothegm, taught to you, I fear, by a stern teacher. I surely, will not question it coming from such lips. I think you are less versed in reading God's outward dealings, and that you misinterpret one of the commonest of them. Nothing is more usual than the complete and long continued success of the wicked, and you do yourself manifest wrong in doubting it. Nothing is more certain than that God will punish *them*, hereafter, and not their children here, and therefore you take groundless comfort if you suppose your crimes are to be atoned for by the poverty of your posterity. For if I understand your prayer, and men are not egregiously deceived in regard to the means by which your wealth has been amassed, it is tantamount to a solemn dedication of your only son to destruction, and your whole posterity to poverty. For, Sir, if you have any estate that you have acquired *more righteously*, than by paying for it, its full value in money, to its unquestionable owners, it must be held by a tenure unknown to human laws; but this is the method by which I “acquired Brædalbane,” except the one-seventh part of 355 out of its 600 acres, that is about one-twelfth of the whole, which you and my

eldest brother, while I was a minor, recovered at law and defended in equity, for me along with other heirs of my father, upon a just and perfect title acquired by that father before I was born. I think, too, the past history of your sons should make you touch on such topics with great caution, and speak of that future which you have so many reasons to dread, with deep solemnity. You limit your proposition, however, with the skill of an old pleader, "*If I had acquired Brædalbane of my aunt.*" Now as you never acquired this particular estate, the case falls; and as I know not that you ever acquired any thing from an *'aunt,'* it falls again. But if you had only put the point clearly and in a real case; as for example, touching the Iron Works estate, or the Keiser estate, or the bulk of the Howard estate, or the Russel estate, or the Mercer estate, or twenty others we could name; or the Dillon slaves, or the Mason slaves, or the Noye slaves, or the Howard slaves, or the Bob slaves, or a dozen other gangs that we could recount; then we might come to an issue whose trial might shed light on your preaching. And let me say to you, Sir, that I have turned aside from such investigations not at all for want of ample information, but because I have neither time nor room just now, and because I have no desire, if I can avoid it, to prove worse things on you than are indispensable to the full developement of the case between us; I will therefore treat you only to a sample presently, by way of illustrating several points of great importance which connect themselves with this discussion. I do not know that I distinctly understand one part of your homily; "*thus may Brædalbane pass into stranger hands, no heir of his succeeding.*" If you mean to say, the thing will probably happen, as a providential proof of my guilt, and a mercy to my children, I have already answered it sufficiently. If you mean, it is a possible event that my children may not inherit this particular estate, or any other from me; or that I may have no child to inherit any thing after me; the thing deserves no answer. If, as it seems, it is the expression of your strong desire, that my little ones should be destitute, it was a needless exposure of yourself. Sir, we cannot tell what our children may become, nor what fate awaits them. If your own career could have been foreseen, it would doubtless have filled your parents' hearts with anguish; and bad as the opinion you force me to entertain of you is, I am sure, some of the deepest sorrows of your own life have been connected with your children. Nay since you penned that which calls for these remarks, how much has occurred in connexion with this *'only son,'* to vex and to wound, if not to humble you? I spare you, Sir, this infliction; but beware how you tempt God, by a cruel and perfidious mockery. Neither you nor your children are out of his reach, and he has before now, brought very low, far loftier revilers of his people than yourself. While I humbly and confidently commit into his faithful hands, the little flock which he has given me to rear in his fear, and who are yet too young to know the whole extent of the injuries you have meditated against me and against them; he, who knows my heart, knows that I would feel nothing but satisfaction in the honorable success and virtuous prosperity of your family, and that I have never ceased to regret the pain which you oblige me to inflict upon them in

warding off your savage attacks not only upon me, but upon persons whom the best of them have the most respected and loved.

But I have spoken of a sample of the titles by which you hold your immense estates, as a sort of general illustration. To avoid new matter, let us take that by which you became possessed of the large inheritance of your present excellent wife. A man who attacks the father, the mother, the children and the whole family of another without excuse and without scruple, is a sort of pirate who could not justly complain of any species of retaliation. But I have not thus retaliated; nor do I intend to do so, in this instance. The original introduction of this matter was for a special purpose, and was not only purely defensive but indispensable. In your First Speech of 1840, you attacked me with great fury as technically '*an abolitionist,*' and so began our present warfare. In reply to this, I attempted to show amongst other things that your proofs were utterly fallacious, since you had yourself been guilty of the very acts charged as establishing my alleged guilt, and yet considered yourself no abolitionist; and amongst these acts, had freed several slaves. These slaves, as far as I could ascertain, became yours by marriage with your present wife, and were very peculiarly circumstanced by reason of certain deeds of record, between you and her made after marriage; and as the sum total of your acts favoring liberty, related to these slaves of your wife, I was obliged to refer to these deeds, or else to omit a material part of my defence against an unprovoked attack intended to crush me. My allusion to your wife, was in every way respectful; and if I did not more largely express my sincere veneration for her character, and my hereditary attachment to her person, the circumstances in which both she and I stood to you, surely sufficiently explained the reserve. In your *Second Speech* of 1840 you abused me with great bitterness and falsehood, under the pretence that I had attacked that most noble lady (see p. 17-18 *Reply*;) which you did I suppose because the case did not admit of being otherwise met. In my *Second Defence* I recapitulated the facts, and driven to the necessity, set forth more clearly than before, the nature of the case, and your baseness in the whole transaction. Your *Reply* recurs to it with renewed slander and vituperation, and now, Sir, we will look into it a little further, for the purpose of illustrating, 1, a case of suppressed papers; 2, your mode of treating other people who are not of "*the Breckinridge family*;" 3, the question of restitution which is largely insisted on by you; and 4, the kind of title in comparison with which you consider one bought and paid for to be "*polluted.*" The points are stated, that as we pass along you may easily catch the application of the facts.

On the 6th of May 1814, a bill in Chancery entitled *May's heirs vs. Russell* was filed in the Fayette C. C. alleging in substance that George May had assigned a settlement and pre-emption claim for 1400 acres of land, to Col. John Todd; that the claim was thus assigned without power or consideration, and with a *parol trust* on the part of John Todd for the benefit of John May the real owner; but that he instead of executing this trust, had fraudulently obtained patents for the land in the name of his infant daughter *Mary Owen*

Todd. It is further alleged, that John Todd was killed by the Indians at the battle of the Blue Lick in August 1782, and that he left a will in full force at his death, by which he recognized the trust for John May; but "*that his widow Jane Todd (who has since intermarried with a certain Thomas Irvin) instead of producing said will in court for probate as was her duty, clandestinely destroyed the same;*" that May sued for the land, but was killed by the Indians about 1790 or 91, when the suit abated; and that "said Mary Owen Todd intermarried with a certain Russell"—and refuses to give up the land; wherefore the present suit. To this bill are appended the names "*Wickliffe and Hardin;*" it is not I think in your hand writing, but very many endorsements, bills of exception, agreements, &c. &c., are, and the papers show, and the fact notoriously was, that you were the diligent, yea eager prosecutor of this suit. Now this John Todd, accused of this vile breach of trust followed by tardy repentance, was the father of your present wife; this Jane Todd, accused of clandestinely destroying her husband's will was the mother of your present wife; and this Mary Owen Todd, otherwise Russell, accused of iniquitously holding the land under these circumstances of accumulated, hereditary guilt, is your present wife. That either of these most estimable persons was capable of the acts attributed to them by you and put on perpetual record, to your own disgrace, no body, of course has the slightest idea. But with the utmost respect for their characters, I confidently assert, that John Todd was equally as capable of the fraud alleged by you to have been practised on John May, as John Breckinridge was to have practised those you have alleged in the cases of Beall and Meredith; that Jane Todd, otherwise Irvin, was as likely to destroy her husband's will as I was to destroy the 'suppressed bond;' and that Mary Owen Todd, otherwise Russell, is as capable of holding property wrongfully from the real owner as I am. In other words, you are equally a calumniator in both cases, and in both have alleged offences in themselves similar and infamous, against two families amongst the very last on earth capable of committing them, and which you should have been the very last human being to adduce.

It is nearly needless to say you failed in the suit. On the 25th February 1815, Mrs. Russell swore to her answer denying the material facts relied on by you, and as to her father's will declaring that it "*was duly proved and recorded and remained in the office for the County of Fayette until that office was consumed by fire, when it was destroyed, and this defendant knows not of any copy that has been preserved.*" Mrs. Irvin's answer on the day previous, is to the same purport. The bill was dismissed on the 8th Oct. 1823, and this decree affirmed in the Court of Appeals on the 13th December 1824. I have been recently informed by one of the representatives of John May, that you were to have had a large portion of the estate sued for, if you recovered it, as the reward of your services; and others have told me that one consequence of the intense ardor with which you prosecuted this business, and the determined and successful opposition made to you by the most illustrious living citizen of Ky., was the inordinate personal hate which you have for some years cherished towards him. I do not doubt that you considered your claim

good, that is good enough to keep the estate by, if by it the estate could be got, from a widowed female. In regard to the will of Col. John Todd, I will merely say at present, that as I had been informed that my father was long the confidential friend and the legal adviser of the widow and orphan daughter of that virtuous patriot, I thought it certain that he must have had in his hands and left amongst his papers a copy of this will; and learning more recently that his collateral heirs, the children of one of his brothers were generally and firmly of opinion that by that will, the estates were to go to them in case of the death of your present wife without issue; and seeing the extraordinary course you had pursued in regard to these vast estates, after your intermarriage; I carefully examined a large portion of those papers, to find such a copy, if it existed. If one should be produced, it could hardly be matter of astonishment. If it never should come from that quarter, its loss might not perhaps excite surprise when it is considered, that at the very period you filed the bill in the name of May's heirs (1814) and for some years before and afterwards, you had as you declare, unrestrained access to my father's papers; and were, as the pleadings in that case and the statements of May's representatives attest, interested to a very large amount, in causing it to be believed that that will contained what it did not, and therefore in keeping it out of view. The developements of Providence are often strange and unlooked for. I have no interest in all this matter except as it illustrates in a very remarkable way your principles and practice, in regard to my own family; and therefore, I at least can patiently await the future. Remember however, that besides the title of the present claimant, there are alleged to be two others outstanding, one for a large portion, the other for the whole in the way of contingent remainder, of that estate whose title you judge to be more just and unpolluted, than one held by fair purchase at a full price; and that one of these, to wit, that of May's heirs, is in your own opinion ousted by the bad faith of your wife's father and the corrupt destruction of a will by your wife's mother. It is vain for you to say you are not bound by the allegations in May's bill; for the ground on which you place your defence in regard to the Beall suits, the Iron Works claims, and the whole Meredith business as represented by you, is precisely to the intent that you are so bound; and above all, when, being a party in interest with May by a special undertaking, you prosecute the claim which has no shadow of foundation but in the alleged truth of the statements in his bill, that is the alleged corruption of your wife's parents. So that if these statements are not true according to your own belief at least, your attempt to recover the estate was an attempt to plunder a helpless female, now your wife, upon allegations known to be scandalous and false, for the joint benefit of May's heirs and yourself; but if they were true, or believed to be true, you are of course bound by them still, and therefore, if the estate is held by you, it is held from its right owners by absolute corruption, according to your own recorded opinion. This much seems certain; and this much more is possible, that the whole may be held by a title in pepetuity, which ousts a better title of the remainder men, which better title on a supposition not by any means improbable, may have been well and long known

to you. For if the will of John Todd did not contain the declaration of the parol trust for John May, it might nevertheless contain the contingent remainder to the heirs of Levi Todd; and in either case its suppression was alike important to you. I am far from asserting, for I do not know, that you did suppress that paper, or even that you ever saw it; what I mean to say is, that an individual who is so ready to charge innocent persons with destroying bonds and wills, ought to be very cautious how he puts himself in a position where it is his manifest interest that a most important paper should have perished; whether reference be had to what that paper might not contain on one subject or might contain on another; and that he should take heed how he draws conclusions against other people, and even falsifies records that he may do so, when the very principles he thus establishes lead to nothing so obviously as to his own conviction.

Such, as it appears to me, would have been the aspect of this case of a pure and unpolluted title, if you with your views had become possessed of the inheritance of the proper heirs of John Todd, in a manner perfectly unexceptionable. But the manner in which you actually obtained that inheritance, strikes me as being so improper, that it would render a title liable to no other objection, perfectly insupportable to a generous heart. In the month of September 1827, less than three years after the final defeat of your plan to get part of the real estate of John Todd, by the means already indicated: you got it all, as you supposed, by a deed from his daughter, in the mean time become your wife. On the 14th day of that month, the Clerk of the Fayette C. C. certifies that three deeds were acknowledged before him; the first from R. Wickliffe and Mary O. Wickliffe to Richard H. Chinn, the second from Richard H. Chinn to Robert Wickliffe, and the third in three parts between Robert Wickliffe, Richard H. Chinn, and Mary O. Wickliffe. The effect apparently intended to be produced by these deeds, was that Mrs. Wickliffe should divest herself of the inheritance of her whole undisputed real estate, worth from one to two hundred thousand dollars, and vest that inheritance absolutely in you, reserving to herself a life estate only; secondly that she should divest herself of all claim of dower in all your real estate; and thirdly, that she should have power to liberate or otherwise dispose of her own slaves, *by her last will*. Not the least remarkable part of this transaction is that the inducement to it recited in the third deed is said to be a verbal agreement before marriage, by which it was agreed that a jointure should be made for Mrs. W., and by which "*the beneficial interest in her real estate should vest in*" Mr. W. But the operation of the instruments is, instead of a jointure given to the lady, a divestiture of the fee of her own estates and the dower in yours; and instead of a "beneficial interest" in her estates being vested in you, the fee simple is conveyed to you and the "beneficial interest" during her life vested in her. The sense of the whole is, that you and your children by your first marriage should inherit the fortune of your second wife, as a consideration for allowing her to emancipate a dozen or twenty slaves; and that she might enjoy her own real estate for life, upon condition of giving up all claim of dower in yours, and the fee simple of her own. For a man of great wealth to permit a generous and true hearted wife to

do an act of this sort, strikes me as infinitely sordid; and for one holding an immense fortune by a tenure like this, to express horror and feign scruples in regard to the titles of estates, for which other men have paid their full value in money, is a nicety of honor truly admirable! This is my view of the transaction supposing it to be legal; which sir, to be plain, is so far from my opinion, that I believe it to be absolutely contrary to the plainest letter and the best settled spirit of all rational law. This is the light in which the whole case strikes me, supposing your wife not to have been overreached in carrying the verbal agreement into deed, and supposing the proposal to have come from her. But, sir, if it be true, as to use a favorite mode of expression by you, "I have been informed, and if I am mistaken the gentleman can explain,"—that this extraordinary settlement was the result of an impression on her mind that her estate was greatly involved if not bankrupt on your marriage, that there were immense liabilities hanging over it for which you had become liable by the marriage, and that you were harrassed and in danger of great losses by reason of its unforeseen embarrassments; if any thing of this kind existed—which as I cannot *positively* know, I do not assert—it is easy to see what a colouring it gives to the whole transaction. Moreover sir, if amongst those slaves there was a fine lad who though held in nominal bondage, was in reality nearly white, and who had always been treated as the child of a friend rather than as a slave; if it is true that this boy, was, though the illegitimate yet the acknowledged son of the unquestioned heir-male of these great estates, and that his father in his last sickness did what he considered necessary to insure the future freedom and respectability of the child; if this last descendant of the original proprietor became by your marriage, your slave; then indeed, it is less difficult to read the mystery of these remarkable deeds, and to comprehend how the fee of a vast estate and the dower of one still greater, might be paid as the price of the liberty of a handful of bondmen.—Restitution, do you say sir? Restitution to the heirs of Samuel Meredith? Restitution to those of Walter Beall? Is restitution your doctrine? And unpolluted titles too? They are good doctrines sir; good doctrines. And happy must you be, beyond expression, in being enabled by a conduct so delicate, so lofty, so consistent, so disinterested, so benevolent—to illustrate principles so clear and so benign. It is a mercy of God, say you, that children should not succeed to property wrongfully obtained? It would be your preference to follow an only son to the grave, rather than to allow him to inherit through you a polluted title? Beware, sir, lest God take you at your word! Wonder not if this curse which you have publicly invoked upon so large a portion of your wealth, be found to cleave to it; and that what you uttered in wilful self-delusion or fearful hypocrisy, should yet prove to be a prophetic, and alas! a parental malediction. The last descendant of John May, a most amiable and excellent lady, is living in narrow circumstances, almost under your eye, while you "strut, lord proprietor" of estates, which you have declared to be held from her by enormous and complicated breaches of trust, and which, if your statements were true, must come to you by titles "steeped in and won by fraud." The last reputed descendant of John Todd, if he still lives,

is in poverty on the barbarous shores of Africa, while the immense inheritance to which no one that I ever heard of but you and the heirs of John May by you disputed the title of his father, is in the process of going by "a descent through your blood," "into stranger hands." It is true the courts of law decided for Todd's title against May; but did they not do the same for Breckinridge against Beall? It is true no doubt they would also decide in every form against the claim of the poor exile; but did they not also in the most clear and preremptory manner decide against the claim of Meredith? But there is this remarkable difference in our cases, that your title has your own recorded condemnation, mine the clearest proof of its perfect equity; yours is held by a settlement most extraordinary if not absolutely against law and conscience, mine by purchase and by clear and unquestionable proceedings. I do not wonder therefore at you saying "*that what is won by guilt is but a scorpion to gnaw the heart of the guilty wretch;*" nor at your obvious solicitude under the conclusion to which your experience and observation appear to have led you, that what one "acquires by fraud and villany," usually "curses his seed." Nor, knowing you as I do, do I feel the least surprise that under such circumstances you should venture to attack innocent men for the identical offences you have yourself committed,—and even dare to invoke God's interposition in a case where every attribute of his being must lead him to decide against you. Oh! sir, is it not enough that you should revile and persecute God's children; but must you even attempt to make him a partaker of such enormities? Willingly, most willingly, do I commit to him the issue of the appeal you have made to his Divine Providence. "I have been young and now am old"—said a man not less observant of God's dealings than yourself, nor perhaps less skilled in reading them, "yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." But, "when all the workers of iniquity do flourish, it is that they shall be destroyed forever." (*Psl. xxxvii, 25 and xcii, 7.*)

It can be matter of no surprise that a gentleman so scrupulously delicate about the mode of acquiring real property, should be to the last degree sensitive as to the manner in which he obtains chattles and cash. In this instance we will illustrate by a case personal between you and the estate of my father, leaving others to any future occasion that may demand their investigation. I have already shown that your original employment as counsel for that estate as well as the exact nature of your connexion with it, are sedulously involved in obscurity by you; and so we will let it stand, until farther explorations of the mass of papers left by Mr. Harrison, Mr. Grayson, and my brother Cabell shall throw more light on the subject. Without any sort of necessity or even excuse for such conduct, you set out in your *Second Speech*, to prove the excess of my ingratitude in declining to sit down quietly under your rancorous abuse, by making the most inflated declarations of the *greatness* and the *gratuitousness* of your services to the estate of my father. In reply to this audacious mendacity I set forth on pp. 38-45 of my *Second Defence*, the whole matter, in such a light as seems to have penetrated even the seven fold covering in which your sense of shame lies embedded; and drove you on pp. 27-28 of your *Reply* to special pleading and open

denial of your own statements made in the presence of hundreds. I proved by *Robert S. Russell, James C. Todd, D. M. Craig, C. M. Clay, James H. Allen, Thomas S. Redd, Chas. McDowell, Benj. Warfield and D. A. Sayre, Esq's.*, (*Second Defence* p. 40) that you stated publicly in your speech on the 12th day of October 1840, that all your services to the estate of my father had been gratuitous. This you positively deny having said; and I am entirely content to let society judge between their testimony and your denial. The reason which seems to you conclusive why you could not have said such a thing, is that it would not have been true; which, I submit, may not appear quite so valid to some others, as you say it does to you. And possibly you may yourself consider this mode of disproving an established fact by a very questionable argument, not perfectly conclusive in this case, if you will take the trouble to turn to pp. 31-32 of your letter to me of August 29, 1832 in which you systematically recount—as you express it—“what I have gained and what you have gained by my labors.” Here you tell over your services through about a page, and then say “*Now sir for all this, what hath it profited me! For all these weighty suits, my advice and counsel, gratis, for twenty-five years;*”—which seems to settle the matter, and to be a receipt in full back to January 1804, as your services ended, you say in January 1829;—or if we take the date of your letter, then the receipt goes back to August 1806, a few months previous to my father's death. But you say on p. 12 of your *Second Speech*, the true statement made by you in Oct. 1840 was that you had never charged any thing until you had “argued the last suit”—that is till January 15-19, 1829; which seems to me a very immaterial issue, even if the statement were true; for I cannot conceive how services are gratuitous because they are charged for in 1829 instead of some years before. But the real true statement as you now say, on p. 28 of Reply was that you charged the *administrators* and not the *heirs*; which, to my poor comprehension, comes very nearly to the same thing, as to the question of the *gratuitousness* of your services and our consequent *ingratitude*. As to the real state of the facts I do not pretend to know what it may be; nor do I expect ever to arrive at it, if your words alone are to be my medium of information. I have already proved out of your own mouth, that you “voluntarily *took upon yourself* the whole business of the late Mr. Breckinridge's estate” (p. 9, *Second Speech*) about the year 1811; and that when you did so, you were indebted to that estate, by your own account (*letter of August 29, 1832*) in the sum of \$155. I have also proved by yourself that you made out your account before Sept. 1823 and handed it to my brother Cabell, who died in that month (see p. 40 *Second Defence*;) that you received, by your own showing \$163,46 from Grubbs (p. 41 *Second Defence*)—but at what period, you steadily decline to say; that you received from me, on the 15th March 1830 \$55 (p. 44 *Second Defence*;) and that you received the bond of your brother the Hon'ble C. A. Wickliffe for \$265, with interest from May 22, 1822 till paid, (*Second Defence* p. 44.) and by your account current handed to me in 1842, this bond is credited as having been received by you in 1829, making seven years' interest \$111,30—being a total on the bond of \$376,30 sub-

ject to a credit of his fees, whatever that might be. In my *Second Defence* (p. 44) the amount of this bond is stated, principal and interest, at \$408, the difference being two years' interest, the conjectural date of the surrender of the bond being 1831, instead of 1829 which you have since stated was the true date. Here then we have \$749,76 or thereabouts, proved out of your own mouth to have been paid to you before and up to the 15th March 1830, which was more than ten full years anterior to your public statement in Oct. 1840 that all your services had been gratuitous; still longer anterior to your statement in your *Second Speech* that no charge had been made till after January 1829; and still longer yet anterior to your *Reply* in which you say, those charges were against the *administrators* only. Your account printed in 1841 on the 39-40th pages of your *Reply* amounts, according to your figuring to \$975; what purports to be the same account handed to me in writing in Kentucky in October 1842, amounts by the figuring on its face to \$845—being a difference of \$130; which is, however, as near as any two of your statements will commonly approach towards an agreement. This last left a balance due you on your own confession, as shown above, of somewhat less than one hundred dollars, which I told the collector I would pay at once, if you would give me a copy of the account sent to me through A. K. Woolley Esq. in or about 1829, and subsequently withdrawn by you for correction; rather than do which, you chose to file a bill in Chancery—which I suppose may fairly be considered as ending the question of *gratuitousness*. But, sir, I must fairly say to you, that I have very little doubt that the late Trustee of my father's estate paid your account rendered to him, before Sept. 1823: that there is a great probability you were also paid a previous account some time about or soon after 1814; and moreover, that the present aspect of the matter tends strongly to create the impression that your whole conduct in this business was utterly sordid, that you not only demanded fees but urgently pressed for very high ones, and that, if the whole facts can be come at, it will most probably turn out that you have been fully paid and over paid for all you ever did for the "estate of the late Mr. Breckinridge." The document which I submit below, contrasts curiously with your boastful declarations about gratuitous services, charges so low as to astonish the profession. &c. &c. It is from that administrator of my father whom all the world called an upright man, and is directed to my oldest brother, about the time he became Trustee of the estate, as I infer from the following considerations: to wit, the final settlement with Mr. Harrison is of record, dated July 27, 1814: the final entry in his books touching the matters between you and my father's estate, is dated July 28, 1814, charging you with \$182,51, then due, against which, your charges as a lawyer (which Harrison considered extortionate, as you will see, and refused to allow) are to be set off; and the Trusteeship of my brother Cabell commenced on the 28th day of March 1814. Let the date however be as it may, the letter proves most conclusively, how true it is that you charged *nothing*, that you charged *nothing till after January 1829*, that you charged *very little* at any time, that you charged the *administrators* only and not the *heirs*; all of which statements have been successively put forth as the true

basis of your case. I will only say in addition, that the letter has been shown to the administrator and half a dozen of the descendants and near relatives of Mr. Harrison, and if questioned, will be proved genuine to your entire satisfaction.

DR. SIR.—I enclose for yours and your mother's consideration, Mr. Wickliffe's account—in my opinion an exorbitant one. He, Mr. W., has on several occasions requested me to settle it. I am, in the first place, entirely ignorant if the charges are just; in the next, not the person to whom such an account ought to be presented—it comes to the lot of the guardian as relating to land causes. I cannot, nor will not bring into my account any charge I am ignorant of. You will please present this account to your mother; if after a consultation you determine to admit it, I conceive Mrs. Breckinridge ought as guardian to give an order on me for the amount. I will then settle it.

I have a bond of — —,* for, including interest, between \$30 and \$40. He observed he had a claim on the estate for a fee in the case of Lee's adm'rs, that he had assisted Mr. Wickliffe. I inquired his fee. About \$40, was his reply. I told him I knew nothing of the case. Another exorbitant fellow.

Yours with esteem,

R. C. HARRISON.

JOSEPH C. BRECKINRIDGE, Esq'r.

April, 25.

The existence of the bond of your brother mentioned above and the introduction of his name at all into this controversy, are matters with which I am in no sense chargeable; and they have been set in so clear a light in my *Second Defence*, pp. 43–45, that I deem it unnecessary to go over them again here. Your repeated attempts in your private correspondence, in your Second Speech and in your Reply to involve him in our quarrel, and your ridiculous pretences that the defence of *his* character imposed on you the necessity to attack that of my father, shall not move me from my fixed purpose, to settle this business with *you*. I have no desire or motive to injure or wound your brother. I have reason to believe he has been on terms of friendship with some members of my family; and there are those in whom he has a very deep interest, who, I venture to say, would deem it a calamity of no ordinary kind if it were as true as it is glaringly false, that the defence of his good name should ever render it necessary for him to be privy to an attack on that of John Breckinridge. It is also true that he has been at deadly feud with a portion of my family. My own relations to him, when any have existed, have been civil and respectful, and certainly the fact of his being a member of that church of which I am a minister greatly fortifies my wish that they should continue on that footing. This much I deem it my duty to say; and will allow the many insulting passages of your Reply bearing on this point, to pass without further notice or explanation than the following correspondence affords.

Bardstown, Sept. 18, 1841.

Mr. Robert J. Breckinridge.

SIR—My attention has been arrested by that portion of your recent publication, purporting to be your "Second Defence against," what you are pleased to denominate "the Calumnies of Robert Wickliffe," in which you introduce my name, and publish three letters purporting to be addressed by me to you. The 1st dated Washington city, Dec. 6, 1823. The 2d dated Wickland, Oct. 1st, 1830. And the 3d dated Lexington, Oct. 28, 1830.

*I omit this name; the gentleman is, long ago, dead.

You must have read and no doubt have preserved other letters of mine upon the same subject, which you have omitted to publish, particularly one written between that of 1823 and 1830. If you have such a letter or any others from me, I will thank you, sir, to send me copies of the same.

Without meaning to make myself a party to the controversy between you and Robert Wickliffe, I avail myself of the present mode to ask you to define more explicitly what you mean by an expression which I find in the 1st column of the 28th page of your published pamphlet where you say that my "services," (in the case of Breckinridge's heirs vs. Beall) "were the source of many evils and serious difficulties to us," meaning Breckinridge's heirs.

Again at page 26, at the top of the 2d column in assigning reasons or apologies for P. B. Ormsby's course in the suit in chancery against Breckinridge's ad. to secure himself from the payment of his bond given for the purchase of his lot, you conclude the paragraph in these words, "thus escape what he, Ormsby, considered the hardship if not the imposition which had been practiced on him to save your brother's (my) property." I think I have a right to require of you to state wherein my services rendered at the instance of your brother were the source of many and serious difficulties to the heirs of Breckinridge. And also what you mean by the word imposition upon Ormsby. And by whom you mean to say it was practiced:

I feel unwilling that an imputation that my services proved detrimental to the interest of your brother which I was employed to defend and protect, or that I had directly or indirectly imposed upon Ormsby in executing the instructions of J. C. Breckinridge, shall remain unretracted or unexplained by yourself.

If I erred at all in that transaction, it was in consenting to act as counsel in effectuating a sale of property under a decree which I then and still believe was unjust as to those who had purchased the estate of Beall.

Your answer with as little delay as is consistent with your engagements, directed to Bardstown, is respectfully required.

Yours, &c.

C. A. WICKLIFFE.

Lexington, Sépt. 27, '41.

Mr. C. A. Wickliffe.

SIR—Your letter of the 18th inst. has been handed to me, this moment by Mr. E. K. Sayre; and as I am about to leave the state, I must reply to it at once, or fail of complying with the request communicated thro' its bearer, to answer it within the current week.

I participate, sir, in the feeling which you express, when you say you do not mean to make yourself a party, to the controversy between your brother and myself—and beg you to remember that your name was brought into it by him and not by me—and that this was done in such a way as to render silence on my part impossible.

In regard to *other* letters from you to me, I can only say that I have published all I could lay my hands on having any relation to the matter of your bond. There may be others—(if you ever wrote others, they are still in my hands—for I have always preserved all such papers—) and when I return to Baltimore I will examine my files, and send you copies of any I can find there.—It is impossible for me now to examine those files that remain in Kentucky, as I shall leave this region to-morrow for Virginia.—I beg you also to remember, sir, that in conceding this much to you, I do an act which I consider in no way obligatory on me—and which is prompted solely by a desire to manifest the feeling I have already expressed—that I do not desire to consider you a party to my controversy with your brother.

You ask an explanation of two passages of my Second Defence—one on page 28, the other on page 26, of the Lexington edition—and in doing so if you will examine attentively, you will find you have misquoted the words of the first passage, and misconceived the sense of the second. The fact asserted in the second passage (p. 26) is simply, that Ormsby considered himself imposed on by the running up of the property he had sold to Smily—and by the whole arrangement that threw the bulk of the debt on him—and so far from making a charge against you of imposing on Ormsby, I do not even assert that the charge is true of any

body. I think, sir, the passage as it stands is clear, and is void of offence, to all men.—As to the assertion that your services tho' well intended were the source of many and serious difficulties to us, I presume a candid review of our "difficulties" with this business since 1821 will justify me in calling them both "many" and "serious;"—and that the most of these difficulties grew directly out of the sales of 1821 and 2, and that you had the management of our interest at those sales, there is, I believe, no question.—Here again, sir, I beg you to observe, that I am actuated by the feeling already twice expressed—in making explanations, which seem to me, not called for, either by the letter or the tone of my remarks in regard to you, which are, throughout, respectful.

You are pleased to express the opinion, at the close of your letter, that our decree was unjust, and that this was your opinion at the time you aided in effectuating it. I certainly agree with you, that if this was your opinion, it was a great error in you to lend yourself to the enforcement of that decree. But I believe, if it becomes necessary, I shall have no difficulty in saving you from this ground of self-reproach by showing that you are perhaps mistaken in regard to the state of your former opinions on this subject.

I regret, sir, that you should have considered it necessary to write me the letter to which this is a reply. I beg to say to you that I have not allowed myself to be affected by the difficulties with your brother—so as to change my opinions or feelings towards any other individual whatever, and that being forced by him to use your name, my purpose,—and I had flattered myself my conduct was answerable to that purpose—was to treat you with great respect. I think I have not transgressed the strictest propriety in regard to you; but, if in this I am mistaken, I sincerely regret it, and will be happy to amend what is amiss.

I am your ob't serv't,

RO. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

The diligence with which you have exerted yourself to produce a breach between me and the various members of my father's family and the several persons who have married into it, and the earnestness with which you have sought to find something in my extensive business transactions more or less affecting the estate descended to us all, upon which you could fasten a charge against me; are amongst the most amiable and characteristic features of all your conduct towards me for the last thirteen years. If you should ever be so happy as to discover in our connexion any individual sufficiently likeminded with yourself to unite with you in your benevolent designs, and will make a clear and specific statement of the matters complained of; I will, with the help of God, be ready to render a reason for any part of my conduct towards the whole or any portion of my family, that any body may feel disposed to call in question, and that before any tribunal that may be preferred. Until that period arrives, I will postpone the elucidation of divers matters concerning the will of Miss Sally Howard, and certain topics relating to the estate of Gen'l Benjamin Howard, and various family transactions growing out of it; also certain matters in regard to the administration upon the estate of John Howard, while he yet lived, as the old gentleman used to express his condition; together with sundry other affairs of much personal interest to yourself, which I now pretermit, deeming it better to discuss our several domestic relations in contrast and at the same time. Meanwhile by way of general reply to what is insinuated in many parts of your present and former publications, I refer you to what is contained on pp. 17–19 of my *Second Defence*, and particularly to the statements of my brothers in reply to your general charges that I ever desired or attempted to wrong them, or

the estate of our father. As it has been one of the most malignant portions of your conduct towards me to endeavor to poison the minds of my immediate family against me, so it is one of the basest that you attempt by constant insinuations to make men believe you have succeeded. At the date of your first written attack upon me in 1832, but two children besides myself, of my father's large family survived. If you do not consider the correspondence of that year with my brother William or his published statement already referred to, quite satisfactory as to the state of his opinion in regard to you and myself; he is still spared, and will no doubt be able to satisfy your curiosity upon any reasonable application to him. On the 12th of October 1840, my brother John stood near me during the delivery of that speech in which I first defended myself publicly against your calumnies; and when I concluded amidst the acclamations of the great multitude, he was so overcome by his emotions that he threw his arms around me and wept aloud. He was then feeble and emaciated, struggling with that fell disease which so soon cut him down. He lived to read your *Second Speech*, but not my *Second Defence*. The following extracts from an extensive correspondence will, I hope, put your curiosity at rest as it regards his estimate of us both. I fear, sir, it will be hard to find in "the Breckinridge family," any proof to sustain your claims upon our general confidence and gratitude, or your attacks upon our common character and ancestor; seeing we are a people who have been long taught to speak the truth and to fear God.

Extract from a letter of the late Dr. John Breckinridge to R. J. B., dated New Orleans, Feb'y 26, 1841. "My dear Brother. Your favor of the 15th inst. reached me by this day's mail, and I feel too much interested in its contents, though confined to my chamber by a blister on my throat and chest, to delay a reply.

I have already seen (through John Cabell's* attention) a copy of Wickliffe's infamous pamphlet, and a few hours after, wrote to you giving the opinion that it ought to be noticed. I am glad I agree with you in this opinion. He has so many plausible but infamous lies, all *seeming* to show acquaintance with our father's estate, and your early life; and he makes so many *pretensions* to the having rendered us all, many, great, and gratuitous favors, that he needs to be exposed; and unlike sagacious liars, he has gone so much into *detail*, that he must be very vulnerable, by one as well acquainted with the facts as you are. Your character, every where and every how, is in such *strong* contrast with his charges that this will greatly help you. And without going into all the details to which he descends, you can fatally impale him on five or six of the strongest cases. For this as you say, you want facts: and I would *take my time*, in the mean while, by a short, decisive, dignified note, let him and the public know *what* you are going to do and *why* you do it. This will arrest all precipitate judgment among those who *do not know* you nor the *material* facts. The rest, making the bulk of the nation, *read nothing*. But it will stop the mouths of enemies, ad interim, by making them afraid to trust to Wickliffe's enormous statements. When the reply itself appears it will *finally* use him up, and do you and *truth* lasting good."

Extract of a letter from same to same, dated New Orleans, March 26, 1841. "I think your course as proposed in your letter, is in all respects good—and will no doubt cover Wickliffe with infamy—while it will triumphantly vindicate you; and set in true and lasting light the great principles at issue. I would put the *personal* matters first,—and without following him through his infinite detail of lies and folly, give a few prominent examples of his villany, frauds and folly. This will be most dignified; most effective; and least troublesome."

*J. C. Breckinridge, Esq'r, of Iowa.

Extract of a letter from same to same, dated Cabell's Dale, May 14, 1841.
 "My beloved Brother. Your letter of the 4th inst. (by the circuit of Louisville,) reached me yesterday. Critical as all seem to think my state of health, I am yet distressed to see how much their representations have moved you on my poor behalf. Yet thanks be to my Heavenly Father for such a brother: and if I am to die, I can do it with my chief burden taken away under the delightful remembrance that I leave my dear little family under the care of such a friend."

At the request of the Rev'd Robert J. Breckinridge we state that we were long and intimately acquainted with his brother the late Dr. John Breckinridge, and having inspected the letters from which the foregoing extracts are taken, are certain that they are entirely in the hand-writing of the said Dr. John Breckinridge.

Baltimore, January 3d, 1843.

JOHN WILSON,
 PETER FENBY.

These, you will probably agree with me, are strange expressions to be used towards one who had long and deliberately wronged their author. No sir, I may say with equal satisfaction and truth, it will be extremely difficult to produce another instance in which so large and complicated an estate as that of my father, embracing so many parties in interest, such a diversity of property, and such a complication of changes, has been brought to anything like a final adjustment between the distributees, under circumstances more favorable to them or more honorable to the active managers of their affairs. And I will venture to add that there is not an individual in the world who could be even partially acquainted with the facts of this case and not see and admit, that this result could never have been reached unless there had been at least an ordinary degree of skill, firmness, and patience, united with diligence, integrity and honor on the part of the active managers in these large, protracted and difficult transactions. No man could bring about such a result unless he was willing to do right himself, and able to induce others to do right also. Upon your own showing, immense liabilities have been warded off, for which the estate was, as you say, really responsible; that is something. Large demands have been paid, and that upon an estate fully administered and supposed to have been almost wholly distributed; and not a dollar has been asked for by way of contribution to pay these demands; this also is something. Considerable recoveries have been had for the benefit of this estate, and that upon claims which you declare were bad; here also is something not very common. And sir, unless I greatly deceive myself, there will be more of these recoveries, and that somewhat to your chagrin. Now my observation of life teaches me that these are results very far from common, as it regards complicated intestate estates; and my best judgment is, that a man who can thus serve such an estate, deserves at least the thanks of those he served. But all this is but a very small part of the truth. When I became in 1824 the business head of my father's family, in consequence of the lamented death of that brother who had served us for nine years with so much zeal and success, I was a very young man, had just completed my professional studies, had a young and increasing family to support, and had not been bred to business; and such was the position of the estate descended from my father that almost the entire mass of it had to be re-adjusted. Our oldest brother had left his own affairs greatly involved at his death. You have been pleased to make such a reference by name to his only son, as you sup-

posed would create the impression that I had not dealt kindly, if fairly, by him. Suppose sir, you put that question directly to him, and give us the answer in your next publication? So far as my advice could avail with him, it was to keep himself aloof from this quarrel; but I am sure, if you ask him for his opinion, he will, in all courtesy, give it to you, plainly and upon the whole case. Meanwhile passing over any thing I may have been able to do to serve his father's family and to testify my interest in him individually, the relations of my brother's estate to that of his father and to his co-heirs were most extensive and difficult in their adjustment. Besides he had been the Trustee of the estate of Alfred Grayson the first husband of our sister Porter, so that his estate and hers were again involved; and her estate and her first husband's also; and her estate and our uncle General Robert Breckinridge, also one of the Trustees of her first husband. It was in a perfectly disinterested attempt to settle the joint relations of Alfred Grayson, Genl. R. Breckinridge, and Mrs. Porter, that the difficulty arose between General Porter, Genl. Breckinridge and myself, which you falsely and malignantly distort in your *Reply*; and which ended in putting back the whole business precisely where it stood before I touched it, and where it may stand forever, in my opinion, without being as well settled again. My participation in this matter was at the solicitation of all the parties in interest; and you never more perverted the truth in your life, which is saying a great deal, than when you represent my agency in this affair as any thing else than a disinterested effort to serve my friends; which, sir, I will show, whenever it is necessary, as clearly as I have done that I did not pass the '*negro law of 1833*' nor '*suppress the bond*,'—which I trust would satisfy you. Most especially and emphatically it is false that I ever received or was promised one farthing of the estate of General Robert Breckinridge, during his life or since his death, in connexion with this or any other matter or thing whatever. The death of my sister Castleman and then of her only child, rendered the settlement of the conflicting claims upon her estate embarrassing beyond measure, and imposed on me one of the most painful duties of my life. For it seemed to me that the inheritance was in the heirs of John Breckinridge, and that my position rendered it my bounden duty to them to prosecute their claim against the friend who had been my own guardian, and who had been like a son and a brother in the family. This was the only, and even this hardly an exception, to the absence of domestic litigation in my connexion with these perplexing affairs; for by mutual concessions this also was privately adjusted. And now sir, we come again upon your baleful influence in the affairs of our family; for by the claim of Green you swept away more than half of our sister Porter's inheritance, and here arose difficulties in making it good to her again, which it took years of patience and firmness to adjust. This matter also you not only vilely pervert in your *Reply*, but make statements which it is inconceivable you did not know were untrue, and print official documents relating to other matters in order to give a color of probability to them. I have put myself to the trouble of securing in a permanent form the true state of this controversy by which Green's claim under your management swept away Mrs. Porter's inheritance, and only omit the detail and proof

here, because of the length to which this publication has already run. So far as my own conduct is concerned in the restitution which was made to her by the estate of our father, I have only to say, it is fully explained in an elaborate correspondence which I have not a motive on earth that leads me to desire should be kept private, one instant longer than those with whom it was carried on prefer to have it so. Connected with that restitution, our most serious difficulties grew out of efforts to arrange the interests of the family in the inheritance of our youngest brother, which by his death had fallen to us all. In regard to this matter you are more than usually yourself, and utter at least as many untruths as sentences. 1, It is not true that our brother James and our sister Porter died about the same time; the former died about 1819, the latter in 1831. 2, It is not true that Mrs. Porter lost her estate about the period of her young brother's death; the decree of the Court of Appeals of Ky., reversing the decree below in her favor was rendered at the spring term 1827, about eight years after her brother's death. 3, It is not true that the estate of Cabell's Dale, the inheritance of that brother, could, by any possibility have been given to her in place of that she had lost; because subsequently to the death of our young brother and before her loss, settlements and deeds had been made by which the Cabell's Dale estate ceased to be the property of those responsible for the loss of the Denham estate, so large a part of which you had recovered from her. 4, It is not true that she ever desired this; the truth is precisely the opposite; she desired one of her brothers to possess Cabell's Dale, and nothing but my sense of honor in consulting rather the interests of the family than my own, prevented me from concentrating the title in myself. 5, It is not true that there were not ample means left to the estate to make up her loss independent of Cabell's Dale, nor is it true that she died leaving this matter unsettled, nor that she was dissatisfied with the settlement actually made; the opposite is true in each of these particulars. 6, It is not true that General Porter left any papers with you connected with this or any business of his wife's estate so far as relates to me, for any other than amicable purposes; nor any papers regarding any personal transactions between him and myself, but solely regarding the relations of his wife's estate to that of her father. 7, It is not true that any other or different settlement was made with him than simply to effectuate by deed that which had been made before the death of his wife. 8, It is not true that either of my brothers ever had views or purposes regarding this particular settlement different from those held by me in regard to it; for they not only constantly declined to act independently of me, but even when urged by me, refused to suggest any plan as a substitute for that I had adopted. 9, It is not true, that in disposing of my interest in the Cabell's Dale estate, when I found it impossible to make any permanent arrangement in regard to it that would satisfy all parties, that I overlooked the interest of my venerable mother in that property; but on the contrary, I stipulated for a larger and more entire estate for her than that she actually held, to wit, a life estate without stint of waste, instead of a life estate by way of dower simply. 10, It is not true that I sold the graves of my family; but it is true, that I retained by deed as my part of that inheritance, the burial ground containing the ashes of my kindred, with right of se-

pulture to all the descendants of John Breckinridge. These, sir, are but a portion of the enormous falsehoods which you have strung together, on one general subject in the compass of a few sentences.— But, as I have before said, we will discuss these matters thoroughly, only when we come to do so on equal terms, and then perhaps we shall find in the past history of the family of “Town Fork,” as well as in its present condition, matters which its illustrious “head and duke” will do us the favor to explain more at large and more satisfactorily than he has yet done the *legitimacy* of the descent which, it is said, you claim from the great *Priest* John Wickliffe.

The various affairs on which I have now touched, were, by the constant favor of God, and with labors which money could not repay, so carried through, that the courts of justice were in every evil sense, strangers to them; and the great interests of our family were settled by a series of compacts and deeds, the last of them dated as late as October 1840, so fixedly, so fairly and so nearly in full, that I had hoped to reap at last that repose which I thought I had earned by sixteen years of arduous service, and which was so congenial at once to my temper and my pursuits. But about that very time the storm of your pent up hate burst over all bounds; and since then you have been as busily engaged in trying to undo every thing, as I ever was in striving to compose it. The issue is with God. For myself, I will add but these two things; *first*, that it has been a great happiness to me both that I have been enabled to render services whose importance I think I do not estimate too highly, to those who were very dear to me, and that in general I have met with the recompense which was the most grateful to me, a firm support and a cordial confidence; and *secondly*, that except what I have gained as a member of the family, these labors have been without pecuniary advantage to me; for with the best opportunities I have made nothing, and can point to all I possess as my modest inheritance or the moderate portion of my wife; and yet as all men know, I have lived a frugal and unostentatious life. It is vain therefore, sir, for you to assail such a life, and above all, idle to attack that portion of it which has been devoted to the service of such a family. That such a mass of complicated claims as I have now hastily run over could be put in order where there were numerous parties and many questions of extreme nicety, without the least jar or heart burning, is more than can be expected from poor human nature. But this I may boldly say, and it is saying every thing,—no difficulty has ever arisen in which if one party in interest thought his rights were overlooked, all the rest did not say, with me, he was in error; and in no instance but one has the general voice failed to bear down all personal objections and to bear through my plans for our general welfare; and that isolated case, where for peace’ sake I receded, remains unsettled and is most probably incapable of settlement. So much I have done, and it is you who force me to utter it. He who will do more, will have more cause to bless God and to love his friends; and a title to your hate that much better than my own.

But sir, I weary of you and your hateful company; and I begrudge time and labor, withdrawn though they be chiefly from the demands of nature, beyond what is indispensable in such a controversy. It is true there remain many personal matters at which I have

only glanced; others which I have not even touched. Let them pass. I can bide my time. There are also great questions of public morals and policy on which you assail me with renewed fury in your *Reply*, about which I deem it needless to argue with you now. My conduct and opinions touching the great subject of the black race, constituted the principal topic in my speech of October 1840; and as to the course I have pursued in the religious controversies of the age, you are incapable of understanding the principles which have governed it or the motives which have influenced it. I am thoroughly a Protestant, thoroughly a Presbyterian; you, ignorant alike of the facts, the doctrines and the interests involved in both those terms, are not only unworthy of being answered, but incapable of comprehending a defence, even if I should make one. Pearls are not for swine. The response of my old friends in your immediate neighborhood to your charges against my public conduct, diligently circulated in private for years together, was to elect me to the Presidency of the University of the State; and the reply of my brethren in the same region, to your urgent printed appeals to them, was to send for me three times in as many years, to unite with them in the most important religious movements both practical and polemical. The answer of the Presbyterian Church in the United States to your widely scattered appeals to it against me, was to elect me the Moderator of its General Assembly in 1841, after a service in its ministry shorter by half than had preceded the call of any other individual to the same position. Why need I answer you, therefore, upon questions which the public have the means of understanding?

There is one point which I must not omit, and which I deem not only the most ignoble part of all your publications, but by itself conclusive proof of the baseness of your breeding, and the utter ruffianism of your whole nature. I mean the indecent and insulting manner in which you speak of my venerable mother. You had introduced her into your *Second Speech* (p. 7-8) for the purpose of proving by an incident you related in regard to the case of Woods, your great intimacy with my father and his family, your confidential relations with that family after his death, and the eagerness with which you served them; and thus you would prove, by my mother, my baseness. You abused me also (pp. 23-4 *Second Speech*) for assuming and then disgracing a name which did not belong to me. Under these circumstances it was impossible for me to avoid the necessity of asking for her statement as to these points. Her replies were sent to me, in letters to Baltimore, and were so stated in my *Second Defence*; yet, in defiance not only of truth, but in flagrant violation of all decorum, you say in substance, that being in her dotage, these statements were extracted from her by fraud and art, and in fact written for her by me, and were in part untrue—(p. 23 *Reply*.) Now what were these statements? 1, That the name *Jefferson*, had been given to me in childhood by my father, at the particular request of Mr. Jefferson. That the main fact was truly stated, is also proved by the record in the family Bible, in my father's hand-writing—(p. 55 *Second Defence*.) How do you treat this simple and most civilly worded statement, from a lady whose age and sorrows, if nothing else, would have rendered her person sacred to one less thoroughly a brute? Why you sneer at "*the old-lady-mother at Cabell's Dale, on Elkhorn;*" you insinuate

that it is odd that a Presbyterian like me, should have had sponsors in baptism; and intimate surprise that Mr. Jefferson should be able to ask a compliment from a confidential friend "all the way from Carter's Mountain in Va." (*p. 7 Reply.*) Now, sir, is this not infinitely disgraceful? More especially when to give point to your vulgarity you couple absolute falsehood with it. For you positively deny on *p. 7* of Reply, that you had ever said the name had not been given by my father; whereas on *p. 24* of *Second Speech*, you had expressly said of me, it was a "*name he had assumed to make himself a great man and a counterfeit bully,*" and and a little lower down, "*the long J which he has added to the name his father gave him.*"—Again, in the 2d place, my mother had stated that *she* had never given you access to my father's papers, at any time. She did not say and of course could not, what Mr. Harrison or Mr. Grayson might have done. You referred specifically to her; and being thus referred to, she contented herself with saying, and that with the utmost dignity and moderation, that the reference was incorrect. And I am bold to say, no honest man can read the contradictory accounts you have given, amounting to at least three or four (*see p. 35 Second Defence, and p. 24 of your Reply*) of this pretended interview, and not at once admit that the whole is a sheer fabrication on your part. And for this statement, drawn forth by your own act, and in itself so eminently cautious and lady-like, you sneer again at "*the certificate of my mama,*" use an unfeeling taunt at the tenderness of her expressions towards a husband for whom she had worn weeds for five and thirty years, and declare her assertion to "*be untrue*" (*p. 23 Reply.*)—Again in the 3d place, she had said, she knew nothing of any attentions on your part to my father during his long illness, and if you were present at his funeral she did not see you; still preserving the utmost reserve and strictness in regard to matters about which you obliged her to speak. And here, while even confirming her testimony (*p. 25 Reply*) you rudely assault her feelings. Whoever will read over all that you have written and I have proved on this point, will see that you publicly accused me of ingratitude, on the score that you had been most kind and useful to my father and his family during his last illness; and that the whole of your proof is, that you, along with perhaps five hundred other persons, happened to be at his burial; which is surely a most signal service, a most sufficient ground upon which to claim exemption from responsibility, and a most obvious justification for deliberate insult to a venerable lady distinguished alike by her virtues and her position in life. By the way, sir, I have some curiosity to see the replies of my respected friend and kinswoman Mrs. Parker, to the balance of the long string of written interrogatories sent to her by one of your daughters; you give us but one out of a long list. I would be very happy to unite with you in submitting to her this question,—Whether she would believe the testimony of her brother-in-law Robert Wickliffe implicating in any particular the character of her cousin John Breckinridge?—And in the 4th place, in modest and matron-like discharge of the painful necessity you had laid her under by a public allusion to her, she declared that she was ignorant of there ever having been any intimacy between her husband and yourself. Here, too, her guarded and respectful statement is fully confirmed by yourself, even when pronouncing the statement "*untrue;*"

for on p. 24 of *Reply*, you expressly say that you had not spoken to her "from 1805," which was at least a year before my father's death—"nor seen her after her husband's burial"—until the fictitious visit; which must have been about 1810 or 11, as Wood's suit was instituted in 1809, and you were, on your own showing, not employed in it till afterwards. Now, sir, is it conceivable, that an intimate friend of the family should live within a few miles from a year before till four or five years after the death of the head of that family, and during all this time, neither see nor speak to the mistress and mother of it? And the flagrant falsehood of your pretensions is rendered more obvious when we remember that, as I have shown out of your own mouth, in my *Second Defence*, there was a serious breach before 1805, the particulars of which you steadily refuse to detail; and that your public conduct in the canvass of 1802 when, as I am informed, you offered for congress as the advocate of the Alien and Sedition Laws, against General Walton (whom you challenged—but did not fight,) put your boasted political intimacy with my father on a footing quite as equivocal as your personal.

It does seem to me, sir, that it would be the greatest favor any man could bestow upon you, if he could clearly convince you that the most important statement of my surviving parent is strictly true. Indeed I can hardly conceive of any thing that would relieve you from a greater load of obloquy, than to prove that so far from having been the friend of John Breckinridge, you were a total stranger to him—yea his mortal enemy. For this would at least remove from your character the burden of that horrible degradation incurred by having betrayed the interests of *a friend's* family, slandered the characters of *a friend's* children, laboured to produce dissention amongst *a friend's* descendants—traduced the good name of *a friend's* family—blackened a departed *friend's* character—and to crown all, sported with the feelings and name of the wife of that *friend's* bosom after having done your uttermost to break her heart. Have you, sir, a friend? Has your selfishness, your avarice, your violence, your insolence, your faithlessness, left to you one person, who cherishes towards you a firm, disinterested, enduring love? Is there a man on earth of whom you can say, this man is my friend—I love and trust him? Suppose there is such a man. Are *these* the acts which, in your deliberate judgment, he ought to perform, that he might testify, in coming time, how completely you had won his heart? Sir, if Providence should ever raise up *such a friend* to your family, thus to prove, when you are gone, the fervency of his zeal on their behalf, would it not be a great consolation to you now to be assured that some man would then be found to deal with him somewhat after the manner that I have dealt with you? Be honest with yourself for once. In such a contingency what fate would you desire for *such a friend*? Does your heart condemn you? Remember, God is greater than your heart. This day, is the thirty-sixth anniversary of the death of *your friend* John Breckinridge. Remember that the like number must one day be told for you, and that the dealings of God are often pregnant with a fearful retribution.

ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE.

Baltimore, December 14, 1842.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

FEBRUARY, 1843.

No. 2.

A DISCOURSE ON USURY—DELIVERED IN THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, LOUISVILLE, KY., OCT. 30, 1842, BY W. L. BRECKINRIDGE, PASTOR OF THE CONGREGATION.

JEREMIAH XV. 10. I have neither lent on usury, nor men have lent to me on usury; yet every one of them doth curse me.

I do not remember any where in the sacred Scriptures, a more forcible expression of the enormity of men's conduct in the sight of God, than that contained in the first verse of this chapter—"Then saith the Lord unto me, though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people—cast them out of my sight—and let them go forth." The words declare in extremely solemn terms, the inflexible purpose of God towards the persons in question, an intention absolutely unalterable, to turn away his mercy from them. The mind receives a clear impression of the enormous evil of such conduct, and the dreadful corruption of such principles, as can fix in the bosom of infinite benevolence and pity a determination so stern and immovable.

I may add, that clearly as the sacred Scriptures exhibit the *efficacy of prayer*, I do not know that they contain a more forcible expression of its power to prevail with God, than that which we find in these words. Here is an exception—a rare and most remarkable exception. An instance which may come up once in a generation, or perhaps once in many centuries,—a case in which prayer is of no avail. Tho' Samuel, that eminent and highly honored servant of God, stood before him, his most urgent entreaty would be unheeded; tho' Moses stood beside him, before the Lord, and lifted up that voice which used to prevail with God. Moses, to whom God once said, when his anger was burning fiercely against Israel for their sins, and he dreaded so to speak, the intercession of his servant, least it should turn him from his purpose, "let me alone that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them," even Moses, who persevered and succeeded then, so that it is said, the "Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people," should have no power here. The united supplication of these great favorites of heaven would return unanswered, if they were offered in this case.

I cannot conceive how any stronger expression could be made of the general efficacy of prayer. The exception so remarkable, tending to strengthen and confirm the rule, fastening and deepening the conviction in every mind, that ordinarily, prayer will be heard and answered, while it assures us beyond all controversy of the dreadful wickedness in question. Language cannot express that wickedness

which makes prayer a mockery and throws one beyond the reach of divine mercy.

The terms of our text are not dissimilar. They express with much force and clearness, men's sense, nay, the *prophet's* sense, and *God's*, of the enormity of *certain conduct*, since all men curse *him* who has been guilty of a thing not near so bad! "I have neither lent on usury, nor have men lent to me on usury; yet every one of them doth curse me!" It is clear, too, from other passages of holy writ, that its author, the God of truth and righteousness, holds what he calls *usury* in deep contempt, and frowns upon it as an offence against God and man—thus, saith the wise man, "He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor," Prov. xxviii. 8. Also the sweet Psalmist of Israel, describing in his divine song, the man who shall abide in God's holy hill, "He that putteth not out his *money to usury*, nor taketh reward against the innocent."

This is obviously a subject of very serious concern. Extremely important interests, both of a public and private nature, are involved in its settlement. It is, moreover, in some aspects of it, a subject of no inconsiderable difficulty, arising partly out of its magnitude and partly out of its peculiarities—for it involves questions not only of a moral and religious nature and bearing, but also those of a civil and political nature, touching government, touching trade, touching the right use of property by the owner, touching, in short, many human interests.

It becomes us all, therefore, to approach the discussion of it with deep seriousness, and with perfect candor, honestly enquiring after truth, and ready to form our opinions in its light, and regulate all our actions by its authority. Our concern with this question is mainly in its religious aspects. I shall, therefore, present it in other lights, only so far as may serve to illustrate these. A minister of the gospel is not the most proper person to decide upon affairs of the state, nor is the sabbath day the time, nor the house of worship the place for such discussions. We have no concern, therefore, here, with questions of government, or trade, or money, except so far as they run upon our ground, that is, RELIGION, and so far as religious enquiry has a direct and necessary bearing on them. For it cannot be denied, that while Christianity proposes no interference with civil affairs, but rather submission to the authority of rulers, for the Lord's sake, it reveals principles whose violation is immoral, whose observance, therefore, is obligatory—whose violation, I may add as of necessity resulting, is injurious, and whose observance is useful, in a very high degree.

It is, then, far too summary a method of disposing of so grave a question as this, to say that it is a matter of secular business, of the civil laws, of trade, into which conscience and religion do not enter, that the pulpit, therefore, ought to be silent concerning it, and the church let it wholly alone. It ought to be considered by those who view the subject thus, that there are many questions belonging in some of their aspects, strictly to civil relations, and regulated in some of their interests by human law, which are yet so related to religion, that they cannot be separated from that subject. The Bible speaks

about them, and all Christian people must respect the word of the Lord, thereunto appertaining. Thus marriage is regulated by the laws of the country, but is that subject placed, for that reason, beyond the reach of the law of God? and are we not bound to revere and observe every word that has proceeded out of his mouth in relation to it? To settle it, then, that the use of money, as appertaining to the subject before us, has no relation to religious duties and obligation, were to establish a principle, which in its extension, would exclude religious doctrine and influence from all subjects, on any aspect of which men might choose to legislate.

The truth is, if there be any question of *worldly affairs* in relation to which we might suppose, beforehand, that the word of God would *not* be silent, it is precisely the question of money, since there is none (in secular matters) of greater consequence, of more universal interest, of greater embarrassment and difficulty. If, therefore, we count ourselves Christian people, and acknowledge submission to the sacred Scriptures, we may not, with any show of reason or propriety, attempt to forestall enquiry into their sense and aim on this subject, by deciding that it is one beyond the province of religion. The subject may not be thus put aside by good men. But the questions must be answered, What has God said? Does the Bible speak? What does it intend to say? Has the whole subject been left without control and regulation? Or are we taught from on high, What are truth and righteousness in relation to it?

Then I invite your serious and unprejudiced attention, while I endeavor to show what the holy Scriptures inculcate on this subject. If I have not entirely mistaken their general tenor and their particular statements, it will appear that they do utterly discountenance, forbid and reprobate that practice which is well understood as set forth by the term, *Usury*; that is, the taking of greater interest on money than the civil law allows.

So far as I have been able to discover, the word *usury* occurs in just twelve places and no more in our translation of the sacred scriptures—the term being actually repeated about twenty times, and the kindred word *usurer* being used a single time. Of the places in which the term *usury* occurs, two only are in the New Testament Scriptures, viz., Matt. xxv. 27, “Thou oughtest, therefore, to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury.” Again, Luke xix. 23, “Wherefore then gavest thou not my money into the bank that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury.” Upon these two passages, in which the same term is used and rendered usury, I remark, *First*, that the term is derived from one, the sense of which is to *produce or bring forth*, and appears simply to mean a *production*, or something engendered or produced. Critics inform us that it is employed by Greek writers, when applied to the use of money on loan, some times in the sense of moderate and reasonable interest, and some times in the sense of exorbitant or oppressive exaction, that is, in our sense of *usury* or extortion, an unjust or enormous gain. It does not appear from the mere use of the word, which sense was here intended. Although the knowledge of that precise sense would not determine the question before us. Whence, *Secondly*, I observe,

that in each of these passages the word is evidently employed without any intention to commend or justify the usage in question. The passages recited are from parables which our Lord uttered in illustration of particular truths, of very great importance, certainly, yet having no special relation to this subject. It was alluded to merely to illustrate the matter in hand—and the reference can no more be regarded as an approval of the practice of *usury*, than any other parable may be interpreted to commend the usage by reference to which it explains its object. For example, in that beautiful parable which the Saviour introduces to explain the nature of prayer, and the efficacy of its importunity, the unjust judge represents the great hearer and object of prayer. But who ever imagined that our blessed Lord intended to liken the God of grace and truth and love to such a character, or to express, in the remotest sense, any approbation of a judge whose leading motive in his public and official acts was a desire to be rid of the troublesome importunity of those whose suits he was bound to have settled? So again, when he introduces a man appealing to his neighbor for the loan of bread, who will not furnish it to the other in his exigency, *because he was his friend*, but *because of his importunity* he presently gave him what he needed, did any one ever suppose that our Lord intended to commend to our imitation the temper and conduct of this most unaccommodating friend, as marks of true or generous hearted friendship? So far from such a sense, does not every reader understand him simply to inculcate the importance of pressing our suit on the giver of all good with an assiduity and perseverance that will take no denial?

It is clear, then, that these passages, being all in the New Testament, which say any thing of *usury*, do not afford the slightest authority for that practice. While every thing that we learn of the spirit, principles and conduct of our Divine Master proves him to have been the farthest possible from countenancing any thing like illegal or cruel exactions—he denounced in the severest terms all extortion and excess—it was his constant employment to go about doing good—the poor, whose faces the usurer grinds, it was his daily business to comfort and bless, while the whole tenor of the gospel, the preaching of which to the poor he gave as one of the chief proofs of his messiahship, inculcates a generous, self-sacrificing and kind temper towards all persons, and most of all to such as need the service which we can render them. So that if any one should imagine, that he can find in any word that dropped from Jesus's lips, the slightest appearance of commending the *usurer's* occupation, let him consider how adverse the gospel is to the *usurer's* pitiless and grasping spirit, and then, in all candor say, whether the uniform and constant expressions of the Saviour's mind and the whole tenor of his life, as they appear in the gospel; do not utterly contradict the lesson which he affects to derive from an isolated word, and prove that his sense of it is wholly false?

The Old Testament Scriptures must furnish us the peculiar expressions which God has been pleased to make of his will on this subject. And every intelligent and candid believer in the divine origin of the Scriptures is ready to receive, as of paramount authority, whatever has been revealed in the Old Testament, and has not been repealed

in the New. It is true, undoubtedly, that many things were given as laws to God's ancient people, which are not binding on us who are under the Christian dispensation. But we are able, from the sacred record, to distinguish between such as applied to the church under the ancient dispensation, and such as belong to us to-day—between such as were intended to be peculiar and temporary, and such as are of universal and perpetual obligation. Every word that has proceeded out of the mouth of God must stand until he shall disannul it. And if this be never done, it is his memorial throughout all generations.

We proceed to examine every passage in the Old Testament, as we have done in the New, into which the term is introduced, that we may endeavor to ascertain what the Spirit saith unto the churches on this important subject. As far as I have been able to inform myself, the original words, which, in our translation of the Old Testament Scriptures, are rendered by the terms *usury*, *usurer*, *creditor*, *exacting*, &c. &c., signify in their radical sense to *oppress* and to *bite*, or, *bearing down* and *devouring*. In relation to the one most frequently employed, and which, in its root, bears the sense of *biting as doth a serpent*, an eminent critic, speaking, I believe, the sense of all scholars, says, "The increase of usury is called by its Hebrew term, namely, *the serpent's bite*, because it resembles the biting of a serpent, for as this is so small as to be scarcely perceptible at first, but the venom soon spreads and diffuses itself till it reaches the vitals, so the increase of usury, which at first is not perceived nor felt, at length grows so much, as by degrees to devour another's substance."

In the laws of God, as given by Moses, we find three instances of words rendered usury in our version. The first is in Exodus xxii. 15, "If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury." It may serve, perhaps, to indicate the Divine sense of usury, to observe the classification of it in this first mention of the subject in the Bible. It is in the midst of laws upon the following subjects, theft, idolatry, fraud, slander, false witness, bribery. This is a prohibitory statute and seems to be intended to prevent *extortion* in demanding unreasonable interest for money loaned, and *oppression* in exacting payment of debts no matter how incurred. The prohibition of being to one "as a usurer" is understood to be more precisely rendered "as a *creditor*," a person severe and cruel upon his debtor; a practice by some carried so far in ancient times, as to reduce the debtor to utter poverty, and then his children or himself to slavery for the debt. Of this we have examples in the sacred Scriptures, as in the days of the prophet Elisha, (2 Kings iv. 1,) which was the occasion of his working the miracle of the oil, viz., to relieve the reduced and oppressed widow and orphans of one of his brethren from among the sons of the prophets. So also in the days of Nehemiah, which we will presently examine more particularly. The other prohibition in the passage now before us "thou shalt not lay upon him usury," seems intended simply to forbid that biting exaction which is too often practiced on those whose present necessities bring them under the power of such as have *money* to lend. A plain case, therefore, of the prohibition of every thing like unreasonable gain for money loaned, or severe collection of money due.

The next instance is in Leviticus xxv. 35-37, "And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen into decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him, yea though he be a stranger, or a sojourner, that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury or increase, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase." Upon this passage I remark, *first*, that it is obviously intended to foster a generous and humane temper, in the people of God, especially to encourage sympathy and liberal conduct towards those now poor and decayed in their condition, who had seen better days. *Secondly*, that this law refers not merely to Israelites, but also to strangers who were inclined to abide among God's people and adopt their religion, thus making no difference between their brethren according to the flesh, and persons of another nation who were willing to identify themselves with the children of Israel, it being God's intention, doubtless, to facilitate and encourage, by this spirit of kindness on the part of his people, a cordial and prompt conformity to the true religion, by those who were cast among the Israelites. *Thirdly*, that there are two distinct, and though not wholly dissimilar, yet entirely separate prohibitions in this law, viz., the one of usury on money, the other of increase on food—"take thou no usury of him, nor increase"—thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase." This *increase*, as it is termed, seems never to have been applied to money but to have reference entirely to food, as in the clear distinction in the very terms of the law now recited. It was, and I believe still is, a custom with some nations, and not unknown among the children of Israel, to loan the articles of food most necessary for man's subsistence, to those who were in want of them, and to exact not only a full return, but even an exorbitant compensation in kind here called *increase*. Every one perceives the atrocity of such a usage, how enormous the cruelty to individuals, and the injury to the state, as well as the hardening influence upon one's own mind of seizing the occasion which the extreme necessities of the poor afforded, to practice this extortion upon them, in relation to the very staff of life, *bread*, that charity ought to make nearly as free to the needy as God has made the air we breathe. Now such a usage, this prohibition utterly forbids—a prohibition as wise and politic in the statesman, as it was humane in the philanthropist, and far-sighted in the man of God, legislating for the extension and permanency of religion. But we must not lose sight of the other prohibition, *usury on money*, that is, as the word seems to indicate, the process of pecuniary gain on loans, and the degree of that gain, which in time will consume the borrower, and devouring his substance will literally render him a servant to the lender—that is, *any consuming* interest on money. And that such is the sense, seems to be made plain by the motives that are urged to enforce obedience to this law, "but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee." Combining, you observe, piety towards God and kindness to man, neither of which consists with any process, wilfully carried on, which grinds the face of the poor, and consuming his substance sinks him to still deeper poverty, and finally expels him from the land, and excludes him from the knowledge and worship of the only true God. We feel safe in concluding, therefore, that *any wasting process* of interest is the usury here forbidden.

We find yet another exactment on this subject among the laws given by Moses, viz., in Deuteronomy xxiii. 19-20, "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother—usury of money, usury of victuals, usuary of any thing that is lent upon usury—unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury, but unto thy brother, thou shalt not lend upon usury—that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to, in the land whither thou goest to possess it."

This passage is generally, I believe, regarded as settling two points. *First*, that it was not allowed to an Israelite to receive any compensation whatever for the use of money loaned to one of the same nation. *Secondly*, that it was freely allowed to him to lend to strangers, or persons of another nation, at any rate of interest that might be agreed upon, no matter how exorbitant. And from these points thus settled, it has been inferred by some, that there is nothing immoral or absolutely sinful in receiving such compensation for money as the borrower may be willing to give, and that any restrictions that the Scriptures impose must be considered as arising from the peculiarities of the Hebrew Commonwealth, and are no more obligatory on Christians than any other national peculiarities or any ceremonial observances of that people.

It must be considered, however, that the term rendered *usury* in this passage, as in those already examined, involves the idea of *severe exaction*—not of a reasonable and moderate interest, or gain accruing to the lender, for the borrower's use of the money,—such an idea as we receive from the term *interest* simply, but the idea of oppression, of biting, devouring waste, consuming, destroying that to which it is applied. And if that be the sense of the term, it becomes, indeed, very plain that whatever interest would oppress or consume, was sternly forbidden, but it remains to be shown that in such a prohibition was meant to be included every degree of interest on money, no matter how small or moderate. I apprehend, therefore, that it is not certain, that Moses did absolutely forbid all interest on money between Israelites, or that he ever intended to do more than prohibit biting, oppressive and devouring gain. But if it be shown that the people of that state were clearly forbidden to loan money to each other on any, even the slightest interest, it would prove no more than that in their particular circumstances, money was worth nothing as interest, and it was, therefore, unjust to charge any; or, that from other considerations it was not desirable to promote among them, but rather to discourage the traffic in money, and every thing like general loaning thereof for gain—and these things would not settle the question for us. There would still remain numerous and very strong considerations, drawn directly from the Bible, in support of the principles on the subject of usury which have been adopted by our own and nearly every enlightened nation on earth. It were a strange mode of reasoning to argue that *because* there were reasons sufficient why Israelites should receive no interest on money from each other, therefore we, in the absence of all such reasons, may receive none! It were no less strange to conclude, from money's being really worth *no* interest with them, that it is worth none with us; and strangest of all to say, that because Israelites were restrained by Divine inhibition from taking any interest on money at all, even the very smallest, from each

other, therefore Christians may innocently take whatever they can get,—that is, exact as much as the necessities of men will compel them to give!

The passage now under review has seemed to many readers of the English version to embarrass the subject, by an apparent contradiction of the passage out of Leviticus, which we just examined. The other clearly forbids the loaning of money on usury to a stranger, while this says “unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury.” The original terms, however, rendered *stranger* in both places, are not the same, but different words, with significations extremely different in their relation to this subject. For example, the word in Leviticus, rendered stranger, means one who identifies himself with the people among whom he abides, adopts their religion, and submits to all the requirements of their laws, and hence one, though a stranger, kindly received and cherished by their humane and beneficent institutions,—a naturalized foreigner, as we would say, to be treated, therefore, as a native citizen, as a brother, since he had now “subscribed with his hand unto the Lord, and surnamed himself by the name of Israel.” But the word in the passage before us, also rendered *stranger*, includes no such meaning; on the contrary, it expresses the idea of one who though sojourning among them, intended to remain a *stranger*—a stranger in manners and customs, a stranger in religion, a stranger, therefore, in every thing that rendered Israel a great, peculiar, and chosen people. It is very clear, then, that this passage does not in the slightest degree embarrass or contradict the other, wholly different classes of persons being referred to in these places respectively. But if any one demand why one rule should be adopted as to citizens, and another as to unnaturalized foreigners? I reply, that it is the inherent and necessary right of every people to fix the principles on which strangers shall find a place among them. Our own, the most humane and liberal of all nations in its policy towards foreigners, does yet assume to control this subject, and to say what shall entitle him who comes to us from another country to the common privileges and immunities of native home-born citizens. And some of these were absolutely withheld from all foreigners who were not naturalized citizens at the time of the adoption of our Federal Constitution; as that none but a native-born citizen, or a foreigner then naturalized, may ever attain to the chief magistracy of the country. The principle, then I conclude, is clear, and is in a very high degree important to be maintained, that every government may distinguish between its own people and foreigners, and that none may claim to be citizens, and to enjoy the rights of citizens until they have conformed to every legal requirement for becoming naturalized citizens of the country. Beside these general considerations, there were some on this subject, peculiar to the Hebrew commonwealth and of very serious import. For example, that government was one administered by God, who was not only its ultimate sovereign, but, in a very peculiar sense, not to say directly, its head. Divine worship was something that appertained by law to every citizen. A part of what he owed the state was to worship God. The worship of false gods was not only impiety towards the Lord, but it was treason against the state. But nearly all the people on earth, except the Israelites,

were idolaters. The dignity of the commonwealth, therefore, required the discouraging of their settlement within it, unless they would abandon their idols and serve the true God. The national peculiarity of Israel, I mean simply, their distinct and separate condition as to other nations, a principle of great benevolence and wisdom, not only as to them, but through them to mankind at large, and one adopted by the Lord for them from the beginning and incorporated deeply into their system, *this* required the intrusion of obstinate idolaters to be discouraged. The subsequent experience of Israel proved that with all their light they could not bear temptation on this subject, and this proves the wisdom of the same policy. It was of the last importance, therefore, that all persons who came among them and would not embrace their principles should be discouraged from remaining by receiving no greater protection of the laws than humanity absolutely required, and should be discredited in the eyes of the Israelites themselves, so far as humanity would allow, as persons *not* their brethren. Thus we see why it was settled that these obstinate and intrusive idolaters should not receive that degree of protection, aid, and comfort, being enemies to the state, which all its citizens, for its own sake, must obtain. All persons who were friendly to the institutions of the country were kindly treated and encouraged to identify themselves with its inhabitants, but those who would not, were in fact and ought to be held enemies of the state, and of course had no right to expect its support—all of which involved the propriety and innocence, nay the necessity of a legislation as to them, extremely different from that which appertained to citizens, and fully justifies the appeal which this law makes to their pecuniary interest as an inducement to leave the country, if they were determined to adhere to their false and idolatrous worship.*

The next instances of the word usury, occur in Nehemiah v. 7, 10. "Then I consulted with myself and I rebuked the nobles and the rulers, and said unto them, ye exact usury, every one of his brother." "I pray you let us leave off this usury." The precise sense of the

*Says Calmet in his great Dictionary of the Holy Bible on this passage in Deuteronomy, "In this place the Lord seems to tolerate usury towards strangers, that is, the Canaanites, and other people devoted to subjection, but not towards such strangers against whom the Hebrews had no quarrel, and the Lord had not denounced his judgments. To exact usury, in this passage, is an act of hostility, it was a kind of waging war with the Canaanites and ruining them by means of usury. Demand usury from him whom you may kill without a crime. Cui enim jure inferuntur arma, huic legitime inducantur usuræ—ab hoc usuram exige, quem non sit crimen occidere."—This is not remote from the notion of the honest old Roman, which Cicero relates, "Cum ille qui quæsierat dixisset, quid fœnerari? Tum, Cato, quid hominem, inquit, occidere?" In plain English, when the enquirer asked, what do you think of putting out money at usury? Cato replied, what do you think of killing a man? All experience proves that whether in its public or private relations, the practice of usury is ruinous—destructive even as the sword; No wonder, then, that God permitted his people to pursue it towards those whom his righteous purposes had doomed to destruction—'twas letting loose his own curse upon them, and the usurer was no more than the executioner of his sentence. Which is no more an impeachment of the goodness of God, and the consistency of his law, or on the other hand, a justification of usury, than any other visitation of his providence which he sends on the wicked, and which he sometimes employs wicked hands to inflict.

original word here used seems to be the creditor's oppression of his debtor. The word is different from that whose radical sense is the *serpent's bite*, and although its general sense is the same in the Scriptures, it is distinguishable from the other. Thus in Ex. xxii. 25, "Thou shalt not be to him as a *usurer*," (rather, as a *creditor*, the same word used by Nehemiah,) "Neither shalt thou lay upon him usury," (the other term, namely, the biting of the serpent.) It may afford us a just view of the nature and evils of usury, to observe the forms of oppression to which the Divine Spirit has given this name, a name whose simple meaning is the severe exaction of the merciless creditor, a name which men skilled in the use of language have translated into our tongue by *usury*, and which the public sense receives as a suitable name for such a thing. Surely the thing which derives its appellation, when God names it, from the serpent's fang, or the creditor's relentless grasp, must be a thing hateful to God, detestable with upright men! This chapter records most shocking instances of cruelty and extortion, and to these species of oppression, a term is applied, as descriptive of their injustice and severity, which, with their best lights, our translators of the Bible have called usury. Nehemiah's conduct too shews his sense of the intolerable enormity. He charged their sins upon these usurers. He directed public opinion strongly against their practices. "I set a great assembly against them." He denounced the curse of God upon every one who had shared in these robberies, without making restitution—urging upon them, nay, exacting of them a promise to abandon their sins and restore their unjust gains, he added, "I shook my lap, and said, so God shake out every man from his house and from his labour that performeth not this promise," a promise that is, to cease from *usury* and make restitution for its cruel and illegal exactions.

I beg to quote a few words from Scott's Commentary on this chapter. "It seems that the attention of Nehemiah was interrupted, before the wall was completed, by the affair recorded in this chapter. Amidst the depredations to which the Jews were exposed, and their attention to self-defence, it is likely that tillage was neglected, and a scarcity of corn ensued. It is also supposed that these events occurred in the sabbatical year, which would increase the difficulties of the poor. * * * Such persons, therefore, as were low in circumstances, and had large families, were unable to buy necessary food except on credit, and they were also compeled in the same manner to raise money for the tribute imposed by the king of Persia. Of these difficulties the monied men took advantage, and obtaining mortgages of their lands, got them into their possession, taking usury also for the money, of one hundredth part for every month, or twelve per cent a year," (how like the usurers of this day, even as though some of them sat for the picture!) "they soon reduced the debtors to poverty, and then to the necessity of selling into slavery their sons, and even their daughters, who would be peculiarly exposed in that situation. * * * They had not reduced themselves to this distress by prodigality, but were necessitated to contract debts through hard times and heavy taxes and for necessary provisions." How like the tendency of usury in our times, to embarrass more and more those who seek relief by its deceitful promises! And if such were the enormity of the practice in those days, it cannot be innocent in ours.

However it may appear to any, touching the requirements of the laws of Moses, and the method of enforcing them under Nehemiah, that these were strictly national and peculiar as to Jews, belonging to their remarkable civil polity, and having no relation whatever to Christians as of any authority or imposing any special duty, it cannot be denied that the lessons inculcated in the Psalms of David are of universal and perpetual obligations. Whatever God spake by the mouth of this his honored servant, the man after his own heart, an eminent type of his Son, and by him recorded forever in those songs by which he showed forth the praises of God, all of *this* must be admitted to express the Divine will for all mankind. This is not ritual—it appertains not to the ceremonial law, which was done away in Christ, but is a part of that word of the Lord which endureth forever. Now consider, I pray you, the fifteenth Psalm, and say if there be any thing in all the Bible, of more strictly moral, religious, universal perpetual obligation? “Lord,” it says, “who shall abide in thy tabernacle, who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly and worketh righteousness,” &c., proceeding with a detailed description of the principles and conduct of a good man, who is accepted of God in life, and will be admitted to heaven after death. In these sacred items we find a distinct renunciation of *usury*—“He that putteth not out his money to usury”—explained, too, apparently by a farther exemption from a kindred vice, “nor taketh reward against the innocent.” As though the man of God intended to intimate that whoso puts his money at usury, is in a fair way to become so lost to truth and honor, as to sell himself for money, to put down and destroy the innocent; knowing them to be so! It is not unlike his intimation, in another Psalm, of the downward tendency of vice, that whoso is willing even to walk by the spot where the ungodly hold their consultations, will presently consent to stand and linger in the way of still bolder sinners, until, lost to shame, he will openly sit down in the seat of the scornful! Here, at least, is David’s sense of *usury*, as the Holy Spirit taught him—the *serpent’s bite*, hardly seen or felt at first, it may be, but diffusing its subtle poison through the very vitals of its victim, until it eats him up, devouring all his substance; and then it is not done, it turns its venom on the *usurer himself*, and as it has consumed the wealth of the other, it eats out all *his* sensibilities and robs his own heart of feeling and principle, even as it does his neighbor’s purse of gold!

Let us hear how Solomon regarded this matter—(Prov. xxviii. 8.) “He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor.” Will any one say that the Proverbs of Solomon belong to the ceremonial law, and contain no lessons of perpetual moral obligation, that is, universal Christian duty? Hardly, I should imagine, unless the hope of the usurer’s gain have obscured his understanding, and then his opinion on this subject is little worth. Here, then, is Solomon’s view of it as the Holy Spirit taught him. You will observe in relation to it, that this passage again contains that original term, for usury, whose allusion is to the serpent’s bite, and also that which refers to the loan of victuals, or necessary food, on increase, and condemns, therefore, very clearly both that

usury which eats up the estate of the borrower and poisons the principles of the lender, and also that extortion which has no pity on the poor, but will even exact the return of bread that has been furnished to a needy family, and that return with increase in kind. Thus you perceive, it condemns *to-day*, being of perpetual obligation, that usurious exaction, that *increase*, I care not what you call it, that measure, if you choose, of interest on money loaned, which tends to eat up the substance of the borrower. It condemns, therefore, among us, such an exaction as will consume the estate of one who gives the usury. Say, for mere illustration's sake, ten per cent., per annum, which ordinarily, it cannot be denied, has a certain tendency to a devouring issue. You will farther observe that this passage condemns, with no higher sentence, but puts in the same category, the other process of cruel and unjust exaction, that is, extorting on one's necessities, and demanding of him a return with consuming increase of the bread that was necessary to appease his hunger. The extortioner who grinds the face of the poor in their extremest want, (this seems to be the sense,) and the usurer who exacts a devouring gain, are substantially on the same ground—the *principle* of the one differs not materially from the *principle* of the other. The principle is hateful to God and ruinous to men, rendering in due time, all that act upon it, or are acted upon by it, its unhappy victims. For it robs the borrower till it consumes his estate—it hardens the lender till he can no more pity the poor, his sensibility is gone, his heart's a stone, and then the frown of God will follow him, marring his enjoyment of these ill-gotten gains, if the course of Providence do not strip him of them all altogether.

The prophets as we emphatically call them, furnish our next Scriptures—which like those of David and Solomon must be admitted to be perpetual and universal in the application of the lessons which they inculcate, and of the obligations which they impose. In Isaiah, (see xxiv. 2,) recording a fact, or rather foretelling certain events, without dwelling upon the moral questions involved, it is simply stated that certain things occur to all persons, no class being exempt, thus, "And it shall be as with the people, so with the priest, as with the servant, so with his master, &c., * * as with the taker of usury so with the giver of usury to him." This, consequently, sheds no light on the subject. The next is from Jeremiah, (to wit, our text,) "I have neither lent on usury, nor men have lent to me on usury; yet every one of them doth curse me." In the preceding portion of the same verse, the prophet utters a very bitter lamentation over the disrepute among men, into which his peculiar duties and circumstances had brought him. It had pleased God to communicate to the people, by him, such messages as not being heeded, tended to render him very odious, indeed to make him the object of their violent and cruel oppression, until lifting up this voice of complaint over their severity, persecution, and hatred, he says, I have never been an oppressor; I have not connived at oppression; no one can charge me with it, and yet all men hate and revile me, even as though I were an oppressive and hard-hearted usurer, grinding men's faces for illegal and dishonest gains. It clearly indicates the common sense, in the prophet's mind, which men entertained of the cruelty and oppression of the

usurer's traffic in money, and must be held, I think, to express God's disapprobation of such a practice. It is the more natural and forcible, when we remember that such is the common sentiment of mankind to-day, the professed and exorbitant usurer being generally regarded as the pitiless oppressor of his victims, and as no less deserving contempt and execration of upright men, than any other despiser of laws, humane and divine.

Finally, we have usury referred to in terms of extremely severe reprobation more than once in the prophecies of Ezekiel. First, in the 18th chapter, which is often called *the parable of the sour grapes*, wherein it pleases God to declare explicitly that he holds every one responsible for his own principles and conduct. In the course of this Scripture, God describes the man, who, in that generation of remarkable wickedness, should escape his righteous judgments, and among other illustrations of a good man, says, that "he hath not given forth upon usury;" and again in describing a wicked man who shall not escape due punishment, he repeats the terms, "he hath given forth upon usury;" and upon careful examination it will be found that the giving forth upon usury is classed with the most abominable and atrocious acts of which men can be guilty. So again, in the 22d chapter, the prophet recording from God's mouth His fearful charges against His people, and in the midst of an appalling list of crimes committed in Jerusalem, says, verse 12, "In thee have they taken gifts to shed blood, thou hast taken usury and increase (that is usury of money, and increase for the loan of food) and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbors by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God." What clearer and stronger expression, I confidently demand, can be made of God's abhorrence of that which He terms *USURY*, than is here given? Human speech can declare no more.

The question then presses on us, and it is a question of the last importance, one which we must meet, no matter how difficult and delicate it has been rendered by the weakness of good men,—what is the precise thing among us which God condemns so bitterly, and with such terrible clearness, under the name of usury, in the sacred Scriptures?

Doubtless, as I have intimated, this subject has been embarrassed by the infirmities of good men, and rendered more difficult of explanation—of free discussion, that is—and of rational and safe adjustment by the imprudent and sinful indulgence in the vice of usury, by those who fear God, and intend, when not misled, to do what is right, and to believe all that is true. But these embarrassments so far from arresting our serious enquiries, may only serve to urge them on, for when a vice has infected with its poison the minds of upright men, the danger is extreme. When error shall have overcome the lovers of truth, and wickedness reached the breasts and polluted the actions of virtuous people, who can be safe? If the church cannot be roused to perceive the danger and to learn and defend the truth, none can foretell the extent of the injury which may be suffered. We may presently be obliged, for our part, to lift up the bitter cry, the glory is departed from Israel, the ark of God is taken!

Then let us fairly meet the question—What is *that* in this country, at this time, which God has denounced in the Bible by the name of

USURY? With diffidence, for some wise and good men think otherwise, and yet with a deep conviction that it is true, and therefore with confidence, I say, that *usury*, in the sense condemned by the Scriptures, is the exacting of greater interest on money than the laws of the country allow.

I proceed to a brief defence and illustration of this sentiment. If I succeed in establishing this position, my work is done, and its object being attained, I may close this discussion. Then I remark, in the first place, that,

1. It will scarcely be denied by any candid and observant person, that God has thought proper to impose on human governments the high moral obligation of regulating, in detail, certain questions, for the peace and order of society. That is to say, there are some, and these are extremely important human interests, which he has left to be managed by mankind under the general principles of the Bible, but without exact specific regulation. Thus government itself is ordained of God—"By me, saith the Lord, kings reign and princes decree justice; by me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth." It were a great wickedness against God for a people to subvert all law and order and attempt to live in a state of anarchy. Indeed, it were a wickedness so great that it would not be permitted to stand, and out of the necessity of the case, as we call it, really out of the operation of the causes which God has ordained, and whose effects are inevitable, restraint in some form will come up. Reason may revive and at last prevail; men's passions may subside, being surfeited with blood; or some arm stronger than the rest may seize the sword, and nerved by a spirit fiercer than those which raised the tumult, beat it into silence. But some hour the tumult must be hushed!

While, however, God is not pleased with anarchy, and will sooner put the sword into a tyrant's hand than tolerate it, we can say no more than that he compels men to have *some* government—we cannot say that he has prescribed a specific form. He has shown us no pattern. The general principle is clear—the peculiar mode of applying it he has not determined, but leaves it to mankind. So, too, we feel confident that the true religion is favorable to liberty, and that as its influence becomes perfect and universal, every chain will be broken and all the oppressed go free. Still it is true that God has prescribed no form of civil government, nor in this direct way has he taken charge of human liberty. But then God has devolved on men the sacred and imperative obligation of adopting and faithfully maintaining *government*. To some, the most favored of human kind, in these matters, his Providence has granted a free and enlightened choice of the kind of Government they will adopt. Others are compelled by circumstances which they are not able to resist, to take such as they can get. But all people must have some, and all must support and revere that which they have, as sent of God, until they are in the way to get another. The precise degree of inconvenience and oppression to which a people must submit before they may innocently seek a change by revolution, and *when* precisely the swords may leap from their scabbards and God approve their work, does not appear from any expression of his will to man.

We derive the same conclusion from contemplating some of the functions of civil government. For example, the administration of justice; it is something which God has devolved on the powers that be, which are ordained of him, that they cause justice without sale, denial, or delay, to be dispensed to man. And as an unjust judge is an offender against divine no less than human law, and is amenable to God in a far higher and more solemn sense than that in which he is amenable to men. So for any government to fail voluntarily to acquit itself of its obligations, as they result from its authority over this subject, were not only a great injury to men, but a great wrong and offence to God. So in all other respects, governments are bound as unto God, to defend and protect the people, he claiming a supervision over them—hence Paul exhorts us to prayer in behalf of “kings and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.” So that although God has been pleased to do no more, *he has most distinctly and with solemn emphases done this*, namely, devolve on men the duty of establishing civil government, and the discharge of all the obligations which are incident thereto.

2. If it be conceded that the Supreme Ruler has imposed on civil governments the *obligation*, as to him, thence the *right* as to man, of regulating in detail any human interests, it can hardly be denied by any intelligent and reasonable person, that the whole subject of **MONEY** comes under their control, as belonging to these interests.

It must be granted that *money*, as a subject, appertains to *states*, as such. The question of the control of it involves the very sovereignty of the commonwealth. Our blessed Lord, infinitely wise in every sentiment he uttered, seems to have settled this principle, when examining a piece of money, touching a question of submission to the authority of civil rulers, he recognised fully the power in the matter, of him whose image and superscription the coin bore. 'Twas Cesar's face, 'twas Cesar's money; the whole affair, and all that it involved were Cesar's.

It is manifest that money must be coined, and paper which is to represent coin and hence derive its value, must be stamped by the authority and under the control of government, and not by individuals, irresponsible and pursuing private gain. To interfere with money is a high offence against morality and against the state, and hence is visited with severe and disgraceful punishment. The state assumes the entire and sovereign control of the subject, and reason and all experience show that this is not only *right*, but *necessary*. Every citizen may not be allowed to coin money as he is allowed to construct houses, or manufacture goods at pleasure. There needs no argument or illustration to exhibit the ruinous consequences of such unrestrained tampering with money, as it respects public morals and the wealth of a country—there could be no trade, there would soon be little honesty.

3. Now if *such* control of *money* belong to the state, of right, as attaching to its sovereignty, and if public morals and prosperity require the regulation of the subject, then states do not transcend their legitimate powers, nor go beyond their necessary uses *in fixing a com-*

compensation for the use of money. That cannot be supposed to lie beyond the competency of the government, which respects the safety of the private citizen and the permanency of the public good, both as to public morals and the wealth of states, and these seem to require that some uniform and equitable principle be settled by law to regulate the value of the use of money—the remuneration, that is, which one may demand for delay in the payment of a debt—or for the loss or inconvenience which he sustains in the loan of money, namely, money whose *use* he has afforded to another.

I am very well aware that many persons, especially those who have money which they wish to *lend*, who prefer turning their money over and over, that thus it may accumulate as it rolls, almost without an effort on their part, rather than entering the honorable competition of knowledge and industry in business, or encountering the ordinary hazards of trade, or enduring the self-denying toils of manly, public spirited and honest labor; I know that many such condemn and deprecate all interference with this subject by the state, and would insist that it is one which ought to be wholly left to private thrift and skill. But, I think, we have already seen enough to expose the fallacy of that reasoning which attempts to justify the practice of usury by arguing that one's money is like his other property to be used by him at his own discretion in all respects, as any thing else is used by him; to be hired, therefore, or rented, at such rates of compensation for its use as the demand for it may suggest, just as his house may be rented, or his carriage hired at such rates of compensation for the use thereof as the demand for them may suggest. But besides our argument from the authority and obligations of the state, there is a radical difference between money as *property*, and all other property. It is not only itself a possession, but it is the representative of other possessions, and is intended to be the measure of their value. Public convenience and prosperity require some circulating medium, which shall not only represent property generally, but in particular be the standard and measure of its value. The rates at which this measure or representative of the value of other things is to be used in its own hire or renting must be fixed, or it is not an adequate, but an extremely imperfect standard, and one great end of its existence fails. The public good, therefore, requires that what is relied upon as the measure of the value of other things and represents them among men, *the thing*, that is, *by* which men do business, should itself be regulated as to the value of its use—that is, should have some rule, fixed and settled, applied to it. Such regulation must be by public authority. And this involves the propriety of legal restraints on the use of money, in the hiring of it, arising from the difference between money and other possessions. The Scriptures, too, seem to imply a difference between money and other earthly possessions, when they declare the *love of money* to be the *root* of all evil—a declaration made concerning nothing else.

4. These views conduct as another step. Human governments *are bound*, under the general principles of revealed religion, by the dictates of sound reason and the results of experience, to regulate by law the value of the use of money—in other words, adapting their legislation to the Bible, reason, and the necessities of society, *to pass*

usury laws, and to enforce them, for the protection of men from the cupidity of each other.

It is a strong confirmation of our general position that nearly every enlightened people on earth have such laws. Here is the testimony of *mankind*, we may almost say, to their importance and their necessity. Why does the public voice demand them every where, in all lands, if there be in the nature of things and in public convenience no real call for them? We are told that political economists in their books are against them. It might be added that usurers in their bonds are against them. Interest sways the judgment, and so do theories. Self-interest is no test of truth; so the speculations of philosophers, as they dream in their closets, are often of no value for the practical affairs of life. The opinions of those who see and feel the operation of the subject are of far greater weight than of those who speculate and theorise about it at their leisure. There are many schemes, fair upon paper, that are worthless utterly, when applied to practice. On this subject, the general policy of states is nearly uniform, and the voice of nearly all people seems to me entitled to great respect. And so clear and so uniform is the public sense, on this subject, that in our own commonwealth, as in the country generally, the tendency is to still stronger and more rigid legislation; while the courts almost without controversy at their bar, when the point is made, require the restitution of money usuriously paid. So that every usurer knows well that under the laws of the state and the decisions of the courts he may be compelled to pay back his illegal gains. And this legislation the *people* of the country, those who practically observe, and who understand the subject, are not disposed to mitigate, but rather to press farther and farther upon the usurer, till his trade shall be broken up. In a very especial manner, it may be said that gentlemen of the legal profession, who from the very nature of their pursuits witness every day the operation of this matter, and who of all men know most about it, are with nearly one accord opposed bitterly to usury, and in favor of laws for its suppression. I pause not here, for it is neither the time nor the place to speak of the knowledge, the practical wisdom, and the steady attachment to the cause of human rights, always characteristic of those who have pursued the noble science of law—but it is a fact too strongly corroborative of our views on the subject before us, to be withheld, that a lawyer is scarcely ever found an apologist for usury, unless he be a usurer. Gold may blind his eyes and harden his heart like other men's. But the evils to society of this hateful practice are so clearly exposed by the principles which every honest mind derives from the knowledge of law as a science, and those who witness the administration of justice, see so much of the disastrous effects of it, that nearly with one voice they exclaim against it. I mention it as an important item in the mass of testimony which enlightened reason and upright public sentiment bear on this subject. I might also insist here, if there were need, on the estimate which is generally put upon the practice of usury as a personal vice. There is no gentleman here who would be called by this odious name. No one is ever known to become a usurer without losing at once a large part of any personal respectability or influence which he may have possessed before; and especially if he be a pro-

fessor of religion, do all men hold it to be unsuitable to a man of God—below, very far beneath the high character of a Christian gentleman. But *why should* this be, or rather, *how could* this be, if there were not in men's minds a strong sense of the evils of the thing itself as an offence against God and man? And is it reasonable to suppose that such a sentiment could become so general, if there were no ground for it in truth and reason? But after all, it may be said that public sentiment may be mistaken—men may imbibe prejudices, or form incorrect opinions, and thus attach odium to that which is really innocent, and of course deserves none. This is undoubtedly true, and hence public opinion on this subject is urged only as an argument, and not as a decision of the question. It is an argument, however, whose force is swelled by considerations drawn from the *effects* of usury, whether we contemplate them in relation to the state, the unhappy victim of cupidity and oppression, or the still more unhappy victim of his own bad passions, the usurer himself, who perhaps engaged in this business at first with no serious consideration of its nature and consequences, under the pressure of peculiar circumstances and unexpected and strong temptation, and without any fixed intention to bear down and devour his neighbors, or deprave his own mind, and turn his heart into a stone.

It cannot be denied that the tendency of the practice of usury is to the consumption of private estates. We have seen from the radical sense of the terms employed in the Scriptures to express usury, that some of them mean *oppression*, and others the *serpent's bite*; that is, the very nature of the thing is to bear down and destroy the object of its influence. How many examples does the history of usury afford of this in its private operations? How many men have found the clutches of the usurer holding them with a death-like grasp, from which there was absolutely no extrication till the estate was gone? How many estates to-day in this fair land have passed from those who toiled for them, having been eaten up acre by acre, or house after house, to meet these pitiless exactions? You may have seen the unavailing struggles of the victim, whom misfortune, or providence had led into the snare, like the incautious insect that has ventured too near the wary spider's web; perfectly impotent are his most desperate struggles; line after line, the meshes are thrown around him, till powerless and exhausted, he is drawn up at the will of his cool and wiley conqueror. The state must sympathise with the citizen, even as the body with every member. The state must suffer as its individual citizens are impoverished—even though every dollar, while it changes hands, is kept within the commonwealth. The tendency of the process is to the creation of that class, most impatient, most unmanageable, most ready for desperate resolves and the daring execution of them, *the class of debtors*—'twas this that tossed the states of antiquity with perpetual commotions. What are law and social order to men who are pressed for money which they have not, and cannot obtain? What are law and social order to him whose merciless creditor clamors for his pay without, while his children within are clamoring for bread, and there is none for either? Why, suffer any causes to bring men into such condition, and you prepare them for any thing. Any change is mercy, and they are ripe for

disorder and revolution, no matter how desperate the attempt. But if any deem this an extravagant picture, let him view the matter in a milder light. Behold the influence of general indebtedness, as it sways the public mind in relation to laws and the policy of the country. The moment people fall in debt and have not the means of payment, they begin to demand a mitigation of existing laws—striking at every thing that stands in the way, law, constitution, private obligations, every thing will be contemned by multitudes in comparison with their personal troubles, till often the whole legislation, and administration of justice in a country are disturbed by attempts to devise some way for the relief of those who are in debt. They turn this way and that, because they are in *debt*—they cannot sleep, they can scarcely eat; peace of mind is gone, because they are in debt. And who can blame men for their disquietude? God himself has said to every one of us, owe no man any thing but to love one another. 'Tis the bane of domestic peace and social happiness. 'Tis, in more than one way, the ruin of the state. But this is the very end and issue of the usurer's calling! This is what he is ever doing, *getting people in debt!* Preparing, that is, to devour their substance, and then deride their sufferings. If any one here knows a usurer and can get him to unlock the secrets of his private drawer, find out from him the number of his debtors, and you will learn with amazement, if you are a stranger to the mysteries of this iniquity, the proportion of his debtors to his capital; and still more the proportion of the amount of what he claims, to the amount he trades on. Some usurers fail. Their grasping desires outstrip the cool and cautious policy that belongs to their kind, and overreaching themselves, they hasten the coming of the day which is to scatter through better hands the ill-gotten wealth of such as by usury and unjust gain increase their substance. But for the most part, they are permitted, at least they do often-times prevail, to gather into their own purses the hard and honest earnings of many better men. Behold, if you please, some such Shylock, how he has gone on step by step, catching all that come near him, and holding all that he touches till houses and lands and gold are his, and his old friends, whom he used to serve, as he would call it, are beggared. Like the ball of snow which the boys roll, but a handful at the start, and turned over and over almost without an effort, but wherever it rolled you see its track to the very bottom, it gathered all as it passed—there's nothing left—and roll it as they will, it gathers up all that it touches, swelling as it rolls, until there is no more in its reach, or it has grown in its path, till it can be rolled no more!

Or rather, perhaps, I should liken this pitiless devourer of men, to the huge *Anaconda* gradually preparing his victims for destruction—according to the instinct of the creature, breathing upon the miserable objects, and covering them with the slime it produces for the purpose, till presently it swallows them outright!

I need not insist, it must be obvious, that such a process is variously hurtful to the state in proportion to the frequency and completeness of such instances of private disaster and beggary, and for its own sake the state should interpose.

Nor need I insist upon the influence of this practice upon the lender. It is clear that his reputation suffers,—you may reason till doomsday to prove that one's money is like his horse or his land or his house, which he ought to be allowed to hire for what it will bring, without let or hindrance; but men will never cease to despise the usurer's business, and to think less of his person for it!

Nor need I insist upon the effect of it on the man's own mind and feelings. Some will go so far as to say that the habitual pursuit of gain with the keen spirit which it engenders, will presently impart an unwonted sharpness to the countenance, and elongate, as on the stretch of pursuit, the very features of the man. I know not how that may be; but none will deny its depraving influence upon the character. Like other vices, as certainly if not as rapidly, it hardens all within and petrifies the feeling. So that if any desire to express his strongest sense of an obdurate, unfeeling, flinty heart, insensible to that which melts another down, he goes no where for his figure more readily than to the usurer. There's the original when you wish to draw a picture.

But must not states interpose to check such disastrous influences?

5. Now, if these or any other considerations prove that states are *bound* to regulate this subject, by proper correctives and restraints, then states must be held *competent* to do so. I mean not merely as to legal or constitutional competency; but that states must be supposed capable of fixing upon such principles as are fair, just, and reasonable. If the Supreme Ruler have devolved such a general obligation on human governments, and in the course of his providence circumstances do imperiously call for its fulfilment, then we may conclude that governments are able, in the main, so to understand the subject as to regulate it for the public good. They may err certainly, and doubtless do on this as on other questions; but government is an ordinance of God, and hence it must be deemed, in the main, equal to the imperative and necessary duties devolved on it by Him, adequate to the discharge of its indispensable functions. Thus, the administration of justice may often be imperfect; but it belongs to the powers that be, which are ordained of God, and no one, dissatisfied with their mode of dispensing it to him may take justice into his own hands, and pretend to administer it for himself on his own principles. The public authority, the public sense of justice, the public mode of administering it, must be held sufficient and adequate to the occasion. All must submit. In like manner, on this subject, the laws, being imperiously called for and enacted by the competent authority, must be held to have proceeded from competent wisdom and fidelity. The state has been placed by God in control of the subject, and is to be regarded as sufficiently understanding it, so that its determinations secure substantial justice.

This simple view of the subject may show us how it is that the details of it have been differently settled by different states, and yet their statutes are all binding on their respective citizens. The value of the use of money, that is, the reasonable and just compensation for delay in paying a debt, or for money loaned, is not uniform in all places—nor is it the same at all times even in the same place. But

states, by competent authority, supposed to be in every sense adequate thereto, must decide the rate—and when decided, being done by competent, adequate authority, honestly and intelligently fulfilling its indispensable functions, it must be deemed conclusive and may not be contemned. Then every people, through their constituted rulers, and most of all, a free people like ourselves, through a regular constitutional and representative government, which speaks the people's will; I say every nation, though its rulers, being the judge of what is right and proper, on the details of this subject; the laws which it chooses to enact, become thereby, the *rule* of honesty, fair dealing, and uprightness to all who acknowledge its jurisdiction. So that there is no confusion or inconsistency in saying that one is bound to revere and observe an existing law upon this subject here, while another is bound *in like manner* towards a very different law in another state, to which a citizen of this state would immediately become amenable in precisely the same sense, should he go to the other place.

The usury laws, for example, of New York, differ from those of Kentucky, but the public authority (in our free country, through the sovereignty of the people,) has in each state, rightful power, nay, is bound to pass such laws as their peculiar circumstances seem to demand, of which they are the constituted judges, supposed to be competent in every sense. Now, *their* rule, when adopted under God's general revelation of truth, becomes *the* rule to all their citizens respectively, and as their citizens may change their residence, respectively, they change their allegiance and obligations upon this subject. The Bible reveals general principles and leaves the application of them to states, whose decisions are conclusive and most solemnly binding on all who acknowledge their authority.

I conclude, therefore, that no principle is more certainly true in morals, than the obligation of every citizen to observe the laws which the state is under obligation to adopt. If the state be bound to pass the law, surely we are bound to observe it. I conclude, farther, that there is no evil greater in a commonwealth than that the minds of its citizens become possessed with contempt for its righteous and necessary laws. Want of reverence for law is at the bottom of the violation of law, and such irreverence is as incompatible with the highest measure of true love of country, as habitual violations of the law can be. He, therefore, is a poor patriot who does not love his country well enough to maintain her honor, and promote her social order by observing her laws; and want of respect for them is the certain way to encourage lawlessness and vice.

How far he respects law who hesitates not to violate it, judge ye. Can *he* be a friend of order, (which can spring only out of law,) whose leading enquiry is about the *penalty* of the law, and how he may evade it? Why this is not a principle for an upright man to act upon. This is the very principle, if principle it may be called,—this is rather the instinct of vice and crime. I do not say that every one who violates a law, in the letter or the spirit of it, is a villain; but I boldly say that one characteristic of a villain is a want of reverence for law; and that for any one to care no more for law than to enquire how he may break it with impunity, is that far to imitate the cautious

and skulking thief; or the calm, quiet, audacious swindler; or the cool, deliberate, malignant murderer.

The question with a truly upright citizen, with the lover of order, the friend of law, the enemy of crime, is never, how he may evade the necessary and righteous laws of the country—but how he may observe them. The law of God is above all human law, and if the requirements of men conflict with God's, a good man may not hesitate, but where human law does not attempt to bind the conscience, and requires only what God allows, it is fearfully binding on us all. Christians must submit to it for the Lord's sake. To observe it is a part of their religion. To violate it is to offend God and to disparage the gospel. It is by contempt for law, in the spirit and in the letter, that public virtue is undermined, and the foundations of liberty itself sapped. How, then, can Christians condemn those institutions of the country, which confessedly put no restraint on conscience? Here, especially in this blessed country, where Christians receive from the state unexampled privileges, and entire safety and protection, are they not peculiarly bound to do all that is possible to sustain the laws? Why, clearly, they owe no less to their own interest and credit; no less to the state. But the law, which is God's voice in that which he has committed to it, (the powers that be, are ordained of him for the purposes of their appointment,) that law has spoken clearly. It has fixed the limit of demands for the use of money; a subject whose control, in the detail, God has devolved on the civil ruler. That authority which God has set over the subject, has said that every claim beyond a certain limit, is not to be enforced—the demand is, therefore, illegal. Now, is the state competent, *at liberty*, BOUND, to regulate this matter? Then are not her decisions final? Are they not the rule of propriety? Is it not sinful to transcend them? And since they settle what is legal, is not a demand above what they will award, a demand above righteousness, justice, and honor in the premises? Then what is such a demand but an attempt to oppress? And if it relate to money, what is it but a form of *extortion*? If the law be God's own contrivance for settling such questions, to violate or evade it, is to insult him, in the matter of oppression, practiced against his creatures, whom he proposed to protect, and this is precisely what he used to call usury. To demand for the use of money what the law of the country did not allow, and would not enforce, God called oppression; and an attempt upon another, the tendency of which was to devour and destroy his substance, and such an oppressive and consuming process, he set forth by terms in the Hebrew tongue, which in our speech are rendered usury; and this term conveys, among us, distinctly to every mind, the process of using another man's necessities to the enlarging of our own estate; or, if you prefer, affording our money for the use of our neighbor, until his use of that money will use up his living; the very nature of the process being to eat up the borrower's means. Now, the precise point at which this process of oppression, of eating out like a moth, of using up, of usury, began, was in transcending legal regulations and restraints. The Bible clearly calls that usury which claims more for the use of money than the law would allow and enforce. Whose

demanding more was seeking to oppress, to be injurious, to exact illegally, to be a usurer. But law is still an ordinance of God. Government is still his institution. The powers that be are ordained of him; and this is their province, to regulate money, and justice in the use of money among men. So that the conclusion is direct and inevitable, that to contemn and disregard the law on this subject, is to be a usurer now.

All these considerations are fortified and enforced by this, viz., that if the laws establish no restraint, there is no limit to the exercise of cupidity in watching for the necessities of men. The conscience of a covetous man, who has money to lend, affords no restraint. Indeed the sentiment that one's money is worth what it will bring, deliberately puts conscience aside, closes up the bowels of men's natural mercy and compassion, and flings wide open the door for all extortion. Accordingly we find that usurers will often set every consideration, but gain, at defiance, and revel upon the necessities of men, even as the vultures on their prey! The opinion is essentially debauching in its influence on the human mind, and those who embrace it are often led by it to monstrous conceits. For example, I lately heard a man, in defence of this opinion, publicly commend a usurer for *his kindness*, in loaning to a sick neighbor, whose necessities were urgent, a sum of money at the rate of sixty per cent. per annum, *because* the same money could have been loaned to another person at yet higher rates! You perceive the restraints of conscience and reason, when law is despised! The usurer deemed it an act of kindness to lend a sick man money at sixty per cent.! Truly the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel! But more than this, those whose minds were not swayed by the hope of gain, but who had only imbibed the opinion we are combatting, are so beguiled by its seductions as to approve an act so monstrous! It were as just to commend the wretch who would charge a drowning man ten prices for a plank to save him!

THE FUNERAL OF THE MASS.

CHAPTER VI.—*Against the Taking Away of the Cup.*

THE taking away of the Eucharistical cup was established as an article of faith by the representatives of the Romish church assembled in Council at Constance, anno 1415, Session xiii. in a canon, the chief clauses whereof are these: *Seeing that in divers parts of the world there be some who rashly presume to say, that Christian people ought to partake of the sacrament of the Eucharist und r both species of bread and wine; and do give the communion to lay people, not only under the species of the bread, but also under the species of the wine; this present holy general Council of Constance, lawfully assembled in the name of the Holy Ghost, being desirous to provide for the safety of the faithful against this error, doth therefore declare, decree, and determine, that although Jesus Christ did administer this venerable sacrament to his disciples under both the species of bread and wine; and although in the primitive church the faithful did receive this sacrament*

under both species, yet notwithstanding that (for the avoiding of certain dangers and scandals) this custom, which was introduced with reason, ought to be kept, viz., that priests that say mass shall communicate under both the species of the bread and wine, but that lay-persons shall communicate under the species of bread only; and they that shall say the contrary, ought to be expelled as heretics, and grievously punished by the bishops, or their officials. This canon was confirmed by the succeeding Romish councils, and particularly by the Council of Trent.

2. Against so horrible a canon and so strange a law, it is very difficult to oppose any thing; for, if you tell them that this law is contrary to the institution and command of Jesus Christ, they freely confess it: seeing that although Jesus Christ did institute and administer the Eucharist under both species, yet they will not have it so practised. If you tell them that this law is contrary to the command of Paul, and the practice of the primitive church, they ingeniously own it; for they openly declare, that although the faithful in the primitive church did receive the sacrament of the Eucharist under both species, yet they that practice it thus ought to be expelled and punished as heretics. This is the true way of ending all controversies, and of keeping us from disputing with them. For example, if we allege that Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 3, saith, that *they who forbid to marry and command to abstain from meats, do teach the doctrines of devils; they need only answer, that although Paul, doth say so, yet we must not believe it, because the Romish church hath determined otherwise.* Again, if we allege, that the same Apostle, Ephes. ii. 8, 9, saith, that *we are saved by grace, through faith; and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast;* they need only answer, that although this was written by the apostle, yet we must not believe it, because the Romish church hath determined that we are saved by works and faith as coming from ourselves, and from the strength of our own free will, &c. And now I leave you to judge whom we ought to follow, whether these lying doctors, or Jesus Christ and his apostles. But that which I find utterly insupportable is this, viz., that they accuse of rashness, error, and heresy, those that by obeying Jesus Christ and his apostles, and following the practice of the primitive church, do affirm that we ought to partake of the cup as well as of the bread. Again, I find it an insufferable piece of impudence, that they boast so much of antiquity, and of the conformity of their creed to that of the primitive church, and yet can so openly renounce both in this chief and principal point of doctrine.

3. Here the Romish doctors now-a-days think to shelter themselves, by telling us it is true that Jesus Christ did institute the sacrament of the Eucharist under both the species of the bread and wine; and that the primitive church did so celebrate it, not by express command of Jesus Christ and his apostles, but merely by ecclesiastical policy, which may be changed, as several occasions and circumstances require. And they add, that it is sufficient to observe that which is of the essence of the sacrament, viz., to receive the body and blood of Christ; but that the church may change that which is accidental, viz., to receive them under both the species, or under one species only; for they will have it, that the blood of Christ is under the species of the bread, by concomitance, and that his body is under the species of the

wine by concomitance; because Jesus Christ being now glorious, his body and blood cannot be separated.

4. To this I reply, first, that there is an express command of Jesus Christ, to take the cup and drink, Matt. xxvi. in these words, *drink ye all of it*. To this the Romish doctors answer, that the word *all* is not extended to all men; for then we should say that the Eucharistical cup ought to be given to Turks, Jews, and other infidels. And they add, that the word *all* doth not extend to all those that are of the body of the church of the elect, for then the Eucharistical cup should be given to little children, whom God hath elected to eternal life: But say they, the word *all* is extended only to all those, to whom Jesus Christ gave the cup, viz., to the apostles, considered as they were pastors.

5. To this I reply, that although Jesus Christ gave this command to drink of the Eucharistical cup to his apostles only, yet we must know in what quality they received this command. But it was not in the quality of apostles, for then none but apostles could partake of the cup; and there being now no more apostles, it should be quite taken away, and so mass could be no more celebrated. And it was not in quality of pastors, or sacrificing priests; for Jesus Christ was then the only sacrificer, as the Romish doctors say, and the apostles did not then exercise the function of sacrificing priests. Besides, it belongs to pastors, and those that administer the sacraments, being public persons, to give, but to private persons to receive only: But the apostles in the celebration of the Eucharist, did only receive of Jesus Christ their master and pastor: Therefore they received the command to drink of the cup, as they were believers, Whence it follows that all the faithful that partake of the sacrament of the Eucharist, are obliged by the command of Jesus Christ, to drink of the cup. So then the Romish doctors are mistaken when they tell us that none but priests that sacrifice, have a right to drink of the cup, and that those priests that do not sacrifice, must communicate under the species of the bread only, for at that time the apostles did not sacrifice. To this may be added, that if the command of Jesus Christ, *drink ye all of it*, was spoken to pastors only, because they to whom Christ spake were pastors, then it follows that the command of Jesus Christ, *Take, eat*, was spoken to pastors, because they to whom Jesus Christ spake were pastors, and so the people will not be obliged by any command to communicate under the species of the bread, and consequently will be wholly deprived of the sacrament, which is very absurd and contrary to the Christian religion.

6. Secondly, I say, that in 1 Cor. xi. 28, there is an express command to all the faithful to drink of the cup, in these words, *Let a man examine himself and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup*. In which words the apostle speaks to all believers, who, no doubt, have cause to examine themselves. And this is apparent, because Paul directs his epistle (and consequently these words,) to all those of the church of Corinth, as well lay-men as ecclesiastical; for, in chap. i. ver. 2, he directs it to *all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord*. To this I add, that Jesus Christ doth not only say, *as often as ye eat this bread*, but also, *as often as ye drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come*; so that we do

as much commemorate Christ's death by partaking of the cup in the Eucharist, as we do by partaking of the bread. And this is very proper, for seeing that not only the body of Christ was broken, but also his blood shed on the cross; and that in every propitiation and expiation for sin, the effusion of blood was very considerable, (because it represents death better than any thing else doth,) it is certain that they do not celebrate the memory of Christ's death as they ought, who do not partake of this part of the sacrament, whereby only we commemorate the effusion of Christ's blood.

7. Thirdly, I say, that in the dispute about the Eucharist, our adversaries do allege to us the words of Jesus Christ in chap. vi. 53, of John's Gospel, *Except ye drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you.* Why then do they deprive the people of life, by taking the cup from them and hindering them from drinking? And it is not at all to the purpose here to allege concomitance, and to tell us that by taking Christ's body under the species of the bread, we take his blood also, because it is inseparable from his body. For, to this I answer, first, that to take Christ's blood in taking the host, is not to drink it: But Jesus Christ saith expressly, *Except a man drink his blood, he hath no life in him.* Secondly, I say, that although in some places by the body, should be meant the body and blood too, yet it could not be in those places where a manifest distinction is made between the body and the blood: But in the Sacrament of the Eucharist this distinction is very apparent; for Jesus Christ gave first the sacrament and sign of his body, in these words, *Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you;* and then separately the sacrament of his blood, in these words, *Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood, which is shed for you.* And he not only speaks of them separately, but represents them as really separated in his death, for he saith, *my body broken for you, and my blood shed for you.* In which words there is no place for concomitance, for the body broken by divers wounds doth not contain the blood, and the blood being shed, is not contained in the body. Also our adversaries affirm, that the sacramental words do operate that which they signify; but, by their own confession, they signify the separation of Christ's body from his blood, as Cardinal Perron acknowledgeth in his reply to the king of Great Britain, p. 1108, in these words, *The scope of the entireness of this sacrament, is to put us in mind that this body and this blood which we receive, were divided by his death on the cross;* whence Paul saith, *as often as we eat this bread, and drink this cup, we shew the Lord's death till he come.* Thirdly, I say, that as he that eats bread dipt in wine, hath indeed wine in his mouth, but doth not drink it; so he that should eat or swallow a consecrated host, would not drink Christ's blood, though it were in it.

8. Lastly, I say, that seeing the sacraments were instituted to assure us the more of the truth of God's promises, and that all our comfort depends on this persuasion, that all God's promises are most true; it necessarily follows, that as much of the sacrament as is taken away, so much of the certainty of this persuasion is diminished. And it is to no purpose to say, that one part of the sacrament doth as much confirm God's promise as the whole sacrament doth; for if it be so, then God hath unnecessarily instituted two sacraments, for it had

been enough to have instituted baptism only, seeing it is ordained to confirm God's promises. But, if for such a confirmation, two sacraments are better than one, and if two pledges, and two seals for that purpose, are of more consequence than one alone, then, in one sacrament also, two signs are of more weight than one alone, for the confirmation of God's promises. And seeing it is said, Luke xxii. 20, and 1 Cor. xi. 25, that the cup is the New Testament, and the new covenant in the blood of Christ, because it is the sacrament of it, why then are people deprived of it?

9. As for the imaginary dangers and scandals which the Romish doctors find in people's partaking of the cup, I say in general, that Jesus Christ (in whom the treasures of wisdom are hid, and in whom the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily,) foresaw them as well as they; and yet he instituted and administered the cup, and commanded all to drink of it. And Paul, who was extraordinarily inspired by the Holy Ghost, doth (notwithstanding these pretended dangers and scandals,) command the Corinthians, as well lay persons as ecclesiastical, to drink of the cup, as hath been already proved.

10. The first inconvenience which our adversaries find in people's partaking of the cup, is, that they fear they may dip their moustaches in the chalice, and so the blood of Christ may remain on some hair of the moustache; also they fear that the species of the wine, and consequently Christ's blood, may fall to the ground, and being fallen, it cannot be gathered up again.

To this I answer: First, That women, eunuchs, and such young men as have no beards, ought not to be excluded.

Secondly. It is better to be without moustaches than without the participation of the whole sacrament.

Thirdly. This inconvenience proceeds only from a false supposition, viz., that Christ's blood is under the species of the wine; but if in the sacrament of the Eucharist there be nothing but bread and wine in substance, and any of it should fall to the ground accidentally, and not through any fault of ours, this inconvenience is not great enough to violate the institution and command of Jesus Christ and his apostles.

II. The second inconvenience is, That it is almost impossible to observe this law where there is a great number of people, and but one priest.

To this I answer, First, That in places where there is much people, as in cities, there are divers priests.

Secondly, If one priest be not enough, another must be called from some neighboring place.

Thirdly, That which cannot be done in one day, must be done in two or three days, rather than the command of Jesus Christ should be violated, and the practice of the primitive church abandoned.

12. The third inconvenience is, that some have a natural antipathy, or aversion to wine, and consequently cannot drink of the cup.

To this I answer, that because corporal actions do depend on certain natural powers, they are supposed to be commanded to those that have natural powers proper to exercise those actions, and to none else. For example, the hearing of God's word is not commanded to deaf persons, but to those that can hear it; but drinking of wine is a cor-

poral action, and therefore commanded to those only that can drink it. So that if the cup must be taken from all lay-people, because some of them have a natural antipathy to wine; then the preaching of the gospel must be taken from Christians, because some of them are deaf, and cannot hear it.

13. The fourth inconvenience is, That there are some countries where no wine grows, as in Lapland, Norway, &c.

To this I answer, First, That although no wine grows in those countries, yet some may be brought thither.

Secondly, But if none can be brought without being spoiled, and its form changed, then it is better to substitute the ordinary drink of the country instead of wine.

Thirdly, But if this common drink of the country may not be substituted instead of wine, then they that cannot have wine, do abstain from it, because they are forced thereunto: and it is neither impudence nor contempt, to abstain from a thing commanded by Jesus Christ, when it is not to be had: but to ordain that they that have wine in abundance, shall abstain from the cup, is an insufferable boldness, and a most unchristian contempt of the sacrament.

THE BI-CENTENARY OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.—JULY 1ST, 1643-1843.—ACTION OF THE SYNODS OF PHILADELPHIA AND MISSISSIPPI.—LETTERS FROM MR. MONTGOMERY AND MR. LACY.

AMONGST the most important topics acted on by the Synod of Philadelphia, during its late sessions, was the approaching Bi-Centennial period of that illustrious Assembly which compiled the doctrinal standards now in general use amongst such large and important portions of the reformed churches in various parts of the world; and which are so rapidly and so extensively enlarging their influence wherever the cross of Christ is planted.

Their minute on the subject, which was, we believe, adopted by a unanimous vote, will be found on the 19th page of their printed Minutes for October 1842, and is as follows:

“It is with much pleasure that the Synod have noticed the preliminary action of the General Assembly, in relation to a celebration of the second centennial period of the Westminster Assembly, that distinguished body of divines, to which we are indebted for our incomparable formularies. It is to be hoped that the committee to which the arrangements for this celebration are entrusted will be successful in directing general attention to it, in making it an era long to be remembered, and a means of exciting a higher appreciation of the noble labours of our forefathers in the cause of sound theology; and that if it be not inconsistent with the directions of the General Assembly on the subject, each minister of Synod be directed to deliver a discourse, giving information in reference to the character and action of the Westminster Assembly.”

The papers which follow, contain, in detail, the opinions of one of the members of the committee appointed by the last Assembly, (the

suggestions of another member of it were printed in the ix. No. of our previous vol.,) and the conclusions of one of our Synods.

Raleigh, N. C.

Rev. and dear Sir,—It is not an hour ago, since one of our merchants told me he would set out in the morning for the north; and knowing of no other private opportunity of your hearing from me, I determined to avail myself of his kindness in handing you this, although by doing so, I shall have to throw off at a heat, and of course in a very crude state, what I have to say on the important subject committed to us, with several others, by the last General Assembly.

There is such a variety of striking and interesting topics of discourse that will present themselves to the minds of different men in reviewing that eventful period of ecclesiastical history, which may be regarded as suitable in commemorating the Second Centenary of the meeting of the Assembly at Westminster, that I am afraid the committee will find some difficulty in making such recommendations to the church, as will insure any general uniformity in its celebration. Nor do I know that a strict uniformity will be recommended, or is desirable. One minister might think it a very profitable exercise to give a historical sketch of the state of things in Great Britain, which called together that famous Assembly; another would prefer portraying the character of the Assembly in a body, or in holding forth to view, the lives of some of its most distinguished men;—one might regard the occasion as peculiarly fit for presenting to his people the great importance of Catechetical instruction; another, as affording the very best opportunity of preaching on the peculiar doctrines and order of the Presbyterian church; whilst others might judge their time no better employed than in tracing the effects which have followed to the church and to the world, from the adoption in part, or in whole, of the doctrines and order embodied in the formularies as brought forth by the labors of this Assembly. Any one of these, without naming others, would furnish exceedingly interesting and profitable subjects of discussion on that day; and it seems to me, that the committee should endeavor so to shape their resolutions or recommendations, as to give the liberty and opportunity to the ministers to follow out on that occasion, the leadings of their own minds—having reference, too, to the peculiar necessities of the churches to which they minister, and the communities in which they live.

1. Let us attend to one thing at a time. The subject, which of all others has impressed itself on my mind (as one which the committee should not overlook,) from the time you first suggested this celebration, and which still commends itself, the more I think of it, is, that of Catechetical instruction. Notwithstanding the fact that the attention of our church has been drawn to it of late years by various circumstances which I need not stop to mention, and it is attended to by pastors and sessions much more faithfully and diligently than it was 15 or 20 years ago; the whole body of the church is not so much engaged in it yet, as to render it unnecessary to bring its vast importance distinctly and prominently before the people, on that occasion. After the labor of years, that illustrious Assembly pre-

sented to the world, as a part of its fruits, their Larger and Shorter Catechisms. What could be more appropriate than to recommend to our brethren in the ministry to assign a portion, at least, of that day, in setting forth the pre-eminent advantages that have resulted from a faithful adherence to that excellent form of sound words, and the disastrous results which have followed its neglect? For it is a fact which may be as clearly established as any other historical fact, that Catechetical instruction has been uniformly followed by the revival or decline of religion, according as it has been persisted in, or neglected. It is of the utmost consequence then, that this matter should be attended to by every pastor and session, and by parents in every family, in a way that it was done in the purest and best ages of the church.

2. There is another matter to which I would call the attention of the committee, and on which I am anxious that some action should be taken, though I confess I am at a loss how best to do it. The suggestion of it, however, can do no harm. I mean the adoption of some recommendations to those ministers who feel disposed to do it, to vindicate the character of the men who composed that Assembly, and of the great and good men who lived in their day, from the foul aspersions with which they have been for so long a time, and are still assailed.

(1.) It has been the fashion from the time of the partizan Lord Clarendon, and of the infidel Hume, to calumniate and ridicule one of the noblest races of men that God ever raised up to save a suffering country, and to bless the world. This people, symbolizing in their religious creed and ecclesiastical government with the Genevan School, were from this circumstance, as well as the very nature of their principles, essentially republican. It is true, they did not carry out their ideas of religious liberty to the extent at present witnessed in this country, and it would almost be a miracle if they had; but they certainly laid the foundation of the superstructure which has since been completed amongst us. Hume himself acknowledges that during the latter years of Elizabeth, when the royal prerogative was raised to the most formidable height, these "Puritans were the only people who kept alive any thing like the spirit of liberty." At a subsequent period, they shook the throne of the Stuarts, and kindled that flame of liberty which ultimately expelled that domineering and arbitrary family. To these people, we are indebted for the glorious revolution of 1688, which perfected that system of jurisprudence from which we have borrowed so largely, and which gave to the representative principle that consideration and improvement which prepared it for becoming the foundation of all our civil institutions. That such a race of men should have been calumniated by the adherents of arbitrary power, is not at all strange; but that their motives should still be misrepresented, their persons and characters be still held up to ridicule, the crimes of a few individuals be set down to the whole, the faults of their prominent men pourtrayed in the darkest colors, whilst their virtues are either passed over in silence or deformed by detraction; that these very men, who of all men in the world were the most stern and uncompromising defenders of religious liberty, who always had to bear the frowns of *kings*, and the anathemas of *titled* and *pensioned* priests; and that, too, after their descend-

ants in this and the old country, have been reposing in secure enjoyment, for two hundred years, on the deep foundations of civil rights and religious privileges purchased by their blood, and treasures and labors; betrays a lamentable ignorance of their character, and a base ingratitude for their invaluable services. But it is not to vindicate their character, as the apostles of civil liberty, and of liberty of conscience, merely, from slander and defamation, that I wish to invite the action of the committee; there is another view also of this matter.

(2.) Their character as inquirers into doctrinal truth, church order, &c., has been equally assailed, and that, too, by those who should be the last upon earth to do it. When this is done by the openly avowed and *hereditary* opponents of their peculiar views in these things, it is well enough, and no body cares for it, or wonders at it. But when their professed admirers, those who claim these noble men as their ecclesiastical ancestors by direct descent, are their most unwearied and insidious detractors, the case is seriously different. There is still manifest in our country, though perhaps not so much as a few years ago, a morbid dread of whatever is *old* in theology. We have heard a great deal about the discoveries and advances that have been made in theological science, and still hear some thing of the same sort, "standing on the shoulders of former generations," and by the light of *this* 19th century, looking farther into things than any who have gone before. The popular idea seems to be, that each successive race of men is to receive some new and peculiar inspiration withheld from his predecessors, with regard to divine truth. Because a path has been long trodden, it must for that very reason be forsaken; and if any man is so blinded by the dust of antiquity as to prefer the theology of the 17th century, he is forthwith pitied as a slave of authority, who has not sufficient ingenuity or daring to frame a creed for himself. And not only so, the venerable men of whom we speak, are set aside as those whose souls are fettered with prejudice, and who, destitute of all adventurous originality, tamely followed their predecessors. Such a conclusion betrays a strange misconception of the age in which they lived. If there ever was a time in which authority in matters of faith was cast off as a galling yoke, and indignantly trampled under foot, while the freest scope was given to inquiry, and the most entire independence of thought prevailed, that time was during the sitting of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. It was a time in which even many laymen, such as Hale, and Selden, and Rouse were bold in the investigation of Scriptural truth, and in which scarcely any two eminent theologians were found to symbolize exactly upon all points. But what is very remarkable, they did most singularly and unanimously concur in the great distinguishing tenets of Calvinism; and what does this fact evince? Most certainly, not that those who framed our formularies slavishly cast themselves into a given mould; but that there must be some wonderful power in the arguments for a system which could thus unite so many of the most independent, learned and pious men. And what could we expect the result to be, supposing that system demonstrably true? Are the evidences of truth so rare or so abstruse, that the very coincidence and harmony of men upon the presentation of them, furnish suspicion of want of reflection, or even of collusion? In

opposition to all this, the very fact of such unanimity is to me, the ground of a strong presumption in their favor; just as the concurrence of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, (men who with a few trifling exceptions, had all received Episcopal ordination,) in the platform of church government, which we have received from them, is to every impartial mind a cogent argument for the soundness of these conclusions. Now, would it not be an important service rendered to the church, if some of our brethren fully competent to the task—and there are enough of them—and whose hearts are in the business, should prepare able and well written discourses, to set the people right on this subject, and to stop effectually the mouths of gainsayers? So it seems to me.

I am well pleased with the suggestions of your correspondent in the September number of your journal, with regard to the disposition of the funds to be raised by the church on the occasion before us, in printing *thousands* of Catechisms for foreign and domestic use; but if a number of such discourses should be collected into a volume, and published by our Board, I know of no way in which a portion of the money could be more profitably employed—by no means forgetting to make Maccauly's Character of the Puritans one of the number.

3. As to enlisting all other churches, like-minded with ourselves, to unite with us in celebrating the 1st of July 1843, &c., I have very little to say. It seems to me, that one circular letter to all such bodies would be sufficient; and the *writing of that letter, I am very willing to entrust to the chairman of the committee.* But if after consultation, it is thought best to address different letters to different bodies, and for this course there are some obvious reasons which the members of the committee may deem of sufficient importance to adopt it; then I suggest that the chairman thereof write to the churches on the continent of Europe; Dr. Krebs, to the churches of Great Britain; Dr. Phillips, to the several foreign missionary stations; and Dr. Hodge, to the churches of this country, and in the Canadas, &c. I name these brethren, because I regard them as well qualified for the service, and also, because they are all nearer together, and have facilities for consultation, while other members of the committee have not. Though this last suggestion is written in haste, it is not thought of in haste; for I have been thinking of this, as well as of this whole business, more or less, since the Assembly.

I am, most truly, your friend and fellow-laborer.

DRURY LACY.

St. Francisville, La.

To R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., Chairman of the Committee of Ten, appointed by the General Assembly of 1842.

Dear Sir:—The Synod of Mississippi, at its meeting in October last, appointed me a committee to communicate to you the action of that body, on the subject of the forthcoming bi-centenary anniversary of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, on the 1st of July 1843. The subject was brought before the Synod, by an overture from the Presbytery of Louisiana. Being the chairman of the Synodical commit-

tee to take into consideration the above overture, it becomes my duty, by an order of our Synod, to forward you the following preamble and resolutions adopted by Synod.

J. L. MONTGOMERY.

"The committee to which was referred Overture No. 1, relating to a bi-centenary anniversary of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, respectfully submit the following; viz.

"That in the opinion of your committee, the subject brought before Synod, by the overture from the "Presbytery of Louisiana," is one of the highest importance to the interests of the Presbyterian church, not only in America, but throughout Europe. In the opinion of your committee, no branch of the church of Christ is more ignorant of its own origin and history than the Presbyterian church. This is believed to be the case, with our young ministry and the great mass of our people in these United States, *more especially*. It is greatly to be regretted, that the pious fathers and founders of our theological seminaries, in making provision for the study of ecclesiastical history in the *general*, imposed no necessity on our young ministry to acquaint themselves in *particular* with the history of Presbyterianism. Hence, our own history is very generally a neglected study among our students of theology, and the Scripture is verified that saith, "like people, like priest."

"It is therefore not strange, that within all our bounds, it is almost impossible to find suitable books on this subject. But in the good providence of God, the approaching anniversary of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, *forces* upon the consideration of our *ministry* and *people*, an era in the history of Presbytery, more pregnant in incident than any other portion of the history of the church or of the world. Can it be true of the descendents of English and Scotch Presbyterians, and Nonconformists in these United States, that they will now refuse to lift their eyes and look back to the land of their *fathers*, two hundred years ago, and behold them, in the true spirit of the primitive disciples of Jesus Christ, "resisting unto blood, striving against sin?" Your committee will not entertain an idea so derogatory to their piety. Veneration for an ancestry so pious and patriotic as ours, forbids it. It is to the days of our Presbyterian and persecuted ancestry of Scotland, and to our non-conforming Presbyterian and Puritan fathers of England that we must turn, if we would rightly understand the spirit and genius of Presbyterianism, or the spirit and genius of our relentless and persecuting prelatical and popish foes. Your committee heartily concur in the sentiments of our last General Assembly, that the commemoration of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, may and can be so used, as by the Divine blessing, greatly to promote the interests of truth." It will afford our ministry a suitable occasion of repelling those calumnies that prelatists and papists in every age would fasten upon Presbyterians, and in which foul business they are now *both* industriously engaged, however they may *hate* one-another. Such a commemoration, at any time, and in ordinary circumstances, might well challenge the attention of sound Presbyterians. But there is manifestly something *peculiar*, in the present state of the church and the world, inviting our notice. At that very

“time, when in the providence of God, the highest judicatory of our church has called the attention of her own people, and the sister churches in Europe to this commemoration;—at this very *point of time*, the most careless observer cannot but notice the revived and growing energy, zeal and bitterness against Presbyterians, by the *same prelacy and the same popery*, that two hundred years ago, compelled us to drink so freely of the “worm-wood and the gall.” These our ancient foes, are (it would seem) actuated by the *same intolerant spirit of domination*, and are now industriously mustering their unholly forces for another and perhaps more memorable persecution. Who cannot see the striking analogy between the present vituperative and exclusive claims of prelatic bishops and their followers, to be “*the church,*” “*the only true church,*” and the same claims of the infamous Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his high toned followers, about two hundred years ago? And who need doubt that if this figment of “Apostolical Succession” be not resisted by some appropriate influence, in the course of events, these reiterated claims to be the “*only true church,*” may pass for truth with the multitude, and gradually shake the confidence of the uninformed of *our own* people, as to the validity of our ministrations and the divine right of our order and system? Is there no danger here? Your committee think there is, and are unanimously of the opinion, that this subject claims the highest regard of the Synod and the whole church, both in America and in Europe. Self respect demands it of us, as Presbyterians, that we do not silently permit “our good to be evil spoken of.” Reverence for our religious ancestry demands it, and duty towards our God and our own souls alike demands it, that we transmit to our children our primitive and apostolic doctrines and order, unincumbered by the ritualism and ceremonial “beggary elements” of a “worldly sanctuary.”

Your committee, however, are of the opinion, that the Synod is not prepared at this time, to take any order on this subject, as to the *manner* of celebration. It must be remembered, that the last General Assembly appointed a committee of ten, to “mature a plan for a suitable commemoration of the aforesaid anniversary”—“and to report their proceedings herein, to the next General Assembly.” It is to be hoped, that the above committee of ten, may be able to send forth, through the press, the *plan* determined on, previous to the next meeting of the General Assembly—And whereas the chairman of said committee of ten, has suggested (if we mistake not) through a monthly periodical under his direction, that the several Synods take some action on this subject, for the benefit of said committee, to enable it to devise some plan of commemoration that would unite (possibly) the whole church; therefore your committee would recommend to Synod, the adoption of the following resolutions, viz.:

“1st. *Resolved*, That the Synod of Mississippi, highly approve of the commemoration of the second centenary anniversary of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, on the 1st day of July 1843.

“2d. *Resolved*, That it would be highly inexpedient to neglect the favorable-occasion the said commemoration will present, for raising a fund for some religious or benevolent purpose.

"3d. *Resolved*, That it would be gratifying to this Synod, if the "churches of our denomination should agree to appropriate a part of "the contemplated fund, to the use of "aged and distressed ministers, "and their destitute families."—(See Assembly's Minutes of 1842, "page 16th, Overture 16.)

"4th. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Synod, if each of the "adult members in the Presbyterian church, would agree to contrib- "ute fifty cents, and each baptized infant and youth, ten cents—and "if the ministers and eldership would pledge themselves in *advance*, "that such sums would be raised within their churches and neighbor- "ing vacant churches, it might, by the blessing of God, greatly con- "tribute to show our people their *strength* without *weakening* them- "selves, in building up the waste places at home and abroad, and "induce them to bestir themselves in the consideration of the much "neglected subject of religious charity and almsgiving.

"5th. *Resolved*, That the several Presbyteries in connexion with "this Synod be enjoined earnestly, to see to it, that the bishops and "elderships under their care, be seasonably reminded of their duty in "the premises, and that the Presbyteries take the charge of all funds "collected on the anniversary in question, and hold them subject to "the order of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in "these United States.

"6th. *Resolved*, That Rev'd J. L. Montgomery be a committee to "communicate the action of this Synod to the chairman of the com- "mittee of ten, and to suggest to that committee the expediency of "their making known to the churches, the *plan of commemoration* "determined on, at a period previous to the meeting of the next "General Assembly, if practicable; inasmuch as otherwise, the re- "mote portions of the church will receive their information from the "General Assembly too late to derive benefit from it."

J. L. MONTGOMERY,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
J. H. GRAY,		
S. H. HAZARD,		

We venture to throw out the following suggestions.

I. It seems to be universally agreed that the period should be im- proved by all our ministers, to the careful instruction of our people, in the history of our standards, as to their origin, and influence, and the present state, prospects and duties of those who embrace them. And especially as the whole subject elucidates the questions of a closer adherence to revealed truth, a more perfect union amongst those who agree in fundamental points, and better concerted and more vigorous efforts against the common enemies of Christ's kingdom.

II. There seems to be a pretty general agreement in opinion that the occasion ought to be signalized by the liberality of the followers of the Redeemer, in giving of their worldly substance for the advance- ment of his cause on earth. To what particular objects such gifts should be directed; whether one or a few important objects should be selected by the Assembly, or whether it should be left to the Presbyteries, to the churches, or even to the individual donors to select; these are questions in regard to which there needs a further expression of opinion on the part of our people. For ourself, we

object to any attempt to raise any more *permanent funds*, at least till the church has a more satisfactory explanation of the management and loss of so great a part of those already raised.

III. As the anniversary itself occurs on Saturday, it would be well perhaps to put off the public addresses in the churches generally, till the day following. But would it not be well also, for our Presbyteries to meet on the day itself, in some central and convenient place? If they cannot do this, for the ministers to gather themselves in convenient places on that day, and by previous appointment, hold such meetings of the people as may be agreed on?

IV. If the plan suggested in Scotland, for a meeting in London of delegates from all the orthodox communions of the world should be matured, ought not our Assembly to send a delegation to attend it? But as this is emphatically a *Presbyterian* event and celebration, should not an effort be made expressly to unite in closer bonds the scattered elements of this great branch of the church of Christ?

DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.---CON-
TROVERSY WITH THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAINS OF THE ARCH-
BISHOP OF BALTIMORE.---NO. V. OF THE PROTESTANTS.---THE
APOCRYPHA.

In nothing is the intolerable arrogance of the Church of Rome more strikingly displayed than in the authority, which if she does not formally claim, she yet pretends to exercise, of dispensing the Holy Ghost not merely to men themselves but also to their writings. Thus the famous Council of Trent has attempted to make that divine which is notoriously human, and that inspired which, in the sense of the Apostle, is notoriously of "private interpretation." We allude of course, to the conduct of Rome in placing the *Apocrypha* upon an equal footing with the sacred oracles of God. Among the books which the "holy oecumenical and general Council of Trent, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit" has declared should be received with equal piety and veneration with the unquestioned word of God, and which indeed have God for their author, are *Tobit*, *Judith*, *the additions to the book of Esther*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremiah*, *the songs of the three children*, *the story of Susannah*, *the story of Bel and the Dragon*, and *the first and second books of Maccabees*.

Having by its own authority constituted these books a part of the Word of God, the Holy Council proceeded to pronounce its usual malediction upon all who would not receive them as sacred and canonical. Now in direct opposition to this wicked and blasphemous sentence of Rome, we assert most unhesitatingly, and shall endeavor triumphantly to prove that these books, commonly called the *Apocrypha* are neither "sacred nor canonical," and of course, have no more authority in the Church of God than Seneca's Letters, or Tully's Offices.

*Let it be remarked, however, that the onus probandi rests upon the Papists. The presumption is against them until they adduce satisfactory testimony in behalf of their extravagant pretensions. Nay, even defect of proof is fatal to their cause.—They bring us certain documents and declare that they were given by inspiration of God. We are not at liberty to believe them, until they bring forward clear and decided proofs of the fact. We are bound to treat these documents, as we treat all other writings, merely as human productions, until clear and cogent arguments for their Divine original are submitted to our understandings.—Hence, the Protestant cause is fully made out by failure of proof on the part of the Romanist. We are not required in justification of our position, to advance a single argument against the inspiration of these books. Our course is a righteous—a necessary one, until they are *proved* to be inspired. We think it important that this high vantage ground of Protestantism, in the argument upon this subject, should be fully apprehended. Not because we are unable to prove that these books are not inspired, but in order that it may be distinctly understood that all our positive arguments against them are *ex abundantia*—are over and above what is actually required of us in the case. If our position is justified by failure on the part of Rome to establish her assertion, it is more than justified—it is doubly fortified and rendered wholly impregnable by the irresistible arguments which we are able to allege against the inspiration of the Apocryphal Books. With the distinct understanding then that we are doing a work which justice to our own cause does not absolutely require, but which only exposes in a stronger light the arrogance and blasphemy of Rome, we proceed to show by a few positive considerations, that these books have not the shadow of a claim to Divine inspiration.

1. Our first argument is drawn from the indisputable fact that these books were not found in the canon of the Jews in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles. It is even doubted by learned men whether some of them existed all, until some time after the last of the apostles had fallen asleep. But be this as it may, they were not in the sacred canon of the Jews or the catalogue of books which the whole nation received as coming from God. We have very clear testimony upon the subject of the Jewish canon in JOSEPHUS, *Philo*, the *Talmud* and the early Christian Fathers. It is unnecessary to quote these testimonies at full length. Those who have not access to the original works, may find them faithfully collated in *Schmidius De Canone Sacro*, and in *Eichorn's Einleitung*. We would particularly commend to the reader's attention *Hornemann's* book *De Canone Philonis*. Augustin again and again confesses that the Apocrypha formed no part of the Jewish canon. He declares that Solomon was not the author of the Books of Ecclesiasticus and of Wisdom, and assures us, moreover, that these books were chiefly respected by the

*It is proper here to remark, that no less than thirteen manuscript pages of this article, are here omitted, in order to bring it within our limits; being the whole of it, that contained a reply to the poor sophistry of the gentlemen at the Cathedral. We could not devote *two* articles of our twenty-six to this subject, and thought it better to proceed directly to the matter in hand, and leave our priests to *explain*—as they call it.

Western Christians. He informs us that Judith was not received by the Jews; and his testimony in relation to Maccabees is equally decisive. We insist upon the testimony of Augustin, which may be found in his Treatise *De Civ. Dei*. lib. i. c. 17, because he had evidently a very great respect for these books—for he frequently quotes them, and because he was a member of the bodies whose decisions in their favor have been strongly and earnestly pleaded. We take it then to be a fact which no scholar would think of calling into question, sustained by the concurring testimony of Jews and Christians for four hundred years after Christ, that the Jews rejected the Apocrypha from their canon. For the purpose of our present argument it is not necessary to show what books they did receive, nor how they classed and arranged them. It is enough that they had a canon which they believed to be inspired, and that in it the Apocrypha were not included.

Now our argument is this: Jesus Christ and his Apostles approved of the Jewish canon whatever it was, appealed to as possessing Divine authority, and evidently treated it as at that time complete, or as containing the whole of God's revelation as far as it was then made. If the Apocrypha had been really a part of that revelation, and the Jews had either ignorantly or wickedly suppressed it, how comes it that Christ no where rebukes them for their error? We find him severely inveighing against the Pharisees for adding to the Word of God by their *vain traditions*, but not a syllable do we hear in regard to what was equally culpable, their taking from it, which they certainly had done if the Apocrypha were inspired.—Here was confessedly a great teacher and prophet in Israel—their long-expected Messiah who constituted the burden of their Scriptures according to his own testimony: and yet while he quotes and approves the canon of the Jews, and remands the Jews themselves to their own Scriptures, he no where insinuates that their sacred library was defective. If the Jews had done wrong in rejecting the Apocrypha, is it credible that he who came in the name of God—a teacher sent from God to reveal fully the Divine will, would have passed over without noticing such a flagrant fraud? We find him reproofing his countrymen for every other corruption in regard to sacred things of which they are known to have been guilty, but not a whisper escapes his lips or the lips of his Apostles touching this gross suppression of a large portion of the Word of God. The conclusion is irresistible that neither Jesus nor his Apostles believed in the Divine authority of the Apocrypha—they knew that *they were not inspired*. We will grant the Romanist what *he cannot prove* and what *we can disprove*, that these books are quoted in the New Testament. This will not remove the difficulty. According to his views of the canon, the Jews were guilty of an outrageous fraud in regard to the Sacred Oracles, and yet neither Christ nor his Apostles, whose business it was to give us the *whole* revelation of God, ever charged them with this fraud or took any steps to restore the rejected books to their proper places. Christ as the great Prophet of the Church was unfaithful to his high and solemn trust if he stood silently by when the word of God was trampled in the dust or buried in obscurity, or even robbed of its full authority. To the Jews were committed the oracles of God—(Rom.

iii. 2.) if they betrayed their trust, we ought to have been informed of it before the lapse of sixteen centuries.

It is in vain to allege that Christ and his Apostles used the Septuagint and that this version contained the Apocrypha. In the first place, it cannot be proved that the Septuagint at that time did contain the Apocrypha—in the second place, if it did contain them, the difficulty is rather increased than lessened. The question is, what books did the Jews, to whom were committed the oracles of God, receive as *inspired*? Did Christ know that they *rejected* the Apocrypha from the list of *inspired writings*? If so, and the Septuagint version was in his hands and really contained these rejected books, what more natural than that Christ should have told his Apostles that here are books which the Jews reject, but which you must receive—they are of equal authority with the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms? His total silence both before the Jews and his own disciples becomes more unaccountable than ever, if the books were actually before him and almost forced upon his notice by the version of the Scriptures which he used. But we do not insist upon this, because we do not believe that the Septuagint, at that time, contained the Apocrypha. (a.) If it should be said that the Jews received these books as *inspired* but did not insert them in the canon, because they had not the authority of a prophet for doing so? why is it that Christ did not give the requisite authority, if not to the Jewish Priests and Rulers, at least to his own Apostles?

Upon every view of the subject, then, the silence of Christ is wholly unaccountable, if these writings are really inspired. It becomes simple and natural upon the supposition that they were merely human productions. The Jews had done right in rejecting them—they stood upon a footing with other literary works, and our Saviour had no more occasion to mention them than he had to mention the writings of the Greek philosophers.

2. If it should be pretended that Christ did give his Apostles authority to receive these books, though no record was made of the fact, we ask how it comes to pass—and we mention this as our second argument against them—that for four centuries the unbroken testimony of the Christian Church is against their inspiration? They are not included in the catalogues given us by Melito (b) Bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the second century—of Origen, (c) Athanasias, (d) Hilary, (e) Cyril of Jerusalem, (f) Epiphanius, (g) Gregory Nazianzen, (h) Rufinus (i) and others, neither are they mentioned among the canonical books recognized by the Council of Laodicea. As a sample of the testimonies referred to in the margin, we will give a few passages from *Jerome*, the author of the *authentic* version commonly called the *Vulgate*. In the preface concerning all the books of the Old Testament which he prefixed to his Latin translation of Samuel and Kings, after having given us the Jewish canon, he says: “Hic prologus scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium om-

(a) Vid. Schmidius de Canone.

(b) Euseb. Lib. 4. c. 26. (c) Expos. Psal. 1. Oppe. Tom. II. Euseb. vi. 25.

(d) Pasch. Epist. (e) Prolog in Psalmos. (f) 4th Cate. Exor.

(g) Hares I. 6. (h) Cann. 33. (i) Exposit. ad symb. apost.

nibus libris quos de Hebraeo vertimus in Latinum convenire potest: ut scire valeamus quic quid extra hos est inter *αποκρυφα* esse ponendum." "Therefore," he adds, "*Wisdom* which is vulgarly attributed to Solomon and the *book of Jusus the Son of Sirach*, and *Judith*, and *Tobias*, and *Pastor*, are not in the canon." His testimony in relation to the Maccabees, is equally divided. In the prologue to his Commentary on Jeremiah, he declines explaining the book of *Baruch* which in the edition of the lxx. is commonly joined with it, because the Jews rejected it from the canon, and he of course, knew no authority for inserting it. In the preface to his translation of *Daniel*, he assures us that the *story of Susannah*, the *song of the three Children*, and the *Fables of Bel and the Dragon*, are not only not in the Jewish copies, but had exposed Christians to ridicule for the respect which they paid to them! In his preface to *Tobit* and *Judith* he pronounces them *apocryphal*!

Here, then, about the close of the fourth century, we find no remnant of any unwritten tradition from Christ and his Apostles authorizing his Church to receive these books. The early fathers followed in the footsteps of the Jews, and unanimously concurred in receiving no other canon of the Old Testament as inspired, but that which came down to them through the Jewish Church. In this opinion learned men in every age have concurred up to the very meeting of the Council of Trent. We refer to such men as Cardinal Ximenes, Ludovicus Vives, the accomplished Erasmus and Cardinal Cajitan. How could there have been such a general concurrence in an error so deplorable, if Christ and his Apostles had ever treated these books as the lively oracles of God? Surely there would have been some record, some hint of a fact so remarkable. We ask the Romanist to reconcile the testimonies of the Fathers with the decree of Trent. In the language of Bishop Burnet: "Here we have four centuries clear for our canon in exclusion of all additions. It were easy to carry this much further down and to show that these books (the Apocrypha) were never by any express definition received into the canon till it was done at Trent, and that in all ages of the Church, even after they came to be much esteemed, there were divers writers and those generally the most learned of their time, who denied them to be a part of the canon."

3. The third argument which we shall bring forward is drawn from the books themselves. In reading them we not only are struck with the absence of that "heavenliness of matter, efficacy of doctrine, majesty of style, concert of all the parts, and general scope of the whole to give glory to God" by which the Sacred Scriptures abundantly evidence themselves to be the word of God; but we are as forcibly struck with defects utterly inconsistent with these excellencies. To say nothing of their silly and ridiculous stories, these books notoriously contain palpable lies, gross anachronisms, flat contradictions, and doctrinal statements wholly irreconcilable with what we are taught in the unquestioned oracles of God. Such things are totally inconsistent with the idea of inspiration.

It would be easy to make good these charges by citations from the books, but it is unnecessary to protract our article by quotations which have again and again been made for the same purpose.

What, under the present head, we wish particularly to remark is, that these books, or at least several of them, virtually disclaim all pretensions to inspiration. They do not profess to be the word of God, and why should Protestants be blamed for not conceding to them an authority which they themselves do not claim? They come to us from their authors merely as human productions—we treat them as such, and yet we are consigned to the damnation of hell, because we do not believe that a writer was inspired when he did not believe it himself!

The author of the second book of Maccabees professes to have abridged a work of Jason of Cyrene, and concerning his performance, he holds the following language, which can be reconciled with a belief on his part that he was inspired, when light is made to have fellowship with darkness, and God with Belial, but not till then:—"Therefore, to us that have taken upon us this painful labor of abridging, it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching; even as it is no ease to him that prepareth a banquet, and seeketh the benefit of others: yet for the pleasing of many, we will undertake gladly this great pains, leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular, and laboring to follow the rules of an abridgment," &c. (2 Mac. 2. 26. seq.) Here his motives as assigned by himself, are such as induce ordinary men to write, and his method is taken from the common rules of criticism. In other words, it is obviously a human composition, and was intended to have no more authority than any other historical document. To the same purport is the following sentence near the close of the book: "And if I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired—but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto." Is this the language of a man who "spake as he was moved by the Holy Ghost?"—Does he seem to have drawn from the inexhaustible fountain of divine truth, or from the shallow resources of his own mind? Verily, none but a madman could speak on this wise, and yet believe that he was inspired of God. The prologue to Ecclesiasticus—a production of Jesus the Son of Sirach—is just as decisive in reference to it.—As it is too long to quote, we shall content ourselves by simply referring to it. The writer asks pardon for a defective interpretation of a Hebrew document, and declares that his whole performance was the result of diligence and travail, of great watchfulness and skill. And yet according to the Romanist, instead of being the product of human thought and labor, it was the supernatural dictation of the Holy Ghost. The pretence in this case is too absurd for argument. In the first book of Maccabees, we are assured that there was not a prophet or inspired man in Israel to direct them what to do with the altar which had been profaned. 1 Mac. 4. 46. The same declaration is repeated in the course of the book again and again, and yet contrary to his own testimony, we are required to believe that the writer himself was inspired. In fact, it was the universal opinion of the Jewish nation, that inspiration ceased with Malachi, not to be revived until the dawn of the new dispensation, and that consequently, no books which were written after the time of Artaxerxes Longimannus were worthy of any credit as inspired records.

We might go over each of the Apocryphal books one by one, and

produce such numerous instances of falsehood, error, contradiction and absurdity, as to render it utterly impossible that any should attribute them to God but those whose credulity is enormous enough to swallow down the nonsense and blasphemy of transubstantiation, and to believe that God can be multiplied by the million without disturbing His unity, and made at will, out of cakes and wine, without detracting from His glory. Such men can believe any thing; and to such men it is useless to urge the authority of Christ and his Apostles—vain to allege the concurring testimony of the leading writers of the primitive church—vainer still to plead absurdity, contradiction and lies, and even implied disclaimers from the writings in question; they have an authority higher than all these. The Council of Trent has spoken—the Man of sin and the son of perdition, who has given out that *he* is God, has spoken from his throne of blasphemy and abominations: and the voice of a general council and the pope is enough to silence reason, to sanctify blasphemy and to canonize falsehood.

But to those who are not yet fastened as captives to the car of Rome, we appeal in the confident expectation of success. Can any candid and unprejudiced mind believe that these books proceeded from God, when there is not a particle of evidence to establish the fact—when the Jewish church, to which were committed the oracles of God, rejected them—when Christ and his Apostles rejected them—when for four centuries, united Christendom rejected them—when up to the very time of the meeting at Trent, the most enlightened members of the Church of Rome rejected them—when in addition to all this, the books themselves do not profess to be inspired, and abound in absurdity, contradiction and lies? Despising the authority of popes and councils, we bring the matter to the bar of sober reason and sound argument, and we challenge Rome to vindicate herself from the charge of intolerable arrogance and blasphemy in her corrupt additions to the word of God. The argument which she uses with her own vassals will not do among thinking men.—Until she can adduce clear, decided, unanswerable proof of the inspiration of the Apocrypha, all who reverence God or love their race, are solemnly bound to reject these books, and to treat them precisely as all protestant churches always have treated them. Rome may denounce her anathema against us, but we know full well that the terrible malediction of God rests upon her.—It is not a light matter whether we receive or reject these writings. If they are not inspired, those who receive them, run the risk of everlasting damnation—if they are, those who reject them are exposed to the same danger.

That protestants reject them because they contain unpalatable doctrines, is a fiction of the Roman priesthood to divert attention from the real state of the argument. Light is death to their cause, and therefore they resort to every trick of sophistry and of falsehood to obscure the question at issue, and to escape unexposed in their frauds and impostures. We reject them, because *they are not inspired*, and we shall continue to do so until the contrary is clearly proved, as well as boldly asserted. Let the Romanists come up manfully to the point of *inspiration*—that is the issue between us, and upon that issue we are always ready to meet them.

* *

[For the Spirit of the XIX. Century.]

THE LATTER DAY GLORY OF MESSIAH'S KINGDOM.—NO. 1.

EVERY thing connected with the Kingdom of Christ is to the humble believer, deeply interesting. The latter day glory of this blessed kingdom, foretold in God's Word, has of late, formed a subject for much thought and discussion in various parts of Christendom. Much, I am aware, has been written on this subject, both in ancient and modern times, and well written; the subject however is not yet exhausted. And should it please the Lord by his grace to enable me to present the *truth* in a plain manner as God has revealed it, and thus be the instrument in stirring up even a *few* pious souls, to look, and long with more intense interest for the *bright* appearing of our Great God and Saviour Jesus, my labor will not be in vain in the Lord; and to his blessed name shall be all the praise, to whom all glory and praise is due.

It is not my design merely to prove from the Word of God, that our blessed Lord will come to earth again, *personally*. This no Bible Christian will deny; nor is it my intention to attempt any calculations respecting the time of the second advent. Of that day and hour knoweth no man, *no angel*; the times and seasons is not for *us* to know, which our Father hath put (and keeps) in his own power. Every attempt made by *man* to fix *by calculations* the *precise period* of the second advent of our Lord, will, we believe, only expose his own folly, and such calculations failing, will have a tendency to put both *wise and foolish virgins* into a more profound slumber, and open wider the mouth of the impious scoffer. Still we believe that God our Redeemer in his mysterious providence will overrule the folly of *man* (who in the vanity of his mind would be wise above what is written) to accomplish his own purposes. For He has declared in his *infallible word*, that his second advent shall be as a thief in the night! At midnight the bridegroom shall come! That the world at large shall be just as secure as were the antedeluvians when the flood came, and swept them all away, and as the inhabitants of the devoted cities of the plain were just before the Lord rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and overthrew them. And thus will the Lord make the folly of *man* to praise him, as well as his wrath; but the Lord preserve *us* from the folly of attempting to pry into that which He is pleased to keep secret. Nor is it our intention to enter the field of speculation about things not revealed in God's word, which seem to stand connected with this important subject, and concerning which, many curious questions might be proposed, but not being answered in God's word, we have nothing to do with them. Before the first advent of our Lord, many things were revealed to the ancient prophets concerning him and his great work; and doubtless the pious who lived previous to that blessed period, had some general and accurate knowledge of him and his great salvation. Yet no one believes that they possessed any thing like the accurate knowledge of his doings and sufferings (though taught by his Holy Spirit) that His disciples did who lived, labored, and suffered with him on earth, or that we do now, who possess the history of his love,

and the enlightening influences of his Spirit. It was in view of this truth that our blessed Lord declared that although John Baptist was the greatest that had been born of woman, yet the least in the *kingdom of heaven* was greater than he! Now as it respects the *second advent* of our Lord Messiah, we are taught many things in God's holy word. The grand outlines of that glorious advent are plainly set before our minds, yet as all unfulfilled prophecy is in a measure, obscure, and God has been pleased to give us *only* the general outlines of events connected with *the second coming*; as he was pleased to do respecting the events connected with *his first coming*, we must be contented to remain ignorant concerning many things connected with this glorious event until it takes place, when *facts* will explain obscure prophecies. We shall therefore endeavor to confine ourselves in what we write on this subject, to prophetic facts plainly revealed. We are aware also that many of the learned and pious of the present day, have had their minds set against the idea of a *literal coming* of our blessed Lord to set up his kingdom at the commencement of the latter day glory, and a *literal resurrection* of the saints at that momentous period, because one set of wild *fanatics* have declared themselves children of *the first resurrection*, another set of deluded mortals have called themselves *the latter day saints*, and others, we may hope some of them pious men, but having a desire to be wise above what is written, have ventured to predict the year, and even the month, when the Saviour of men shall come the second time to earth. Now while we mourn over the fact that *deluded men*, and *wild fanatics*, should pervert God's holy truth, and *wrest* the Scriptures from their true meaning to their own destruction; and while we are distressed in view of the adventurous spirit of some pious and honest Christians to pry into what is *concealed* from the angels of light, and even from the Son while a man of sorrows; we are not disposed to give up looking and longing for the bright appearing of our Great God and Saviour Jesus, who shall change our *vile* bodies and fashion them like unto his glorious body, nor on this account, cease to hope for a speedy resurrection, which hope consoled the heart of the great apostle of the Gentiles, and the hearts of many a persecuted saint since his time. While then we believe there is much very much connected with the glorious subject, highly mysterious (as there is with the whole great scheme of man's salvation) there are nevertheless some great leading and important topics connected with the latter day glory of Messiah's Kingdom, which may be discussed with pleasure and profit. The following queries contain some of them, which we here take the liberty distinctly to state before we proceed further.

I. Is the *present dispensation* to be considered as *final*, connected with earth? Or are we taught in God's word, to look for another far more holy and glorious?

II. What do the Scriptures teach concerning the moral state of the world, and the *moral and spiritual* state of the visible church from the *first* to the second advent of Messiah?

III. Did Christ and his inspired apostles teach that *the gospel* was designed to convert the whole world, or to be *universally* triumphant in the present dispensation?

IV. Will our blessed Lord *appear personally* at his second advent?

V. Will the second advent of Messiah take place at the commencement or at the close of the thousand years spoken of Rev. xx. 4?

VI. Will all the saints who shall have previously *died*, rise from the dead at the second advent?

VII. What is revealed concerning the honors and privileges of the saints during the universal reign of Christ on earth, particularly with reference to the great work of judgment?

VIII. What are we to understand with respect to the last effort of Satan to destroy Messiah's Kingdom. Rev. xx. 7-10?

IX. At what period shall Messiah deliver up the kingdom to the Father, "That God may be all in all"?

We design as God shall enable us, to discuss these questions in the light of God's blessed word, in about as many Nos. as these questions. And may we by grace be prepared to share the triumphs of MESSIAH'S KINGDOM.

No. II.—The first question proposed in our last No. for consideration, connected with the subject of the latter day glory of Messiah's kingdom is as follows.

Is the present dispensation to be considered FINAL as to this earth, or are we taught in the word of God to look for another, far more holy and glorious?

If we mistake not, it is the general opinion among the learned and pious, that the present, or *Gospel dispensation*, is the last connected with earth; that the holy Scriptures do not warrant us to expect another. That in the use of the present system of means, the kingdom of Christ shall continue to advance until it shall finally overcome all opposition, the nations be converted to Christ, the earth filled with his knowledge, and until all flesh shall see his glory. That in the *triumphs of the Gospel, Messiah shall reign* a thousand years on earth. That this period, (with a short season *under the reign of Satan*, at its close,) will completely terminate the present dispensation—the connection of man with earth, in his present state of existence, and also the *Mediatorial reign of Christ*. Now if this is God's plan, revealed in his word, we bow and embrace it with all the heart; but we are inclined to believe that God's book teaches differently. That there shall be a blessed period of at least a thousand years, during which our adored Lord shall reign on earth, *with his saints*, we think no believer will deny. Let us turn to the testimony of the Holy Ghost for a description of this holy and happy period. We begin at the close of the sacred volume. Rev. xx. 4, the thousand years of Messiah's reign on earth with his saints is plainly foretold. And verse 5th of the same chapter we read, that "the rest of the dead live not again till the 1000 years were finished." Now in whatever way we understand this declaration of the holy prophet, whether as many interpret it, as conveying the idea that none possessed of the wicked disposition of the former generations of earth shall live during the Millennium; or as others interpret according to the obvious meaning of the words used, that none of the former rebels of earth, shall have part in the *first resurrection*, but continue under the power of the *second death* during the reign of our Lord on earth; according to either view, *this truth is taught, that there shall live no wicked being*

of our race on earth during the 1000 years. Of course, the holiness of earth will be complete, as far as the entire absence of sinners in the flesh can make it so. In the same chapter of this wonderful prophecy, verses 1st and 3d, we have a cheering statement of the complete overthrow of *our great adversary*, and his entire banishment from earth during a thousand years. Here then we are infallibly assured that during the reign of Messiah on earth, there will be neither wicked men, nor wicked devils, in this part of his dominions.

In accordance with this view, in the four chapters preceding the one from which the above quotations have been made, we have a prophetic view of the conquests of *our Immortal King* in the complete overthrow of all antichristian powers, and in the final banishment from earth of the *Beast* and false prophet with their accomplices, to the lake of fire and brimstone: thus ridding the world of a mass of mere putrefaction which has corrupted it for ages; all this to make way for our Lord's glorious reign during a dispensation characterized by *holiness*. Again, Rev. x. 7, we are told that "in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound *the mystery of God*, shall be finished." By this mystery we understand *the present mysterious dispensation*, which shall be finished when the seventh angel begins to sound; for that *sin* and *Satan* should have been permitted so long to bear rule under the government of a holy God, is one of the greatest mysteries on which the believer can fix his mind. In the xi. chapter and 15th verse, we have a prophetic view of the *new dispensation*, and in the words of the adoring worshippers, verse 18, we have a description of the new dispensation. The nations that in anger had destroyed the earth, *are destroyed*; the saints, small and great,—the prophets, and all the servants of God *rewarded*, and the dead judged according to the deeds done in their bodies. Here are the works and the rewards of another dispensation connected with earth, verse 15.

This blessed dispensation is also foretold 2 Peter iii. 13. It is called, *new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness*. The apostle Paul gives us some intimation of a new dispensation connected with earth, chap. viii. 19-23. Here the whole creation is represented as uniting with the children of God, and longing and waiting for this blessed dispensation of *light and love*. In Peter's discourse, recorded Acts iii. 21, we have a prophecy respecting *the restitution of all things*, to their original design, and to their rightful Lord and Sovereign. This *restitution* will be made as the passage implies, when *the glory of all dispensations shall return to earth*, for the heavens must receive him until this period arrives. Again, our blessed Lord in his discourses concerning his kingdom, very plainly foretels a future and *pure age* connected with earth: to this we understand him as referring in his parables, by that state of his kingdom which shall be brought about by the tares being separated from the wheat. The good and bad first being separated, the foolish virgins being excluded from the marriage feast, and the separation of the sheep from the goats. In all these deeply interesting parables the truth is clearly taught, that at the end of the present *age* or *dispensation*, there shall be a complete separation between the righteous and the wicked who shall be *alive* on the earth when he (Messiah) comes

to set up his kingdom, and that the wicked connected by profession with his kingdom shall, with the wicked *of the earth* and the *great deceiver* be cast into outer darkness, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Thus the church completely purged of all chaff, and all antichristian powers made as the chaff of the summer threshing floor, and driven from earth by the tempest of Divine wrath, and the wicked of every character being consumed, root and branch, as stubble in the fiery oven; surely the age or dispensation succeeding will be widely different from the present. Furthermore, we understand the inspired apostles as alluding to a future dispensation of great glory connected with earth, in those passages in their epistles, in which they so plainly foretel the second coming of their Lord. For they do not speak in those passages, of the saints passing into the heavenly state to admire and glorify their Lord, but of *his coming* to earth to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all that believe. Our Lord also in his solemn discourse with his disciples, recorded in the xxiv chap. of Matthew's gospel, unquestionably gives them to understand that notwithstanding the scenes of tribulation and persecution through which they should be called to pass, yet the period should arrive when *the tribes of earth* should behold Him coming in the clouds with power and great glory, to set up his universal and holy kingdom, and gather around him his once despised and persecuted followers. But *this dispensation of light and love*, and which shall be the *final age* connected with earth, is not only as we have seen foretold by the writers of the New Testament; the ancient prophets also speak wonderful things of this *golden age* connected with earth. The prophet Zachariah tells us, chap. xiv. 9, that the Lord shall be King *over all the earth!* And in verse 20th of the same chapter, that every thing on earth shall be *holiness* to the Lord! The prophet Daniel foretels not only the utter destruction of the great kingdoms of earth, but when this fearful work shall be completed, we are informed, chapter vii. 27, that "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom *under the whole heaven* shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High." And again, in chap. ii. 35, this holy man of God explaining the vision of the King of Babylon, tells him that the stone which he saw cut out of the mountain without hands, which smote the great image (which the king had seen in vision) on his feet, and which afterwards waxed a great mountain and filled *the whole earth*, represented the kingdom of Messiah, which should be set up in the days of the kings (or kingdoms) represented by the *ten toes* of the image, and should never be destroyed. Many other passages might be quoted from the ancient prophets, which foretel this future dispensation, but let these suffice; for those who will not see in the light of God's truth already quoted, that a future age of *light, love* and *holiness* is designed to bless this earth, where the curse of God has so long rested, would not be convinced by the multiplication of them.

In closing this scriptural view of a *future dispensation*, we remark that *the glory* of it, and that which shall distinguish it from all that have preceded, will be *the personal presence* and universal reign of our Lord, and sure we are that where he reigns *universally*, there must be *universal holiness* and happiness. We shall next attempt to

prove from God's word, that none of these glorious things foretold concerning the kingdom of Messiah, shall take place under the present dispensation; of course the age in which we live cannot be *final* as to earth, but we are taught to look for another. But as the consideration of this part of the subject involves our second question, we shall close our present No. by expressing the desire that by grace we may be prepared to share the triumphs and glories of that blessed age.

Dayton, Ohio.

JAS. C. BARNES.

[For the Spirit of the xix. Century.]

THEOLOGICAL EXAMINER, NO. VI.

Πάντα δοκιμάζειτε.

Is the Church of Rome the Church of Christ, or any part thereof?

By a popular profanation of a sacred term, the thoughtless charity of the present day applies the *Christian* name to any thing and every thing that comes in the name of Christ. Without judging any by their fruits, the false prophet and the true are regarded alike with the same contempt, or the same indifference; and when the popular attention is directed to any prevailing superstition, it is generally excited by the most attractive displays of vanity, and by the loudest vociferations of "Lo! here is Christ!"

Of all the systems of error in religion, there is none to which the epithet '*Christian*' is more profanely applied, and none more erroneously regarded as a branch of the Christian church, than the system of popery, and the church of Rome. And the reason is, that no other heresy ever departed so far from the truth of God; and no other schism ever attempted, utterly, to root out and destroy the church of God, and to pervert and supplant the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Before entering upon the discussion of the question above stated, let us attend to the following preliminary observations.

The author of the Christian religion, and the head of the Christian church, is the Lord Jesus Christ, who being the eternal Son of God became man, by taking to himself a true body and a reasonable soul. He appeared upon the earth about the year of the world 4004, or above eighteen hundred years ago. His church, before his advent, was composed of all who professed the Jewish religion, as it is contained in the law of Moses, who believed the prophecies, and who trusted for salvation, to the promised Messiah. The church of Christ, since his resurrection, has been composed of those who receive the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only rule of faith and practice, and who trust to the merits of Christ alone for salvation. Our Saviour, when on earth, employed his time in setting his followers an example of piety, proving himself to be the true Messiah, instructing his apostles in the great truths of religion, and at last, having obeyed the law of God perfectly for the benefit of his people, he offered himself on the cross, a vicarious sacrifice for their sins. *The apostles* were twelve men whom Jesus Christ chose from among his disciples, and whom he sent forth with authority to teach mankind

the truth, and to establish his church in the world. They were qualified for this work by being instructed in the truths of the gospel, by *Christ himself personally*, by witnessing his life, miracles, death and resurrection. And by being enabled by the Holy Ghost to *perform miracles* to prove the truth of all they taught. The apostles instructed mankind in the knowledge of the gospel, by *preaching* it in all the countries of the then known world; and by composing the books of the New Testament, which they wrote by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, for the instruction of future generations; and which with the Old Testament, written long before, by holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, form a full and sufficient revelation of what man should believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man. The functions of the apostolic office were *two-fold*: The first consisted in *bearing witness to the resurrection of Christ, and leaving on record the truth in which they had been instructed*. The second, consisted in *preaching the gospel*, administering the sacraments, and governing the church. To qualify them for the discharge of the former, it was necessary for them *to have seen the Lord Jesus Christ after his resurrection*. To be endowed with *miraculous power* to confirm their testimony—and *to be inspired to write the New Testament*. It follows, therefore, that with reference to this extraordinary and special part of their work, they have had *no successors*. For none who *pretend* to be their successors, have *ever seen Christ*—none can *work miracles*—none are *inspired*. And moreover, the nature of the office shows that it was not to be perpetuated: for after the resurrection *had been proved* by the miracles of eye-witnesses, the *mere affirmation* of those who *had never seen Christ* could add nothing to its truth. And after the written word of God had been *completed in all its parts by inspired men*, it was not susceptible of addition or amendment by any one else whatever, not even by an apostle himself nor an angel from heaven.

In their office as *ministers of the Word*, which they hold in common with all the other first preachers of the gospel, they have been succeeded by those ministers, regularly appointed, who have preached salvation through the *atonement of Christ alone*, and who have administered the sacraments and governed the church according to the *written Word of God*.

Membership in the visible church necessarily requires *adhesion to Jesus Christ as the head of the church—and obedience to the law of Christ as the rule of faith and practice*. Accordingly when an individual or a community professedly belonging to the visible church, acknowledges any other *head besides Christ, and obeys any other law than that of Christ*, as the rule of faith—that individual ceases to be a member, and that community ceases to be a part of the church of Christ. Now it cannot be denied that the church of Rome adheres to the *pope as the head of that community*; and that she makes it a *matter of conscience* to believe and obey whatever has been handed down by *tradition*, and whatever has been *taught or decreed by popes and councils*. It follows, therefore, that the church of Rome is not the church of Christ, nor any part thereof; and that the members of the church of Rome, *as such*, are not members of the church of Christ. There *may be* Christians in the papal community, as we

believe there are; but they are so *in spite* of the darkness and idolatry, the superstition and blasphemy with which they are every where surrounded. But we speak of the church of Rome as a body, and papism as a system; and we maintain that the church of Rome is not a Christian church, that papism is not Christianity, and that no papist, *as such*, is a Christian. This may, to some, appear an uncharitable conclusion and hastily arrived at; but what have we to do with charity, when the interests at stake are the momentous issues of the eternal world? Will charity for fatal error prevent it from ruining the soul, or redeem the lost spirit, or shed one ray of hope upon the dark despair of hell? Would not true charity rather lead us to examine the claims of the church of Rome, upon which she pretends to exclude from the hope of salvation, all that do not bow in submission to her tyrannous domination; and judging her by the word of God, become deeply impressed with her impious and Antichristian character, and that any concessions to her as to the usefulness of her institutions, or the innocency of her practices, are fraught with imminent danger to the immortal souls of our fellow-beings?

That the conclusion above stated is not hastily drawn, must be the deliberate conviction of all who will consider, that the church of Christ and the church of Rome have different heads—different rules of faith—different objects of worship—different modes of worship—different means of grace—different views of sin, and of religious and moral duty—that they teach doctrines concerning the future state, utterly at variance—that the functions of the Romish priesthood are entirely different from those of the Christian ministry—and that the spirit of papism is not the spirit of the glorious gospel of the blessed God. It is our purpose, with the help of God, to illustrate these points of difference, in as many articles as may be necessary, and thus to furnish the proof that the church of Rome is not the church of the Lord Jesus Christ, nor any part thereof. J. P. C.

[For the Spirit of the xix. Century.]

ESSAYS ON THE CONSCIENCE, TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
OF J. LA PLACETTE, PASTOR AT COPENHAGEN.

No. III.—*Three definitions; and some operations of the Conscience.*

AFTER what has been said in the preceding essays, it will not be difficult to define the conscience. All depends upon understanding in which of the three senses already explained, this word is used.

If we understand it in the first sense, the conscience is that natural faculty by which we judge of our actions, and of their consequences, with reference to our duty, and to the salvation which depends upon it.

If in the second sense, the conscience will be that assemblage of practical sentiments, true or false, infused, acquired or natural, which determines us in the judgments which we pronounce on our actions, and on their consequences.

Finally, if we take this word in the third sense, the conscience will be a judgment, true or false, by which we pronounce, in ourselves, on three orders of questions. 1st, On those of fact; saying whether we have done, or omitted some action. 2d, On those of

duty, saying of an action done, or to be done, that it is good, bad, or indifferent. 3d, On those which regard the consequences of our actions, saying that they are such as to gain the love, or the hatred of God; and the effects of that love, or that hatred, whether in time, or in eternity.

I am greatly deceived, if these three definitions do not sufficiently explain the conscience. It will be well, nevertheless, to subjoin a few reflections.

When I say, first, that the conscience is that natural faculty, by which we judge of our actions, I must not be understood as entering into those controversies of philosophers, in which some maintain that the judgment is an act of the understanding; and others, that it is a function of the will. Whichever of these two powers it is that judges, that I call the conscience.

It is necessary to add, that the conscience is not that faculty considered absolutely and in itself, or as the principle of all the acts which it produces. It is only that faculty considered as judging of our actions and of their consequences.

I say *our actions*, and I do not use this word in the restricted sense which is given to it, when there is a distinction made between actions of words and actions of thoughts; but I use it in the most general and comprehensive sense, embracing all that we think, say, and do.

I have said that we judge of these actions with reference to our duty, and to the salvation which depends upon it; because we can pass other judgments upon those actions which will not be acts of the conscience. They are frequently to be considered with reference to physics, medicine, jurisprudence, &c. But such considerations have nothing common with the conscience, at least in the sense in which we understand the word.

Finally, I say that the conscience judges, as much of our actions, as of their consequences, because these are really the two objects of the conscience. The greater number of theologians consider the conscience merely with reference to our actions. But it is certain that it considers, also, what may result to us, as the consequences of our actions; and nothing is more common than to speak in this sense; on the one hand, of the fears and alarms of the conscience; and on the other, of its tranquillity and peace.

On the second definition, it is necessary to remark, that in the judgments which we form of our actions, or of our state, we are not always conducted by certain knowledge. We very frequently follow errors and prejudices. A papist, for example, is no less determined to adore the host, according to the error of transubstantiation with which he is imbued, than to worship God in the certain persuasion of the necessity of that duty. In both cases he follows the dictates of his conscience; but with this difference, that in the first he is guided by a perverted conscience, and in the other by a conscience correct and properly instructed. For this reason I have said that the conscience, in the second sense, is that assemblage of sentiments or opinions, true or false, which determines us in the judgment which we pronounce upon our actions.

I have added, that these sentiments may be infused, acquired, or natural. By infused sentiments, I understand those which are given us in the exercise of faith, for according to the word of God, faith is

an effect of grace and a production of the Holy Spirit. By acquired sentiments, I understand those which are the fruit of human effort; for example, those which are produced by reading and meditation. By natural sentiments, I mean those which are common to all men, and by which, as saith the apostle, the gentiles do the things contained in the law, showing the work of the law written on their hearts.

On the third definition it will be well, in the first place, to remark, that when I say the conscience is a judgment, I do not understand this last word in the sense which it has in our ordinary language, in which it designates the function of a judge, who pronounces on a contested question. I admit that we are accustomed to say that the conscience is a judge, and likewise a witness, and an accuser. But apart from the fact that these expressions are metaphorical, and consequently not proper to enter into definitions in which clearness and precision are necessary, if we understand the term judgment in this sense, we can apply it to but a part of the acts of the conscience, whereas we wish to comprehend all. I therefore use this word in the sense of the schools, in which it designates an affirmation or a negation.

I say that this judgment is true or false, because there is really a two-fold conscience; 1st, an enlightened conscience; 2d, an erring conscience; the one determines according to truth, and the other judges erroneously, declaring to be good that which is evil; and evil, that which is good.

This judgment pronounced by the conscience, I have said is internal, and that we pronounce it in ourselves; not that I believe it loses its nature when it is expressed externally; but merely because I wish it to be understood that its essence consists in its being pronounced in ourselves, and that whatelse soever, pertains to it, is accidental.

What I have said respecting the conscience pronouncing upon three orders of questions, results from the fact, as already stated, that it has two objects, viz.: our actions, and their consequences resulting to us hereafter. Our actions are of two kinds; actions performed, and actions to be performed. It is with respect to the former that we call the conscience an accuser, a witness, a judge, and an executioner. Referring to the latter, we regard the conscience as an internal light, a solemn law in our hearts, an impression of the hand of God, which teaches us what we ought to do, and what we ought to avoid.

Concerning past actions, the conscience takes cognizance, both of the act performed, and of its moral quality. First, it decides whether we have performed such action or not; and secondly, it declares the action thus performed, good, bad, or indifferent. With reference to actions to be performed, it pronounces upon their moral quality alone.

The preceding observations not only define the nature of the conscience in general, but also, that of its more important operations, since we have spoken of the conscience, first, with reference to its *rectitude*, and its *liability to err*; and secondly, with respect to its operation *antecedent*, which has for its object, actions to be performed; and to its operation *subsequent*, which refers to our past actions.

There is a third distinction, made by the nature of the motives operating on the mind, which produce the acts of the conscience. There are times when the mind has a clear apprehension of the truth, and then the conscience is duly affected by its influence. There are others, when we are obliged to depend upon probability and conjecture.

Again, there are other occasions, when the reasons for and against a given proposition, so exactly balance each other, as to render a decision impossible. And finally, there are cases in which, although we decide, and for doing so have good reasons, yet there exists some fear of being deceived, suggested by minor considerations magnified beyond their just importance. Thus we have four different affections of the conscience, corresponding respectively, to the particular nature of the motives which operate upon it: 1st, certainty and satisfaction; 2d, probability; 3d, a condition of doubt and hesitation; 4th, that of being unduly scrupulous.

There are some persons who dread what they regard even as the shadow, or the appearance of evil: the consciences of such, are what are denominated *delicate and tender*. There are others who are naturally disposed to think all they do is wrong; the consciences of these are characterised by *weakness and timidity*. Others, on the contrary, condemn themselves for nothing, and to whom the greatest excesses of crime, occasion not the least remorse; St. Paul says of such, that their consciences are *seared*. When, for sufficient reasons, we approve our actions, we are said to have a *good conscience*; and when, upon just grounds, we condemn our conduct, our conscience is said to be *bad*.

There are several questions relative to the greater part of these conditions and operations of the conscience, the consideration of which must be reserved until after we have examined the laws which it ought to obey; a subject of the highest importance to all.

SHORT NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

The Third Volume of D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation.—Pond's *Morning of the Reformation.*—Rockwell's *Travels.*—Collins's *Miscellanies.*—*Sermons by Dr. Whittingham, &c. &c.*—*The Marriage Question, by Mr. Cooke, &c.*

1. *The Third Volume of Merle D'Aubigne's "History of the Reformation,"* published by Mr. Carter of New York, has been some time before the American public, and has been received with the utmost favor by all classes of Christian readers. It is larger than the preceding volumes; containing over 500 pages, 12mo, and embraces four books, the ix-xii. of the History. The ix. and x. books present a continued narrative of the progress of the Reformation in Germany; the xi. book resumes the history of it in Switzerland; the xii. contains a most clear and admirable, as well as original account of the movement in France from 1500, to 1526, and is the most striking and valuable part of the present volume. We are happy to learn that an enterprising publisher in Philadelphia is already issuing the three volumes of this remarkable work which have already appeared, in numbers, and will furnish the whole for about *seventy cents!* This has induced Mr. Carter to publish an edition of his three volumes at the remarkably low rate of *one dollar* for the three volumes! Between the two, it is to be hoped that this noble performance will obtain an immense circulation. Independently of its value as a History of the Reformation, there are two considerations which lead us to rejoice in all the proofs of the success of this history. The first is, that the book is so timely and so powerful a rebuke to popery, both the popery of Rome and Oxford; and the second is, that it cannot fail to awaken in the minds of American Christians, a profound interest in the *French* (or *Genevese*) church and literature, and thus tend to emancipate their minds more and more from the British impress which for so long a period, and to so great an extent, has been stamped upon them.

2. *Morning of the Reformation, by Enoch Pond, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor.* American Sunday School Union, pp 324, 18mo.

This is a very discreditable performance, in our opinion. Both to the individual who calls himself its author, and to the Committee of the Sunday School Union who adopted and published it. It is little else than a bad abridgment of the earlier portion of *Merle D'Aubigne's* great work. It must have required uncommon voracity of appetite for authorship to induce a man to meddle in this manner with a book like that of *M. Merle*, in the very flood-tide of its first success: and it is scarcely conceivable how one could venture to put his own name upon fragments, which even after he had mutilated them and changed their name, had enough of the fragrance of *Geneva* to let every body see that nothing but the butchery belonged to *Bangor*.

3. *Sketches of Foreign Travel, &c.*, by Rev'd Charles Rockwell, &c. Tappan and Dennet, Boston, &c. 1842, 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 404 and 437. We have run our eyes over these volumes, which include notices of a cruise on board one of our men of war, and notices of the countries along the shores of the Mediterranean, and other parts of the world, both old and new, visited by Rockwell while acting as chaplain in the U. S. navy. The 29th and 30th chapters of the work, being the concluding chapters, are called "*A Treatise on the Navy of the U. S.*," but are a very poor fulfilment of such a promise, and out of place besides. The volumes are handsomely got up, and like most Boston books, well printed. They also contain a good deal of minute information on a variety of subjects, and are, to a degree, readable. The xxiv.—xxvii. chapters, and part of the xxviii., are devoted to *Western Africa*, and form the most interesting and valuable portion of the work, as we think. The original poetry which is scattered through the work, and of which two portions occur in the chapters now especially commended, is no doubt, extremely well meant.

4. *Miscellanies*. By Stephen Collins, M. D. Philadelphia: Cary and Hart, 1842, pp. 312, 8vo. Here are twenty-eight Essays, Speeches, &c., the most of which having, as we suppose, been heretofore published in a less permanent form, are collected into a very neat volume. There are many good things in this volume; none really bad; some capital. If the first article, "*Charles Dickens*," had not been printed in 1842, we incline to think it would not be in 1843. Poor "*Charles Dickens*;" the man who "*went up like a rocket, and came down like the stick*."

5. *The Priesthood in the Church, &c.* By William Rollinson Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland, Baltimore, 1842, pp. 31.—*The Protestant Episcopal Pastor, &c.* By Henry V. D. Johns. Baltimore, 1842, pp. 28.—*A Valedictory Discourse; by the Rev'd J. Johns, D. D., &c.* Baltimore, 1842, pp. 24. The Protestant Episcopal church, as it was once called,—"*the church*" as the phrase now goes, is in trouble, both in England and America. If we are to believe Archbishop Whately, its whole organization is little if any thing more than a human invention, and the high and exclusive claims of the bulk of its prelates and people, utterly unfounded, unscriptural and ridiculous. If we may credit Bishop McIlvaine, the doctrine taught by many of its pastors, and professed by most of its people, is essentially anti-Christian and papal, in some of the fundamental parts of grace and salvation. That poor, blinded heretics like us, should therefore hesitate to credit the "*Bishop of Maryland*," when he puts forth claims thus contemptuously repudiated by an Archbishop, and doctrines thus solemnly denounced by a "*Bishop of the church*;" that we should not under these circumstances confidently allow him the power of remitting our sins by what he calls "*ministerial intervention*," or indeed in any way whatever; that we should demur a little to his claims that his sect is essentially "*the church*" of God; and that we should pause before we confess the nullity of our ordination, acts and hopes, in deference to men, to doctrines, and to claims, thus characterised by learned archbishops and godly bishops, will not, we trust, be considered altogether unreasonable. It is surely a great thing that the Protestant Episcopal church in Maryland, should have in its bosom a man not only able to forgive the sins of the people, but competent to qualify others to do the like. As for us, we have no such man. It is also a great thing, to be a member, a minister, a prelate, in the only true church; and we only wonder that those who think this their happy lot, do not strive a little more earnestly to exhibit the gospel of God in their lives, and spread its influence by their works. But it is very perplexing to us poor outer-court gentiles, to see such divisions and bitter dissensions amongst men invested with such heavenly privileges. Why how can we tell what to believe, when in the very same house,

yea on the self-same day, these exclusive messengers of God deliver commands from above, which are not only inconsistent but precisely opposite? In the morning Dr. Whittingham tells us his powers are so and so, and the teachings of "the church" so and so; in the evening Mr. Johns tells us that Dr. Whittingham has no warrant either from God or "*the church*," to deliver such a message! This is very odd. And what is more singular is, that the bishop should set about proving his doctrines and sustaining his powers by the testimony of us poor heretics; and should actually quote the Synod of Dort, and the Westminster Assembly to sustain himself against his own ecclesiastical inferior! As to the mysteries of churchism, we confess ourself ready to sit at the feet of the "Bishop of Maryland," and learn, requiring only that he will so speak as to be intelligible, which we do not find to be the case always in the pamphlet before us; but as for the standards of our own church we profess to have studied them carefully, and we readily concede to the worthy prelate that there is just about the same amount of testimony in them to favor transubstantiation, and the inherent efficacy of the sacraments, as there is in the Bible to favor his "ministerial intervention that sins may be forgiven." We have never been disposed to interfere in the troubles of the Episcopal church; for we considered it a very small matter what a few misguided persons should say or do, in times like these; and while we have sympathized with the pious portion of that denomination, in its struggles with the absurd and inflated pretensions of the high church and Puseyite parties, we have seen so clearly that the part which this whole section of the professing people of God must always act on this continent, is so essentially feeble and ineffective, that we saw no danger from its evil, and little hope from its good. The present brief notice would never have been extracted from us, but for the extraordinary attempt of Dr. Whittingham to palm his semi-popery on our formularies; and we greatly doubt whether that gentleman would ever have been invested with his high "ministerial intervention that sins may be forgiven" in Maryland, if "*The Priesthood in the Church*" had been published a few years sooner.

6. *The Marriage Question, &c. New England Puritan Extra. Boston, pp. 32, Royal, 8vo.* This pamphlet contains seven chapters, written by Rev'd Parsons Cooke of Boston; to which are added an article understood to be from the pen of Rev'd Dr. Robinson of New York, and "Remarks of Dr. Benedict," formerly, it is said, "a distinguished minister in Connecticut." The object of the pamphlet is to attack the decision of the late General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the case of Mr. McQueen, and to prove that men are allowed by the law of God to marry the sisters of their deceased wives. The pamphlet has been very extensively circulated throughout the United States, and appears to be part of a well arranged scheme to agitate the country and especially the Presbyterian church on the subject of incestuous marriages, for the purpose of obtaining an alteration in its doctrinal standards in relation to this subject. There is, it appears to us, nothing in this pamphlet that is even plausible; and the more we read and reflect on the subject, the more are we amazed that any man, being either a scholar or a Christian, should have any serious doubts upon the subject. The word of God is so plain in regard to it; the sentiment of his church in all past ages has been so decisive; the consent of learned, wise, and pious men has been so general; the grounds on which the allowance of such marriages is contended for are so vague, contradictory, and often times absurd; the consequences which flow from the methods of interpretation and the principles which allow such marriages are so extraordinary and intolerable; and the results which follow may be so calamitous, that it does seem to us, the matter is one of the plainest ever disputed among men. And we venture to predict that the time is not far distant, when all evangelical churches will return to the simple and ancient doctrine in regard to this, now fiercely contested subject. In the mean time, the Presbyterian church is called to act a difficult, but a most important, and we think a very plain part in this affair. Let her adhere rigidly to her doctrine and enforce her discipline with unwavering firmness against all *future* offenders; treating the past, as past. She has connived at breaches, and her people have been seduced into error by her unfaithfulness; let by-gones be by-gones as far as possible. But now there is no excuse of this kind, and therefore there should be no connivance. Very soon the practice of the church will be uniform and accordant with her doctrine; and then other churches will also, in all likelihood, begin to see and to act in like manner; and the wholesome reform will gradually extend to the whole public. But if we now flinch, the re-

sult must be in every respect, and to an alarming extent, calamitous. And in this view, is it not highly important that the Presbyteries should be guarded in their appointment of commissioners to the next Assembly, lest the church be taken by surprise and confusion and strife follow? We speak as unto wise men.

BUSINESS NOTICES, &C. &C.

New Subscribers. Rev. A. Hagaman, Jackson, La., from June 1842, and back Nos. sent.—Rev. Silas Pratt, East Graveland, N. Y., from October '42, and \$2 paid.—Theological Seminary, Oxford, Ohio, by order of Mr. D. Christy from Jan'y '43—Gen'l Edward Howard, Clarksville, Tenn., name added from Oct. '42, back Nos. sent, \$3 paid through Rev. A. Vancourt.

Payments. John B. Breckinridge, Esq., by the hands of Rev. Mr. K. \$7.50, of \$5 for himself for '42 and '43, and \$2.50 for Rev. John Hendren for '43.—John N. Bell, Esq., Winchester, Va., \$7.50, for himself and for Rev. Wm. M. Atkinson for '43, and Rev. Robert S. Bell for '42, (the last to stop) Oct'r No. sent as requested; the two discontinuances noted.—John Kemp, Esq'r of New Orleans \$10, for self for '42 and '3, and for Mrs. A. Kemp and Mr. J. Kemp of N. Y. for '42; the discontinuances noted.—Rev. Moses Raymond of Va. \$5, for himself and Maj John Mitchell, Old Town, Md. for 1843.—At the request of R. Ashburt, Esq. Phila: we state his subscription began with 1838, which to the end of 1843, is six years, \$15, and he has paid, Jan'y '38, to Mr. Whetham \$2.50, in 1839 Mr. Martien \$2.50, May 1, '41, to same, \$5, Dec. '42, to D. Owen \$5, total \$15, in full to the end of this year.—Rev'd J. Williamson, Milton, Pa., credited with \$10, and referred to the private letter of Mr. Owen, with thanks for his own favor of Dec. 21.—Mr. T. C. Peck, Columbia, S. C. \$3, which overpays for this year 50 cts.—Hon'ble N. Ewing, Uniontown, Pa., \$10, for himself and J. B. Howell, Esq., for the years '42 and '3.—James Lenox, Esq., city of N. Y., \$2.62½, which pays for this year and 62 1-2 cts. over.—Col. J. H. Lumpkin, Lexington, Ga. \$5, for 1842 and '3.

Changes, Corrections, Answers to Letters, &c. &c. It was a mistake of our friend D. Owen, that the Rev'd Drury Lacy of N. C. wished to discontinue.—The July No. of '42, sent to Rev'd B. M. S. of Va.—Mr. A. Fischer of Ellicott's Mills, will get most of the Nos. he wants, if he will call on us personally.—Rev'd H. A. Monroe changed to Elizabethtown, Bladen Co., N. C.—Rev'd S. V. Marshall's direction changed to Grand Gulph, and that of Rev'd J. R. Hutchinson to Oakland College, Miss., at the suggestion of the P. M., last named place.

Discontinuances. Rev. Dr. J. S. Wilson, Cincinnati, Ohio, will send on the arrears (\$4.50) in the spring, we sincerely pray for the blessing of God upon him under the infirmities of advancing age.—Mr. John Ralston, Chester Co. Pa.; the receipt given by Mr. Cross, at Carlisle was erroneous in its date, as the publication in Dec. '41 shows, and Mr. R. still owes us \$2.50, for '42; this is a reply to his note of Nov. 30, on which he forgot to pay the postage.—Mrs. J. M. Dickey, Oxford, Pa. by order of Rev. A. B. Cross; we do not find any account with her on our books.—P. M., Brownsburg, Va for Mr. T. H. Walker \$3 and discontinued; but this is not in full as he supposes; he has had the work *four years*, 1839-'42, and has paid with the present sum only \$8, leaving him \$2 in arrears, even if we charge him only the *advance* payment price.—Rev. Geo. Adie, Leesburg, Va. \$6 and stopped; it is not our habit to publish discontinuances when all arrears are paid up, and we do it in this instance to express our surprise that a person who has been for six years a reader of our publications, should have taken such mortal offence at a brief note on p. 509 of last year's volume, as to say he considers it "a degradation to any friend of the Episcopal church to receive or read a paper that could admit to its pages such sentiments;" to which we have only to reply, *first*, we thank God we are not in terror of *Smithfield*, and *secondly*, let Mr. Adie read the anecdote of Franklin and the saw-dust pudding.—P. M., White Haven, Cumberland Co., Pa. for Rev. Dr. C. P. Cummins, discontinue, will pay arrears (\$7.50, and not \$6, as stated) soon.—Mr. John Adger, Albion P. O., S. C., has returned several Nos. (subjecting us to postage,) we cannot say how his account stands, as published once before, because it appears to have become confused with that of another gentleman of the same surname; but as far as we can understand the matter, he seems to have paid nothing for at least two years, if ever.—H. O. Ames, city of N. O., *refused*, owes us \$5.—Mr. S. D. Schoolfield, Brownsville, N. C., stopped, owes us \$1.—An individual named John Elder, living in Indiana Co. Pa. commenced taking our Magazine in Jan. '38; in May '39 he paid \$3, and in Jan. '43, he directs the P. M. to say to us he never intended to subscribe for more than a *single* year; but he and the P. M. at Blacklegs P. O. between them, let the work run on for four additional years, for which by our terms (see cover) they owe us—one or both of them—both in law and conscience, \$12.—Jeremiah Gray, Easton, Pa. stopped; owes us \$3 for 1842.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

MARCH, 1843.

No. 3.

CONTROVERSY WITH THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAINS OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.—NO. VI. OF THE PROTESTANTS.—“DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES” OF THE CHURCH OF ROME IN REGARD TO 1ST, TRADITION; 2D, THE VULGATE; 3D, SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.

OUR priests are hard to satisfy. At first they carefully put forth a refusal to hold controversy; afterwards they complain that our articles are not argumentative. Why need they be, when the avowed state of the case is, objection on one side, and explanation on the other? At first they set out only to explain “*the doctrines and practices*” of the Church of Rome; afterwards they set to work to abuse and misrepresent Christians and their doctrines. We fully explained ourselves from the first; we adhere to our method. Our only object is to let the people know what popery is; and we are as much aided in this, by all true statements and explanations of the priests, as by our own direct work. Their affectation of superior moderation and good manners—their studied use of the term “*Anti-Catholic*,” when they mean *Protestant*—their threat of flying the track unless we are very civil,—and all that,—is ridiculous enough. But even this is an explanation “*of the doctrines and practices*” of the church of Rome.

We devoted one article, our last, to the subject of the *Apocrypha*; not that we considered the explanation of the priests in their No. I. deserving of special notice; but on account of the importance of the subject, and the apprehension that it might not be generally understood. We shall pay our respects in this No. to three articles of the Archbishop's gentlemen; the subjects are stated at the head of our paper. The gentlemen boast of the execution they are doing. The game they kill must be very small; for their metal is of the lightest sort.

I. No. II. of the priests, answers the 2d objection of the first head of our first No. on the subject of *Tradition*. The Council of Trent decreed in its IV. Session, that *unwritten traditions which were received by the apostles from Christ, or from the Holy Ghost, and which have been handed down to us, by a constant succession in the church Catholic—whether they relate to faith or morals, are to be equally received and revered, as the books of the Old and New Testaments*. To support this doctrine, the priests argue, I. That this was the doctrine of the apostles themselves, and quote 2 *Thess.* ii. 15; 2 *Tim.* i. 13, and 1 *Cor.* xi. (34.) II. From the fact that the Scripture is silent in regard to many things—such as the *mode of baptism*, the *obligation to keep the Sabbath holy*, &c. III. From the antiquity of the doctrine,

the consent of the fathers, the admissions of Protestants, &c. We refer the reader to their No. II.

Now we say, by way of *objection*, and ask for *explanation* hereto, as followeth:

1. That admitting the word of God to be obligatory upon us, *even when unwritten*,—we demand proof not only in every particular case that this pretended *unwritten word* in fact came from God; but we demand proof that God ever intimated his intention, to have his people thus permanently bound by *tradition*; and that the men who assert this, and offer the tradition, are his ministers.

2. We deny that there is, or ever was, any *Catholic tradition* that tradition itself is of equal validity with the written word; and defy any man to bring clear proof of such a tradition before the Council of Trent.

3. We deny that the church of Rome, in particular, ever had *unwritten tradition* of any sort committed to her to keep, and oblige the consciences of God's people withal; but we assert that she is herself the synagogue of Satan; and that multitudes of her *doctrines, practices and traditions*, are expressly contrary to the written word of God; as for example, all those charged on her in our first No.

4. We assert that the church of Rome, if she ever had any *unwritten traditions* committed to her, has proved herself so faithless a depository of whatever else was committed to her, that no sane man can rely on her testimony. For example, by her own admission, she has allowed several books of holy Scripture to be entirely lost; and by the declaration of the priests in this present correspondence—she has permitted the Hebrew and Greek originals of *all* the inspired books—to be so corrupted, that a Latin translation is better than the originals!

5. We assert that even specific traditions which the priests say were committed to her keeping, are lost; for example, in *2 Thess. ii. 15*, quoted by themselves. Paul says (verse 5) he had told the people what withheld "*the son of perdition*," and that they knew the cause perfectly well. Now we demand of the priests, this *unwritten word!*—What did Paul tell them? What is the *proof* he told them so? Where is the evidence of any *Catholic tradition*, of what he told them?

6. We object, again, that this very pretext of *tradition*, was the source of infinite corruption to the Jewish church, and was expressly condemned by Christ, (Mark vii. 9, &c.;) but that church was a purer one than that of Rome, its traditions were more innocent than hers, and its authority in spiritual things more evident. Therefore so much the worse for Rome.

7. We object, the enormous danger from such a doctrine; which allows the church of Rome to manufacture as much scripture as she wants—just when she wants it. For if the pope, *ex cathedra* asserts a doctrine, it is of faith, he is infallible.

8. We object, that the Scripture is positive in asserting its own sufficiency, yea, perfection, (*2 Tim. iii. 17. 1 Peter i. 23. James i. 18. John xx. 31, &c.;*) and that this assertion is confirmed by the sweet experience of every child of God, according to Christ's promise, (*John vii. 17.*)

9. We object, finally, that if all possible traditions could be established, yea, could be proved to run back to the very disciples of the apostles, or to the apostles themselves; not one of them could be allowed, even to add to, much less to take from, or to pervert, or corrupt the *written word* of God. A human record, cannot be explained even, much less controlled, enlarged, or abridged, by *oral testimony*, even of the best witnesses. Least of all, can a *divine record* be made a nose of wax, by interested, unscrupulous, ignorant, polluted *human witnesses*.

Away with your traditions. They are all false. And if they were all true—what need has the sun of righteousness of your farthing candles?

II. The third article of the priests is devoted to the 3d objection of the 1st head of our No. I., and professes to vindicate the church of Rome from the impiety of making the *Latin vulgate version* of the Scriptures instead of the *Hebrew and Greek originals*, AUTHENTIC. The Council of Trent in its IV. Session, (see *Labb. and Coss. vol. xiv. p. 747.*) expressly declares that *this old and vulgar Latin edition*, as the decree calls it, shall in all public readings, disputations, preachings and expositions, be esteemed AUTHENTIC. We asserted this, in our first article, and gave the reference; but the priests in the beginning of their 3d No. say—“*This is asserted, but unfortunately not proved.*” What do they mean? Do they deny the decision of the Council of Trent? Or do they reject the *JESUITS Labbiius and Cossart* as witnesses? Or have they an *expurgated* edition of the councils, as well as of Bellarmine? Or do they consider, with the holy Council of Constance, that no faith is to be kept with heretics? Or do they only write at random?

We refer the reader to the article of the priests, and content ourselves with the following observations, on this subject, and on the monstrous conduct of Rome in regard to it.

1. God caused his holy word to be written in certain languages, of which *Latin was not one*; the church of Rome has set aside the originals, and decreed a certain Latin translation to be AUTHENTIC, and of exclusive public use. Now herein she has most obviously been guilty of daring impiety to God, and audacious tyranny to the souls of men; and moreover, has asserted as true, that which is utterly false; for nothing is more absolutely certain, than that the *Latin vulgate* is not the AUTHENTIC Bible, the divinely inspired word—but a mere human translation.

2. This vulgate Papal Bible might be the best *translation* that was ever made, (which it is not,) and might be universally admitted to be—and yet the impiety, falsehood and tyranny of the church of Rome, be not a whit lessened; for the question is not which *translation* is the best; but it is, what is the *original, authentic, inspired* word of God? This is the question which the priests must meet; and all their tricks, and shifts, and false charges against Protestant *versions*, which nobody ever pretended to be the *inspired or authentic originals*, have nothing to do with the point in debate.

3. The fact, however, is that the vulgate instead of being inspired and infallible as *Morinus, Saurez*, and other papists contend, or *authentic*, as the church asserts, was originally only, as to the Old

Testament, a translation of a translation, being at first made from the Septuagint version and not from the original Hebrew;—which many distinguished papists during many ages believed to be an accursed tongue, invented by the Devil, and which made every man a heretic who read it.

4. To pretend that the vulgate version is better than the originals themselves, because these originals are corrupted, is, if the fact were true, the most fearful condemnation that could be brought against Rome. For who corrupted these originals? Who had the custody of them? When were they corrupted? The priests boast of the use of their version since Jerome, say since the beginning of the fifth century; and they say, the originals were so corrupt, the version is to be preferred. Then within three or four centuries after Christ, on their own showing, they had allowed the oracles of God committed to their church, to become so corrupt that the originals were no longer to be relied on! How then can we be sure she has kept the copy pure?

5. But all these pretences are false. (1.) It is utterly false that the originals ever became corrupt; the Jewish Scriptures remain as they were when they were first written; and the Christian Scriptures have been preserved pure and unaltered. We defy all the impious and atheistic malice of Rome, to prove corruption on the sacred text; and challenge them to undertake the task.—(2.) We defy them to reconcile the vulgate even *with itself*, much less with God's inspired word. For example, the *Sixtine*, with the Clementine edition. Both of these editions were issued by an infallible pope of Rome: both were pronounced *authentic* and set forth as *exclusively* correct, and that under the solemnities of a papal curse; and yet the differences between the two are counted by hundreds, yea, by thousands! *Isidore Clarius*, in the preface to his edition of the vulgate, says he corrected *eight thousand* of the most *material* errors he found in other editions. And that *Thomas Horne*, so confidently quoted by our priests to uphold their vulgate, gives (vol. ii. p. 200) a list of important passages contained in the *authentic* Bible of the infallible Pope *Sixtus*, which are omitted in the equally *authentic* Bible of the equally infallible Pope *Clement*; and a still longer list of passages inserted by the latter, which the former had rejected! So that, read as he may, the papist is sure of being wrong, and of being cursed by a pope!

6. We crave information, as to what was the *authentic* Bible of the church of Rome, before the decree of the Council of Trent? Was it still Jerome's translation? If so, we crave the proof of this fact? If not, we desire to know if Rome claims the right not only to make *unwritten* revelation—but to make that *authentic written* revelation, which was not *authentic* before? We also desire to know what was the *authentic Bible* of the church of Rome before Jerome, on whom the priests father their Bible, made his translation;—and whether Rome claims authority to change her *authentic Bible*—if she had one before Jerome's? And when the priests come to tell us about the *unanimous* consent of the fathers being the rule of judgment, we should like to hear a solution of *St. Augustine's* (the greatest of them) violent condemnation of Jerome's Bible.

When these objections to "*the doctrines and practices*" of Rome against God's holy word, are explained—we may, possibly, have more to advance.

III. Our 1st objection against Rome, in the 1st head of our 1st No., regarded her corruption of the *canon* of Scripture by adding the *Apocrypha*; our 2d, her corrupting the whole body of it, by her "doctrine and practice" of *tradition*; our 3d, her dishonoring and dethroning all Scripture by making a mere human translation authentic; our 4th, which we now come to fortify, her corruption of the *sense of Scripture*, by interposing the opinions of the fathers so-called, and the authority of the church, between the human conscience and God's word—and forcing and swearing her people to understand and believe God himself, only in that sense, which the *fathers and the church* shall direct.

The 4th article of the priests, pretends to reply to this 4th charge of our 1st head. But there is not even an attempt to defend the horrid doctrine of their church about the *authority of the fathers*. And in their last article, No. V., they pass on to our 5th objection—without even pretending to notice the fathers. Do the priests give up the fathers, as incapable of defence? Do they give up the holy Trent Council, as having decided falsely as to their authority? If not, we gently pull their reverend lawn, to remind them that we have proved out of their *Trent Council*, by their own *Labbius and Cossart*, and by their own creed—that the Scripture is to be understood *in that sense and no other*, which is "*according to the unanimous consent of the fathers*;" which doctrine, we humbly beg, may be "*explained*" from the Bible; or if the gentlemen prefer it, from some other *equally good authority*.

This No. IV. of our priests, merely attempts to vindicate the authority of *the church* to oblige the whole world to receive the Scriptures in that sense in which she receives them, and in no other. A windy, wordy, empty thing; to which our only reply is, a respectful request to be told, whether "*Hornius, himself a Protestant*"—from whom they profess to quote nearly a column of folly—is the same "*celebrated historian*," of whom the *Priest Moreri* says, that he was crazy, and ran naked about the streets saying "*I am Adam*!"

Let us add—that if the priests will condescend to make an argument—or something having the shape of one—to prove that the power claimed by their church is really vested in it by God; we will set about a reply to it. Meantime, we proceed to suggest against such pretended authority:

1. If Rome has, from God, an authority to expound his word, which men may not resist or gainsay—without offending God; then it is most obvious, Rome becomes the absolute mistress of the world, and the pope is invested with all the power of a God. But as Rome has proved herself cruel, bloody, false and corrupt, this fearful authority ought to be very clearly proved, before men submit to it.

2. From the nature of the case, such a delegation of power *from God* can only be proved *by God*; for no man can give any sufficient proof *of himself*, that God has in fact given him a power of this sort. We must have the *interposition* of God directly, or we must have the testimony of his word already established by a divine interposition.

Either work us a miracle, or show us a *thus saith God*; and then we will believe.

3. But in deciding upon the proof—whether it be propounded in the form of argument, of evidence, of miracle, or of revelation—we must, every one for himself, *judge of its sufficiency*, and submit only when it is sufficient. For the church to prove its power *by Scripture*, is to allow us to judge of *the sense* of Scripture; and so subvert the very pretence that she alone can expound that sense. For her to say the sense of it is so and so, and thereby prove her authority to expound, by violently using the very power to be proved;—this is force and fraud, not sense and reason. But if we can judge of such scriptures as prove the power of Rome, we can judge also of the sense of of all Scripture; for these are not any plainer, but are much darker than most.

4. In point of fact the Scriptures are plain enough, in all essential points and parts; and they who take them for their guide differ amongst themselves incomparably less, than the factions in the bosom of the Roman church differ from each other. And those differences which do exist, produce a thousand fold less difficulty than such as exist in the church of Rome. For example: the Jesuit *Maimbourg* declares, in the beginning of his *History of the Great Schism of the West*, that there had been *twenty-nine schisms* in the bosom of the papal church, upon the naked question—*who is pope?* And we know that bloody wars, some of them desolating half of Europe, were the consequence of many of these twenty-nine schisms.

5. If the Scriptures need to be explained, God has appointed a true and evangelical ministry, and simple and apostolical ordinances, for the aid of his people, in this respect; and the *Great Expositor*, viz.: the *Holy Spirit*, is promised to all who seek his aid. There is an immeasurable difference between saying to men, *we beseech you for Christ's sake, be ye reconciled to God*, and saying, **BELIEVE THE CHURCH, OR EXPECT THE RACK, THE DUNGEON, AND THE STAKE.** The former is the voice of the true messenger; the latter that of the Roman church.

6. But even if the Scripture is hard to understand—so also are expositions of it. It is fully as easy to comprehend God, as the Pope. Indeed such portions of Scripture as are the most important are most clear; so that even the way-faring man, though he were a fool, need not err therein; and such is their own testimony. Whereas the expositions of Rome, and the fathers, are often absurd, contradictory, captious, and even incomprehensible. How is it possible for us to understand the expositor, except by the same method that we understood God? And why do not the popes, councils, and doctors, who declare the sense of God, need another expositor as much as God needs them?

7. Even, however, supposing a living and authoritative expositor necessary, we assert that the Roman church has not one particle of claim to such a power. We crave a clear exposition of what the priests mean by *the church*? *Who is to give this obligatory sense?* Is it the pope? Or a general council? Or both? Or either? Or all the prelates? Or the priests? Or who? Where are we to look for **this divine sense-keeper of God's word and people?**

8. Again—this church of Rome has most generally erred when she has undertaken this task of setting forth the sense of Scripture; and has often erred most capitally. Her popes have contradicted each other; so have her councils, and her doctors; and the bulk of their "*doctrine and practices*" is contrary to the word of God. See their creed, in our first number, and the heresies deduced from it. Of all churches, not one has proved herself a more unfit guide in morals, or a more unsound teacher of faith, than this papal apostacy.

9. It is chiefly for this pretension of Rome, to be supreme and infallible both over conscience and over Scripture, that we allow her to be the very Anti-Christ. (2 Thess. ii. 4.) Far above all magistrates, who though they be called gods, are far below infallibility; yea, far above God himself, giving law to the Scriptures, to conscience, and to the Spirit of God within us; beyond expression presumptuous and audacious—even daring to impose her judgment upon the solemn and final decrees of our only law-giver and judge, Christ the Lord—and to re-judge the Holy Ghost himself!

10. The sufficiency of the Scripture as a rule of faith and morals, involves of necessity, the divine right of private judgment in matters of religion. This latter doctrine lies at the very foundation of all morality, all accountability, all virtue, all real knowledge. We must examine, reason, judge, decide, act, for ourselves. "*Every one of us shall account for himself to God,*" at whose bar we are all to stand; and so Paul wrote to Rome before she fell, (Rom. xiv. 12.) As no man can be saved or damned in our stead, nor we in his, so neither can we shift upon him the responsibility of living and dying aright. The contrary doctrine is the parent of ignorance, vice, misery, corruption, and ruin.

No—no; thank God, we have found out a better way than any Rome has to teach us. We have learnt the will of God better, blessed be his name, than to cast away Christ and take the pope for our master; we love his pure, free, and glorious service, too well to sell our liberty and birthright for the bondage of a polluted, irrational, un-scriptural, empty and tawdry superstition.

[For the Spirit of the XIX. Century.]

REVIEW OF "AN ESSAY CONCERNING THE UNLAWFULNESS OF A MAN'S MARRYING WITH HIS SISTER BY AFFINITY; WITH A REVIEW OF THE VARIOUS ACTS OF THE HIGHEST JUDICATORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TOUCHING THIS AND SIMILAR CONNEXIONS. BY COLIN MCIVER, V. D. M." PHILADA.: H. HOOKER, 178 CHESNUT ST., 1842. 18MO. PP. 163.

HERE is the title of a work, to which, as a literary performance, we might find some objection, in that air of minuteness and unnecessary precision of expression, of which the title itself is a fair specimen. But such and so many are the grounds for commendation presented, both by writer and publisher, that we are quite willing to leave this unenviable employment of exposing blemishes to professed and practised critics. Indeed we are not sure, that the evidently

elaborate style in which the book is written, is a fault, when connected with the great virtue of precision and perspicuity of thought, which is every where obvious. Our country and age is redolent with the premature productions of prurient writers, who appear to emulate by rapidity of composition, the magic operations of steam presses, and aim to secure for exuberance, the reputation vainly sought for excellence. There are no marks of hasty thought in this book. If our author has not observed the rule of the Latin poet, as to this particular publication, he has evidently observed a better, inasmuch as he here presents himself in the attitude occupied fifteen years since, and the public we doubt not, will say that he has lost nothing by the time spent in maturing his opinions.

If compelled as critics to pronounce judgment on the work as a literary performance, there is one point, and but one, in which we feel that inexcusable fault exists. Our views of long sentences may be peculiar, but apologists for such, must admit, that on the first and second pages, besides several others, the sense would not have been injured and greater ease of reading secured, by shorter periods. Let this suffice, as to the medium through which Mr. McIver has communicated to the public, some weighty opinions, wholesome truths, and solemn admonitions.

We have been much impressed in the perusal of this book, with a feature, too sadly deficient in some ephemeral productions on the same subject, to which the same occasion has given birth. We mean the solemnity and yet tenderness with which the writer has treated the topic before him. He is in earnest. He is not so much an enquirer after truth, a partizan in a contest, a combatant for victory, a biblical critic parading his learning, as he is an expounder of the law, in whose exposition for the instruction of others, he at the same time, and very modestly interweaves the process by which his own mind has received its convictions.

It is unnecessary to fill these pages with extracts from the work, in confirmation of the remarks just made. No extracts could do the writer justice. The work is one. Its very brevity, the close chain of argument, and the nature of the subject render all attempts to do it justice by such a procedure, unavailing. After a brief introduction, we are presented with a clear statement of the rule of the Confession of Faith; then an interpretation of the Scripture law, preceded by a brief, but pertinent explanation of certain important terms and phrases, occurring in the Confession and Scripture, and used in the discussion; and to the exposition of the law, he appends the consideration and refutation of the prominent popular objections. To a concise review of former ecclesiastical decisions, he adds some general reflections, breathing a Christian spirit, conceived and expressed in a manner, which do honor to his head and heart, and evince that solemnity and dignity which pervade the whole discussion. To the biblical investigation of this subject, we have no objection, for its own sake. We may add, we have no fears for the result, as Presbyterians abiding by our Confession. But we thought, in the Assembly, there was no place for such a discussion. The Assembly sat as a court, not a Convention, a court of law as well as equity. The simple question was, "sustain" or "not sustain" the appeal. It is evident, that to sustain

it, the Book must be laid aside, and some new interpretation of Scripture assumed. But the Assembly has no right, in any capacity, and least of all, as an appellate court, to touch the law. The accused may appeal, as his friends now propose, from the Assembly to the church in its Presbyteries. We claim no infallibility for the Confession. But while it stands as it is, but one course is open. In prospect of a renewal, then, of investigation, we regard this little volume as an invaluable accession to our theological libraries. In the meantime, however, there is one portion of it, which has suggested some painful reflections, and presents an occasion on which we feel bound to publish them.

This marriage question, in spite of the explicit language of our Book, has been virtually *sub judice* in the Presbyterian church for about one hundred years. True, it was decided, *in thesi*, in 1825 and 6, and that by a vote of 50 Presbyteries affirmative, 18 negative, and 20 not reporting, on the question of retaining the law. Had the twenty not reporting been of the negative, it is natural to suppose, they would have been anxious to be heard. If of the affirmative, they knew that their silence would, by law, be as effective against any change, as their vote could be. But while on this ground, we may fairly claim them to swell the majority; yet conceding half, or all, to the negative, the result is not materially affected. And yet men now violate the law, either with impunity, or in the profession of principles opposed to the clear and constitutionally expressed voice of the church. Others called to decide say, "we must consider," our minds are undecided. Now here is evidence of the existence of flagrant inconsistency, to use no harsher term, and at the same time, of the abundant freedom of opinion, in the pale of a communion, much abused, of late, for tyranny and inquisitorial action. We by no means desire to abridge freedom of opinion, nor will we say, that on every unessential point of doctrine, much less of church order, a perfect agreement is required or expected as a necessary term of ministerial, not to say, lay communion. But there are some positions here obvious to common sense, of which many lose sight. In a country proverbial, (and to its shame amongst some nations,) for the great diversity of religious sects, arising from what some call its religious licentiousness, not liberty, will any one pretend, that his connexion with any particular church is matter of necessity? The world is before him where to choose. He voluntarily subscribes our standards, not for substance of doctrine, but as containing the *system* of doctrine taught in the word of God. Mark the language. He *adopts* the Confession as his. He professes to believe that its statements are Scriptural. If this be not the meaning of the language, it is nonsense. He *approves* the Form of Government. Now whoever does all this, does it either ignorantly or knowingly. If the former, he but aggravates the crime of dissent. Whoever does the latter, violates his own solemn engagements by subsequent denial. True, a man may change his opinion; then let him, in consistency, change his church. One can be done as easily as the other. But while a Presbyterian in profession, be so in practice. Is there tyranny in turning out of doors a man who violates the peace and order of my house? Suppose he is an inmate of my family; suppose a contract

between us, that while he conforms to my known principles and modes of life, he is a welcome inmate; am I therefore bound to endure patiently his outrages on the decencies of life? I trow not. Or in civil government, who will tolerate a man who violates the social compact? Is liberty of opinion to be the city of refuge for every mal-content, for every violator of human and divine law? Then is all government at an end. We all surrender our liberty to do wrong by entering any society, ecclesiastical or civil. Let the proper line be drawn. An infringement of liberty of conscience, finds place when men are compelled to violate the dictates of conscience, under forfeiture of some unalienable right. Does the Presbyterian church prescribe such a code? By no means. You came in among us. It was your act. No one forced you. You knew our principles. You agreed that they were yours. You promised to abide by them. You change your opinions. Our principles remaining the same, you must change your church. True, a man may in all points, but some one, prefer the Presbyterian church. Must we then yield that point? One requires concession to believe in Universalism, another to be a Pelagian, another an Arminian, another a Unitarian, another a Baptist, and another to marry his sister by affinity. Were it not toograve a subject, a smile would be provoked, on the almost inevitable recurrence to the mind of the celebrated little poem of Cowper, called "Hypocrisy Detected," and commencing, "Thus saith the prophet of the task," &c.

Mr. McIver devotes much space and labor to the refutation of erroneous opinions, and the discussion of objections. Had his Essay been written four months later than it was, it could scarcely have been more timely in this respect. The Assembly had hardly pronounced its decision in the case of Mr. McQueen, ere it was most violently assailed from various quarters. Several secular prints, at once evinced the wonderful acquisitions of their conductors, in Hebrew and Rabbinic lore, in ecclesiastical law and Jewish antiquities. To some of the New School men, who have diligently advocated the positions on which we have just animadverted, it was evident that a great blunder had been committed; public sentiment, (their final judge, one might infer from some things,) must utterly condemn the Old School Assembly. The decision was of a piece with the celebrated acts of '37. Much more was said to the same purpose, a purpose evidently resembling that of certain defamers, who will not say, how sadly you have sinned, but charitably express their convictions that others think you have, and so by and by, make it out you are an egregiously naughty fellow. One threw open his columns for discussion, as usual not advertising *his* position, till, like other weather wiseacres, he had ascertained the direction of the wind of public sentiment. Perhaps he might have gone on to perfection, and committed, ere this, that solecism in his editorial career, of expressing a decided opinion, had not a certain D. D. put in a veto. Others not having the fear of this "esteemed minister" before their eyes, went on to arraign the Assembly before the bar of biblical criticism in New York, and that of human reason and human pedantry in Boston. Forthwith issued, somewhat in the the form of a decision, which might commence, "Omicron, J.," a very judicial looking opinion, closing with the authoritative declaration, "These positions being

sustained, it would follow, that the late decision of the General Assembly was not required by the word of God." We trust that on the first vacancy on the Bench of the empire state, "Omicron's" claims to a seat will not be overlooked. To him we are indebted for an argument, which if correct, leads to the conclusion, that among the Jews there prevailed a state of society, but little, if at all, better than what now exists in Turkey. He also seems to infer from the conduct of David and Solomon, that concubinage and polygamy were actually no vices. All this is of the very essence of Rationalism. Right is not right, if human reason can discover that it is wrong; and wrong is not wrong, if human reason can discover it to be right. God has no moral code, but abides the conduct of his creatures, and regulates the most important interests and the most solemn duties by the state of society, the condition of a country, the heat of a climate. "Great men are not always wise." This trite remark from an old book, older perhaps than Leviticus, proves a greater advance in wisdom, at that day, than some men have made in the "light of the nineteenth century," if confidence in such positions as Omicron's be taken as a specimen of modern discrimination.

From the Athens of America, now claiming to be its Jerusalem too, we have a most learned "opinion," rather in the manner of a consulting advocate, than that of a chief justice. Here we are taught, among other wonders, that owing to "the crowded state" of a "semi heathen" people—(so German Rationalists generally speak of the followers of Moses,) it was necessary, by special enactment, to bar the ingress against temptations to lewdness, between near relations residing in the same or adjacent tents. Strange that no prohibition is found as to a father and daughter, or an uncle and niece. In the former case we should suppose the "crowded state" would afford to these "semi heathen" fathers abundant opportunities and temptations.

Objections to the Presbyterian interpretation are based on a variety of views, some founded on Scripture, others on reason, others on conscience and others again on the mere uncertainty. As to this last, we have but one word. In doubtful cases safety is in that course against which we know there is no law. A certain opponent of the temperance reform argued once, that we are *commanded* to drink a little:—when asked for the precept, he replied, "Be *temperate* in all things." Perhaps these wise men of Gotham and the New Jerusalem, will not even find that much of a precept, binding widowers to marry sisters by affinity. On the grounds of convenience and reason, there is, perhaps, as much to be advanced against, as for such marriages. Mr. McI. very well observes that by such a marriage, motherless children exchange an aunt, (supposed of course by the very nature of the argument, to be affectionately desirous of their well being,) for a step-mother, whose sympathies for her sister's children will naturally be very much weakened by affection for her own. A worthy deacon was once made a preacher. A member of his church observed, "we have lost a good deacon and gained a poor preacher."

The great battle must be fought on the 18th chapter of Leviticus; and specially on the 16th verse. As to the critical argument on a "wife to another," or a "wife to her sister," while we respectfully inform our judge that the late Assembly consisted of men who think

for themselves—yet we must say that his effort to upset the exposition which he supposes decided it, and that by authority rather than truth, is a most signal failure. By his own showing, this phrase becomes an *απαξ λεγόμενον*, and the eight instances of similar idiom applicable to inanimate objects are out of the question; then all the learned distinctions as to reciprocal and distributive ideas, are of no force. Who then will say, that the prohibition to take a *natural* sister to another in her life-time, to *rex* her, necessarily implies, either that any other woman may be so taken, or that *she* may be, when her sister is dead? Such an assumption is clearly a *petitio principii*;—and yet one branch of it is as clear as the other, and the learned Hebraist in proving the lawfulness of incest, also proves the innocence of polygamy.

Much stress has been laid on the use of the word wife. Does it mean widow? Mr. McIver here adduces an important fact. “*Whenever a woman, whose husband is dead, is mentioned in immediate connexion with the name of him to whom she had been married, she is invariably termed his wife, while whenever “widow” is mentioned, “it is never found in connexion with a husband’s name, or with the least allusion to it.”* He gives seven instances of the former case, rather, six, and Lev. xviii. 16 is the seventh; and fifty one of the latter. How far this defines the phrase in the New Testament respecting the crime of Herod, we shall not determine; but it bears forcibly to show, that here, incest and not polygamy, is forbidden in verse 16.

The prohibitory clause is peculiar to this place. Hence all the learning of the Bostonian Daniel is thrown away in his labored effort to show that it means lewdness. For he has left out of view the fact, that his comments bear on the word *nakedness*, merely. We readily admit, this word was used to indicate shame, disgrace, &c. But with the phrase “uncover the nakedness,” we associate ideas according with the context. The prohibition to do this in certain cases implies its lawfulness in others. The “Puritan’s” mistake here reminds us of a celebrated Hebraist (in his own esteem,) who undertook to prove that the word “*nepshesh*” did not mean a soul, inasmuch as it was translated a “*swelling bottle.*” When his authority was consulted, it appeared that he had taken his meaning from Gesenius’s Lexicon, where the derivation was placed under the primitive, and had mistaken a compound, “*nepshesh-bottim,*” for the simple word. We trust when the next Puritan Extra is mailed to Presbyterian ministers, to enlighten them in their dark estate, and relieve them from some of the antiquated notions of the 17th century, the writer will examine his Bible more and the rabbies less: otherwise, he can hardly expect us to secure his precious gems of oriental learning, even when explicitly informed, not only where they may be had, but particularly directed in what words to enquire for them, a direction charitably given lest we might light on something else, not so profitable to us or at least to his—purse.

The opinions of this periodical on the whole subject have already been so fully expressed, that we have used this occasion designedly, rather for presenting more general views, than for entering anew into the discussion of the question. If our readers have not perused the little volume which has opened the way for these remarks, we

beg their attention to it. From some signs, we presume the question is again to be tried in our church courts. We know nothing which will more fully repay perusal than this Essay, and nothing better calculated to lead the impartial and unprejudiced to a sound decision. The discussion of this question so far, has been strongly marked in the geographical position of the combatants. All north of us are not opposed to the view of the Confession, nor all south in favor, may be true; but here, as in other cases, we see reason for the remark of a celebrated French traveller in the United States, that in delineating American character, it may be presented under two leading aspects designated by the running title of his chapter on the subject, "*Le Virginien et le Yankee.*" Which is to establish the public sentiment of the union on this question, remains to be seen.

THE FUNERAL OF THE MASS.

CHAPTER VII.—*Against the Mass.*

1. THE mass, according to the Romish doctors, is a sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ propitiatory for the sins of the living and dead; and so it is defined by the Council of Trent, Session 22. Against such a mass, we might allege all the arguments already made use of against transubstantiation, and the pretended presence of Christ's body in the host; for our adversaries confess that those reasons which destroy transubstantiation, and the pretended presence of Christ's body in the host, do also destroy the mass. But in this chapter we shall only use such arguments as are directly against the mass, and do utterly destroy it.

2. The first argument is drawn from this, viz., that in the institution and first celebration of the eucharist, Jesus Christ did not sacrifice nor offer his body and blood to his Father, as appears by what is mentioned by the three evangelists and the Apostle Paul, in whose writings there is not the least footstep to be seen of a sacrifice, or oblation of Christ's body and blood. This Bellarmin confesseth in Book I. of the Mass, chap. xxvii. in these words: *The oblation which is made after consecration, belongs to the entireness of the sacrament, but is not of its essence; which I prove, because neither our Lord nor his apostles, did make this oblation at the first, as we have demonstrated out of Gregory.* The Jesuit Salmeron, in Tom. xiii. of his Commentaries on the epistles of Paul, makes a catalogue of unwritten traditions, in which he puts the *ecclesiastical hierarchy, the worshipping of images, the mass, the manner of sacrificing, and the tradition that Jesus Christ did offer a sacrifice in the bread and wine.* Card. Baronius in his Annals on the year 53, freely confesseth that the sacrifice of the eucharist is an unwritten tradition. A strange thing that the mass, which is the foundation of the Romish church (for the doctors require nothing of the people, but that they should go to mass,) cannot be found to have been instituted or commanded by Jesus Christ. And the truth is, if Jesus Christ, in the celebration of the eucharist, had offered unto God his Father a sacrifice of his body and blood, propitiatory for the sins of the living and dead, then there had

been no need that he should have been sacrificed again on the cross, because, having already expiated our sins in the sacrifice of the eucharist, there was no need he should expiate them again on the cross. To this I add, that Paul, Ephes. iv. 11, mentions the offices which Jesus Christ left his church when he ascended into heaven, in these words: *He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors, and teachers,* but makes no mention at all of the sacrificers of Christ's body and blood, nor in 1 Tim., nor in the epistle to Titus, when he describes the duty of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, without making the least mention of this sacrificing of Christ's body and blood.

3. The second argument is drawn from the definition of a sacrifice, as it is given us by our adversaries. Card. Bellarmin in Book I. of the Mass, chap. ii. defines it thus: *Sacrifice is an external oblation made to God alone, whereby in acknowledgment of human infirmity, and the divine Majesty, the lawful minister consecrates by a mystical ceremony, and destroys something that is sensible and permanent.* From these last words, viz., that the lawful minister destroys something that is sensible, I form two arguments which destroy the sacrifice of the mass.

The first is this, in every sacrifice the thing sacrificed must fall under our senses; for our adversaries say it is a sensible thing: but the body and blood of Christ, which are pretended to be sacrificed in the mass, under the accidents of the bread and wine, do not fall under our senses, as we find by experience: therefore the body and blood of Christ, which are pretended to be under the accidents of the bread and wine, are not the thing sacrificed.

The second argument is this: in every true sacrifice, the thing sacrificed must be utterly destroyed; that is, it must be so changed, that it must cease to be what it was before, as Bellarmin saith in express terms in the place above cited: but in the pretended sacrifice of the mass, Christ's body and blood are not destroyed, for *Jesus Christ dieth no more*, Rom. vi. 9. Therefore, in the pretended sacrifice of the mass, the body and blood of Christ are not the thing sacrificed.

4. To these two arguments Bellarmin, in Book I. of the Mass, ch. xxvii. and other Romish doctors, answer, that Christ's body simply is not the thing sacrificed in the mass, but it is Christ's body, as it is under the species of the bread, and that it is in reference to the species of the bread, that Christ's body is sensible and visible.

Secondly, They answer that in the sacrifice of the mass, Christ's body is destroyed in respect of its sacramental being, but not in respect of its natural being; for when it is eaten in the sacrament, it ceaseth to be under the species of the bread.

5. To these answers I reply, first, That Christ's body is not visible by the species of the bread, because, as our adversaries say, that hides it from us, and hinders us from seeing it. And although a substance may be visible, and cognizable by its accidents, yet it is never so by the accidents of another substance; and consequently Jesus Christ may be said to be visible by his own accidents, but not by the accidents of the bread, which are just alike both in the consecrated and unconsecrated hosts; and it is a ridiculous shift to say that Christ's body is visible under the species of the bread, because that species is

visible; for as we cannot see wine that is in a hogshead, because we see the hogshead; and we cannot see money that is in a purse closed, because we see the purse; so neither can we see the body under the species of the bread, because we see the species; for as our adversaries say, that species hinders us from seeing it.

6. Secondly, I say, that by the sacramental being is understood, only an accidental being of Jesus Christ, (for example, his presence in the sacrament,) or else besides that, is understood his substantial being too. If his substantial being be also understood, (seeing the substantial being of a thing is nothing else but its substance and nature,) then it will follow that if Jesus Christ be destroyed in the sacrament of the eucharist in respect of his substantial being, he must also be destroyed in respect of his natural being, which is contrary to what the Apostle saith, Rom. vi. 9, that *Jesus Christ dieth no more*. If an accidental being of Jesus Christ be only understood, (for example, his presence in the sacrament,) then these absurdities will follow, viz.

First, That the sacrifice of the mass will be the sacrifice of an accident only, and not of Jesus Christ, because the presence of Jesus Christ is not Jesus Christ himself, but an accident of him.

Secondly, It will follow that the sacrifice of the mass, and that of the cross will not be the same sacrifice in reference to the thing sacrificed, because Jesus Christ, and his presence are not the same thing; Jesus Christ being a substance, and his presence an accident, which is contrary to the decision of the Council of Trent, which hath determined that the sacrifice of the mass, and that of the cross, are the same in reference to the thing sacrificed.

Thirdly, It will follow that the thing which is destroyed in the sacrament, is not the same with that which was produced there, because there is only an accident destroyed, whereas a substance was produced by transubstantiation, it is a substantial conversion, as hath been sufficiently proved.

Fourthly, It will follow that the sacrifice of the mass will be offered in the priest's stomach only, because this presence is not destroyed till the priest hath eaten the host; and consequently, the sacrifice of the mass will be offered after the mass, for this presence is only destroyed by the destruction of the accidents; and commonly these accidents are not destroyed till after mass is said.

Fifthly, It will follow that the justice of God will cease to be the same; for whereas heretofore it could not be satisfied but by the death of Christ, and by the destruction of his natural being; now God is appeased, our sins expiated, and God's justice satisfied by the destruction of his sacramental being only; for they will have it, that the sacrifice of the mass is propitiatory for the sins of the living and the dead.

7. The third argument is drawn from these words of the Apostle, Heb. ix. 22, 23, *Almost all things are by the law purged with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission: It was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these*. From which words I form this argument. There is no propitiation, or remission of sins without shedding of blood, as the Apostle saith:

but in the mass there is no shedding of blood, for it is called an unbloody sacrifice. Therefore in the mass there is no propitiation or remission of sins; and consequently no propitiatory sacrifice for sin. This argument may be thus confirmed. Under the Old Testament there was no propitiation, or purification, without shedding of blood, and the types of heavenly things were so purified, as the Apostle saith, Heb. ix. 22. Therefore under the New Testament also there can be no propitiation or purification without shedding of blood, and heavenly things, being represented by the legal types, must be purified by a more excellent sacrifice, viz., by the shedding of Christ's blood. And although the Apostle useth the word *sacrifices* in the plural number, yet we must understand the only sacrifice of Christ on the cross; because when one thing is opposed to many, it is often expressed in the plural number; as when baptism, which is but one, is called baptisms, Heb. vi. 2. But the only sacrifice of the cross of Christ in the text above cited, Heb. ix. 23, is opposed to the old sacrifices, which were types and figures of the sacrifice of the cross.

8. The fourth argument is drawn from the words of the Apostle, Heb. x. 16. *This is the covenant which I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them, and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more. Now, where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin.* Whence I form this argument: where there is remission of sins there is no need of an oblation, or a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, as the Apostle saith. But in the Christian church, by virtue of the New Testament, or New Covenant, confirmed by the blood of Christ, there is remission of sins, Heb. x. 16. 17. Therefore in the Christian church now-a-days, there is no need of an oblation, or propitiatory sacrifice, and consequently no need of the sacrifice of the mass.

9. The fifth argument is drawn from the words of the Apostle, Heb. ix. 25, 26, 27, 28. *Jesus Christ offereth not himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with the blood of others; for then must he often have suffered from the foundation of the world, but now once in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed to men once to die, but after this the judgment, so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many, and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.* This is confirmed by the words of the same Apostle, Heb. x. 1, 2, 3, 4. *The law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year, continually make the comers thereunto perfect, for then would they not have ceased to be offered, because the worshippers once purged, should have had no more conscience of sins. But in those a remembrance is made again of sins every year; for it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins, &c. 11, 12, 14. And every high priest standeth daily ministering and offering often times the same sacrifices which can never take away sins; but this man after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, forever sat down on the right hand of God. For by one offering he hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified: which is conformable to what he had said a little before, v, 10, that we are*

sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. From all which I form these arguments.

10. First the old sacrifices were reiterated, for the Apostle saith, that *the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with the blood of others*: but the sacrifice of Jesus Christ must not be reiterated, for the same Apostle saith that *Jesus Christ offereth not himself often; and that he hath once appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself*. Therefore the sacrifice of the mass is not the sacrifice of the cross reiterated, or the reiteration of the sacrifice of the cross, as our adversaries would have it.

11. Secondly, The Apostle adding, *else he should often have suffered from the foundation of the world*, makes it apparent that Christ cannot be offered without suffering. For, as he that should say, this is not fire else it would be hot, doth necessarily presuppose that fire is hot: and as he that should say he is no man else he would be rational, doth necessarily presuppose that man is rational; so when the Apostle saith, that *Jesus Christ offereth not himself often, otherwise he should often have suffered*, doth necessarily presuppose that Jesus Christ cannot offer himself without suffering. But Jesus Christ doth not suffer every day in the mass. Therefore he is not offered every day in the mass by the ministry of priests.

12. Thirdly, These words, *from the foundation of the world*, are of great weight, for it is as much as if the Apostle had said, if the only sacrifice of Christ on the cross be not sufficient to take away sins which shall be committed hereafter, it follows that it was not sufficient to take away sins which have been committed heretofore from the creation of the world, for it is very unsuitable that the sacrifice of Christ on the cross should have more virtue before it was offered than since. But the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, had the virtue to take away sins before it was, *otherwise* (saith the Apostle,) *he should often have suffered from the foundation of the world*. Therefore it hath also virtue to take away sins committed since it was, and consequently there is no need that it should be reiterated in the mass.

13. Fourthly, The Apostle's comparison is considerable, the sense whereof is this. As men suffer death but once, and after death appear no more till the day of the resurrection, and day of judgment; so Christ hath offered himself to his Father once for all on the cross to take away sins, and will be no more on earth, until he comes to judge the quick and the dead. This utterly destroys the mass, in which Jesus Christ is said to be offered and sacrificed continually by the ministry of priests.

14. Fifthly, Sacrifices that take away sins, and sanctify those that come thereunto, ought not to be reiterated; for the only reason which the Apostle allegeth, why the old sacrifices of the law were reiterated, is because they could not take away sins, nor sanctify the comers thereunto, as appears by the text above cited. But the sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross, takes away sins, and sanctifies those that come thereunto: therefore the sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross, ought not to be reiterated, and consequently is not reiterated in the mass.

15. If Jesus Christ did offer himself a sacrifice on the cross that he might sanctify us forever, and purchase eternal redemption for us,

then it is evident that the fruit and efficacy of this sacrifice endure for ever, and that we must have recourse to no other sacrifice but to that of the cross: but Jesus Christ did offer himself a sacrifice on the cross that he might sanctify us forever, and purchase eternal redemption for us, as appears by the texts aforesaid. Therefore the efficacy of the sacrifice of the cross endures for ever, and we must have recourse to no other sacrifice but to that of the cross. In a word, either we must confess that the sacrifice of the cross hath no virtue to take away sins, and to sanctify us forever, which is contrary to what the Apostle saith, or else if it hath this virtue and sufficiency, then Jesus Christ hath offered one only sacrifice once for all, and consequently is not offered daily in the mass by the ministry of priests.

16. Lastly, The Apostle almost throughout the whole epistle to the Hebrews, saith, that Jesus Christ was constituted and consecrated by his Father, High Priest forever; and particularly chap. vii. 23, 24, 25, he saith, that *many were made priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death; but Jesus Christ because he continueth for ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood; and that he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them;* and consequently he hath no need of vicars, or companions in his priesthood.

17. In answer to these arguments the Romish doctors are wont to say, that the sacrifice of the mass is the same with that of the cross, in respect of the essence of the sacrifice, the same thing being offered in both, viz., the body and blood of Christ by the same priest, viz., by Jesus Christ. But it differs in respect of the manner of offering: for on the cross Jesus Christ offered himself bloodily, that is, when he died, he shed his blood for mankind; but in the mass he offers himself unbloodily, that is, without shedding his blood, and without dying. On the cross Jesus Christ was destroyed in respect of his natural being, but in the mass he is destroyed in respect of his sacramental being. They add, that all the arguments drawn from the epistle to the Hebrews, respect only that bloody oblation which was once offered on the cross; but besides this bloody sacrifice there is another that is unbloody, which is daily offered in the mass. Lastly, they say, that the sacrifice of the cross is primitive and original, but this of the mass representative, commemorative, and applicative of that of the cross, as the Trent Council hath it in its 22d Session.

18. To these distinctions I reply, that the sacrifice of the mass doth not differ from that of the cross in respect of the manner only, (which is but an accidental difference,) but it differs in respect of essence too.

First, Because the natural death of Jesus Christ is of the essence of the sacrifice of the cross: but the sacrifice of the mass doth not comprehend the natural death of Jesus Christ, for *Jesus Christ dieth no more*, Rom. vi. 9. Therefore the sacrifice of the mass doth not comprehend that which is of the essence of the sacrifice of the cross, and consequently differs from it essentially, and not in respect of the manner only.

Secondly, Because the representation of a thing differs essentially from the thing represented. For example, the king's picture differs essentially from the king. Also the memorial of a thing differs essentially from the thing whereof it is a memorial. For example,

the celebration of the passover, which was a memorial of the angel's favourable passing over the houses of the Israelites, differs essentially from that passing over. And lastly, the application of a thing differs essentially from it. For example, the application of a plaster differs essentially from the plaster. But, according to the determination of the Council of Trent, in Session 22, the sacrifice of the mass is representative, commemorative, and applicative of that of the cross. Therefore the sacrifice of the mass differs essentially from that of the cross.

Thirdly, Because the sacrifice of the cross is of an infinite value, and consequently ought not to be reiterated; for its value being infinite, it is sufficient to take away all sins, past, present, and to come, as Bellarmin saith, Book I. of the Mass, chap. iv. But the sacrifice of the mass is of a finite price and value, according to the same Bellarmin and other Romish doctors; at which we may justly wonder, seeing, as our adversaries say, it differs not from the sacrifice of the cross, either in respect of the thing sacrificed, or in respect of the chief priest, and yet from these the sacrifice hath all its price and value.

19. Secondly, I say that an unbloody propitiatory sacrifice is a feigned, and an imaginary thing, and that the arguments drawn from the epistle to the Hebrews do wholly destroy it.

First, Because it is said, Heb. ix. 22, *that without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins*; therefore in the unbloody sacrifice of the mass, there can be no remission of sins, and consequently it cannot be a propitiatory sacrifice for sin.

Secondly, Because Jesus Christ cannot be offered without suffering; for the Apostle saith, Heb. ix. 25, 26, *Jesus Christ offereth not himself often, otherwise he should often have suffered*. But the sacrifice of Jesus Christ with suffering, is a bloody sacrifice. Therefore there is no unbloody sacrifice.

Thirdly, Because the bloody sacrifice of the cross, being of an infinite value, hath purchased an eternal redemption, Heb. ix. 12, and hath taken away all sins, past, present, and to come. Whence it follows that there is no other sacrifice, either bloody or unbloody, that can purchase the pardon of our sins, the sacrifice of the cross having sufficiently done it.

Fourthly, Because the justice of God requires that sins shall be expiated by the punishment that is due to them; and this is so true, that the wrath of God could not be appeased but by the bloody and ignominious death of the cross. Therefore the justice of God must have changed its nature, if sins can be expiated in the mass without pain or suffering.

20. Thirdly, To the distinction of primitive sacrifice, which was offered on the cross, and representative, commemorative, and applicative, which is daily offered in the mass, I reply, first, that what the Council of Trent saith in Session 22, viz., that in the eucharist there is a sacrifice representative, commemorative, and applicative, of that of the cross, may bear a good sense, viz., that there is in it a representation, commemoration, and application of the sacrifice of the cross, viz., a representation, because the bread broken, represents the body broken, and the wine poured into the cup, represents the blood

of Christ, shed for the remission of sins; a commemoration, because all that is done in it, is done in remembrance of Jesus Christ and his death, according to his own command in these words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, and according to what Paul saith, 1 Cor. xi. 26, *As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come*; and an application, because the merit of the sacrifice of the cross is applied to us not only by the word, but also by the sacraments, as we shall show hereafter. But our adversaries are not content with this, for they will have it, that in the celebration of the eucharist, there is offered a true and proper sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the living and the dead, which hath been already refuted at large.

Secondly, I say that the application of the sacrifice of the cross may be considered, on God's part, or on man's part; on God's part, when he offers Jesus Christ to us, with all his benefits, both in his word and sacraments; on man's part, when, by a true and lively faith, working by love, we embrace Jesus Christ with all his benefits offered to us both in his word and sacraments. And this is it that Jesus Christ teacheth us, John iii. 14, in these words, *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up*, (viz., on the cross,) *that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life; for God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son*, (viz., to die,) *that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life*; he doth not say, whosoever sacrificeth him in the mass, but whosoever believeth, &c. And Paul shows it clearly in these words, *God hath set forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiation through faith in his blood*; he doth not say through the sacrifice of the mass, but through faith. And we really and truly apply the sacrifice of Christ's cross, when we have recourse to him, as a man applies a plaster when he hath recourse to it, and lays it on the wound; but the recourse or refuge of a penitent sinner to the sacrifice of the cross, for obtaining mercy from God, is nothing else but faith. As for the distinction of the sacramental and natural being of Jesus Christ, it hath been already refuted in the 6th number.

21. I shall conclude this discourse with the testimony of Thomas Aquinas, the most famous of all the Romish doctors, and called by our adversaries, the angelical doctor. This Thomas, in Part. iii., Quest. 83, Artio. 1, having proposed this question, viz., Whether Christ be sacrificed in the sacrament of the eucharist? he concludes with these memorable words: *The celebration of this sacrament is very fitly called a sacrificing of Christ, as well because it is the representation of Christ's passion, as because by this sacrament we are made partakers of the fruit of the Lord's passion*. And afterwards he gives his answer, in these words, *I answer, we must say that the celebration of this sacrament is called a sacrificing of Christ, in two respects. First, because* (as Augustine to Simplicius saith) *we are wont to give to images, the name of the things whereof they are images, as when we see pictures on a wall, or in a frame, we say this is Cicero, that is Sallust, &c. But the celebration of this sacrament* (as hath been said above) *is a representative image of Christ's passion; which passion is the true sacrificing of Christ, and so the celebration of this sacrament is the sacrificing of Christ. Secondly, the celebration of this sacrament is*

called the sacrificing of Christ, in regard of the effect of Christ's passion, because by this sacrament we are made partakers of the fruit of the Lord's passion. Let the Romanists keep to this decision of their angelical doctor, and we shall agree with them in this point; for I am confident that there is not one of the reformed religion but will subscribe this true doctrine of Thomas Aquinas.

FOURTH LETTER TO THE RULING ELDERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

SINCE the publication of my third letter to you in October last, brethren beloved for Christ's sake, several important steps have been taken in the developement of the question which so essentially implicates your official position in the church of God, and, through you, the character of that government which he has established for it. In particular, two of our most important Synods have acted upon it, and what is very painful, have acted in a contrary sense; and the case has been carried from one of them to the next General Assembly.

It did not appear to us of the minority in the Synod of Philadelphia that it was strictly competent to carry up the question in the form there presented; though the minority in the Synod of Kentucky, which decided just the other way from the Synod of Philadelphia, thought and acted otherwise. Nothing could show more clearly that we are not agitators, and that we are law-abiding men. We who are denounced as disturbers of the church, abide under a decision against us, rather than use a questionable remedy; while excellent brethren on the other side will not abide by a decision of the same dignity and authority which happens to be against them, but resort to the questionable remedy.

There are two considerations touching the final settlement of this question by the Assembly, which must present themselves to every reflecting mind. The *first* is, that the church is not ready to have the question settled, and that no decision of it just now, can be final. The matter must be better considered, and will be. It must be investigated, before it can be *settled*. And nothing is more obvious than that the great mass of our ministers as well as ruling elders, are up to this present writing inadequately acquainted with the history, the principles, and the results of this question. The *second* consideration is, that no decision of the Assembly can ever settle such a question against the positive law of the church, and the clear command of God, even if that venerable court should unhappily be surprised into an unconstitutional decision. For let it forever be borne in mind that the positive law of the church and the Bible is with us; and that no man has shown or can show the least reason to think otherwise. We contend not for any theory; we contend not for any construction. We plant ourselves on the express letter of the constitution of the church, and say, enforce it. We produce the plain enactments of God, and say, respect them. They who will not do this, plead practice, and resort to idle glosses. We reply, the practice is various; and if it were uniform against us, it proves nothing against a positive law, except indeed unfaithfulness; the very same answer

we gave to the *plan of union, the institution of committee-men, &c. &c.*; the same answer the church of Scotland is now giving against patronage, though patronage be by act of Parliament; the same answer the reformers gave three hundred years ago, against the corruptions of ten centuries; the same answer our Master gave, against the traditions of the whole Jewish church. Practice is but a *presumption* of truth in any possible case; and never can avail against what is indeed true; and above all, never against truth ascertained by fundamental laws, of God and man. But let this argument be refuted by a *uniform* exercise on your part, of rights, whose *partial* exercise heretofore is the very pith of the argument against you. It is your duty—your solemn, covenanted duty—to attend the church courts; it is your duty when there to exercise the rights vested in you by God and his church; and if you will do this, the most effective plea urged against you, is at an end.

It is demanded, why do we urge this matter? Do we suppose that you have any virtue to communicate by putting your hands on the head of a candidate? We answer, by asking another question. Why are your claims resisted? Is it because it is supposed a virtue goes out of the hands of Ministers which does not go out of those of Ruling Elders? Imposition of hands, is with us but a significant ceremony; ordination itself, of which it is merely a formal part, is nothing more than the solemn and official dedication of a man to an office in God's church, by an authority competent thereto. To deny the competency of the *Presbytery*, is to subvert the whole system of Presbyterian church government, which we all profess to believe is of God. To deny the competency of the *Ruling Elder*, is to deny his being, *by order, a Presbyter*, and thereby to take away all scriptural warrant for his being a member of Presbytery at all; or at the very least, to take away the fundamental principle of the *composition* of our Presbyteries, and make them consist *essentially*, not of ministers and Elders, but of Ministers only. It is not therefore that we consider imposition of hands inherently efficacious; but it is because we see that on this point the whole question of the nature of the offices both of Minister and Elder are made to turn, that we take our stand upon this question. Our principle is clear as day. We say that Ministers and Elders are alike *Presbyters*; and are alike invested with authority *to govern* the church. Where any distinction is made between them, it must be and can be shown from God's word and the constitution of the church. Where both are silent, there is no distinction. Where both require a concurrent exercise of power, it is worse than absurd to say Elders are excluded. And to exclude them upon grounds which attack the very letter of the Scriptures and of the constitution of the church, and impeach the very foundation of their office, is not only to attack Presbyterianism itself in a most vital point, but is to set aside the authority of our common church bond, and to infringe the grand principle of Protestantism itself, to wit, the absolute authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures.

These principles are perfectly plain. If they are not true, let it be shown. If our brethren can hold them and yet deny your rights contended for by us, let that be shown. It is a pure question of law—of the law of God's house; why, then, instead of instructing, do

they only revile us? They say you are incompetent; that we who advocate your Scriptural and constitutional prerogatives, are disturbers of the church. I have lately read a series of numbers published in the Presbyterian newspaper, by one who has ventured to call himself 'Calvin,' in which I find ten insidious allusions to me, for every single reference either to the Bible or the constitution. He says he has been a Minister thirty-five years. If so, let him say no more about the dangers of Ruling Elders presuming to undertake what they are not competent to do; for there is not one, I presume, in all our churches who has served the half of thirty-five years in his office, who would not prove himself as competent to any thing he would venture on, as 'Calvin' has proved himself to discuss this question. We really need something to be said on that side, and I readily admit there are abundance of men able to say it. Let some of them do it. As for 'Calvin,' he has done the truth service in two respects; he has written against it without force and with a bad spirit, and he has extracted a good defence of it from a worthy 'Presbyter,' in the same paper; I can therefore easily excuse his personal incivility and injustice.

My principal design at this time, is to call your attention to the proceedings of the two Synods already mentioned. They are here printed at large; those of the Synod of Philadelphia are taken from its published Minutes; those of the Synod of Kentucky, from the Protestant and Herald newspaper of January 12, 1843.

Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia at their Sessions held in Washington city, October 1842.—Friday Morning, Oct. 21, Dr. Breckinridge offered certain resolutions concerning Ruling Elders, which were placed on the docket, and made the order of the day after the reports on Presbyterial records were disposed of.

Saturday morning, Oct. 22. The reports on Presbyterial Records having been disposed of, Dr. Breckinridge's resolution concerning the right of Ruling Elders was taken up.

Monday morning, Oct. 24. The unfinished business of Saturday, viz., the resolution of Dr. Breckinridge concerning Ruling Elders, was taken up, which, with the preamble which accompanies it, is as follows:

"Whereas doubts have arisen in regard to the duties of Ruling Elders sitting in Presbyteries when those bodies ordain ministers of the gospel—Now, for clearing the subject of all uncertainty, it is determined as follows:

"That Ruling Elders when they sit in Presbyteries as members thereof, are, according to our Standards, as much entitled to take part in examining candidates for ordination, in voting upon every question regarding their ordination, and in laying hands upon them when ordained, as ministers who sit with them in Presbytery, and that this, as we judge, is according to the apostolic usage, the practice of the primitive church and the principles of the purest Reformed Churches in their best estate."

The resolution, after having been discussed at some length, was decided in the negative.

The yeas and nays being demanded on the resolution, were ordered, and are as follow:

Yeas. MINISTERS.—Owen, Andrews, Morris, Morrison, Wallace, DuBois, Carter, Dunlap, Happersett, Berry, Breckinridge, Spottswood, Cross, Watson. **RULING ELDERS,** George Gillis, J. Sanford, A. Thompson, Stewart, Brown.—19.

Nays. MINISTERS.—Latta, Cuyler, Engles, Parker, Macklin, McCalla, C. Williamson, Tudehope, Loughridge, Elliott, Boardman, H. R. Wilson, Howard, Jardine, M. Williamson, Boyer, Grier, Love, W. W. Latta, Burrowes, Wynkoop, Work, McNair, Backus, Parviance, Laurie, Van Rensselaer, Bosworth, Tuston,

Moody, McKinley, Patterson, McDonald, J. V. Moore, Murray, J. Moore, Waller. RULING ELDERS.—Whitehill, Armstrong, English, Donaldson, Coulter.—42.

Non Liquet—MINISTERS, J. Latta, McKinney.—2.

Tuesday morning, Oct. 25 The following paper signed by thirty-three members of the majority of Synod on the vote in regard to the resolutions touching the right of Ruling Elders was offered for record on the minutes. Whereupon it was questioned if it be orderly for the majority, or members thereof, on any vote to offer such a paper. The Moderator decided it to be orderly, and no appeal being taken the vote was put to allow the paper to go on record, and carried, ayes 29, nays 18. It is as follows:

"We the under-signed, who voted in the negative on the resolutions offered by Dr. Breckinridge, would in explanation add that we merely intended to deny the right of Ruling Elders to impose hands in the ordination of Ministers.

W. M. Engles, H. R. Wilson, H. A. Boardman, James Laurie, D. J. Waller, T. Love, W. R. Work, John Moody, John N. C. Grier, John McNair, S. R. Wynkoop, James Whitehill, Wm. Latta, Martin Armstrong, George Burrows, S. H. McDonald, W. D. Howard, Joshua Moore, W. W. Latta, C. C. Cuyler, A. H. Parker, John C. Backus, E. M. Donaldson, Daniel McKinley, Septimus Truett, Geo. D. Purviance, Stephen Eoyer, W. L. McCalla, T. V. Moore, J. A. Murray, M. B. Patterson, Chas. Williamson, J. L. Elliott."

There are few persons, I apprehend, who are acquainted with the usages of deliberative bodies, or who will reflect carefully on the subject, who will not see the evils of permitting the majority of a body to pass acts *officially*, and then expound them by *unofficial* proceedings; a line of conduct the less to be defended when it is considered that the very persons who make the individual explanation had the power to express the same thing, by responsible motion and vote in the body. I call your attention, however, very particularly to the fact, that by this unofficial explanation the actual majority of the Synod concede every thing we ever asked, every thing they themselves deny. For by what authority do Ruling Elders when sitting in Presbyteries "take part in examining candidates for ordination and in voting upon every question regarding their ordination?" Plainly because they are Presbyters and members of the Presbytery; and because it belongs to the Presbytery "to ordain, install, remove, and judge Ministers." (*Form of Government, ch. x.*) But if by reason of the law that it belongs to "the Presbytery" "to ordain Ministers," Ruling Elders may examine and vote, as implied parts of the duty thus imposed; by what logic are they prohibited from uniting in the "laying on of the hands of the Presbytery," which is, in express terms a commanded part of what must be done by the same Presbytery "to ordain ministers?" (*Form of Gov., ch. xiv.*) But the resolution rejected by Synod asserts the three rights, to wit, to examine, to vote, and to lay on hands; and the majority in the explanatory paper say they only deny the last of the three, and thereby concede the former two. And yet the former two are but implied rights resulting from the duty to do that of which the third is a commanded part; and so they deny the clear commanded right and concede the resulting implied rights! For except that Elders are Presbyters, and that it belongs to Presbytery to ordain, where is the right of Elders either to examine candidates or to vote on their ordination? And if any thing more is wanting to render the case remarkable, turn to the tract entitled "*Qualifications and Duties of Ruling Elders, &c. By the Rev'd Wm. M. Engles,*" a tract published by our Board and written

by the editor of its publications, and there you will find within ten lines of the beginning of it, the broad proposition that Ruling Elders, "*in the various judicatories, possess an equality of power with the clergy;*" and again, three pages further on, "*whatever is said of Preaching Elders, in relation to the discipline and general government of the church, may be fairly concluded as applicable to Ruling Elders, who are associated with them as helps.*" And yet the name of Dr. Engles heads the explanatory paper of the majority of Synod, as printed. Excellent divines whose acts are based on logic of this sort, ought to be somewhat tender towards us, their weak and inconsequent brethren, when they think our principles are a little out of joint. The Bible is a very coherent book, and it is not always quite safe to rely on being borne out by it, in opposite views of the same proposition.

The Synod of Philadelphia passed two resolutions in regard to Ruling Elders, which though not relating exactly to the matter before us, you will excuse me for urging upon your careful attention.

Tuesday morning, Oct. 25. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as it is the duty of the Elders "to feed the flock, taking the oversight thereof," it is therefore expected of them that they will be truly "helps" as well as "governments," and that hence they will visit, catechize, and hold meetings for reading, prayer, and exhortation, and otherwise scripturally labour for the edification of the church and for the extension of her influence, till, in their pious labours, the elders of the different churches meet each other, and bring the preaching of the gospel within the reach of all the poor.

The following paper offered by Dr. Breckinridge was adopted by Synod.

"The pastors and sessions are hereby directed to report to the Stated Clerk of this Synod, and to the Stated Clerks of the Presbyteries under whose care are the particular churches, the names of all the Ruling Elders belonging to the said churches, and to report from time to time, alterations as they occur, by death, removal, new election, or otherwise. And the stated clerks are directed to keep a fair list of all the churches with the names of said Ruling Elders."

There were two movements made in this Synod on the main subject which are not mentioned, that I can discover, in the Minutes. The first was an attempt to prevent the full discussion of the question, by moving to refer it to the next Synod; and this was done during the absence of the mover of the resolution, and that on temporary leave from the Synod itself, that he might preach to his congregation on the Lord's day. The attempt failed. The other was a proposal from the mover of the resolution, after the subject had been largely argued on both sides, and when it was manifest that the bulk of the members of Synod were not clear in their minds in regard to it, to lay it over, and in the mean time pass a minute requesting the next Assembly not to hurry the decision of the question before the church at large had been allowed time to consider it more fully; according to the power conferred by chap. xi. sec. 6, (last clause) of the Form of Government. This also failed; some of the persons who took a leading part against the resolution avowing that this new heresy ought to be met and put down at once. Let these things be remembered; and let us be ready to meet the question and all its responsibilities at the next Assembly, if that is our last day of grace. It would perhaps surprise some great and leading ecclesiastics, if after all, they should have hurried the matter to their own defeat. Let it be clearly understood that my sole reason for wishing that our highest church court

should not decide prematurely in this matter, is the earnest desire that its decision when rendered, may finally and peacefully settle it; which, as it appears to me, no man who knows what sort of people Presbyterians are, and what the existing state of opinion about the matter in hand is, can have any hope would be the case at present, let the decision be as it may. But all of us, who have confidence at once in the wisdom of our people and the truth of our opinions, must see reason to conclude that after the question is thoroughly considered, we can come to some final agreement by pretty general consent. This is the only way in which truth and peace can be promoted.

We come now to the action of the Synod of Kentucky. At its sessions in 1841, that body had this same question before it, and after very carefully considering it, appointed a committee to report to the Synod of 1842. This committee consisted, as I understand, of four Ministers and two Ruling Elders. One of these Ministers dissented from the report, which was drawn up and presented to Synod by one of the Elders, *James Stonestreet, Esq'r.* The entire action of Synod as certified by the stated clerk (in the newspaper already referred to) is presented below.

The committee to whom was referred the resolution concerning the imposition of hands in the ordination of Ministers, submitted the following report:

The committee will confine themselves to the question, What is the constitution of our church on the subject? That it is binding, is admitted by all. Form of Government, ch. 10, Of Presbytery, sec. 2, reads: "A Presbytery consists of all the Ministers and one Ruling Elder from each congregation in a certain district." In the 8th section of this chapter, the powers of the Presbytery are enumerated, and it is declared, that the Presbytery has power "to ordain, instal, and judge ministers."

In chap. 15, sec. 12, it is provided, that "The presiding Minister shall, by prayer, and with laying on of hands of the Presbytery, according to the apostolic example, solemnly ordain him to the office of the gospel ministry." The same section provides, that after the ordination is over, "the Minister who presides shall first, and afterwards all the members of the Presbytery in their order, take him by the right hand, saying in words to this purpose: We give you the right hand of fellowship to take part of this ministry with us."

What is the plain and obvious meaning of these provisions? A Presbytery consists of Ministers and Elders—this Presbytery has power to ordain and depose Ministers—ordination is by prayer and with laying on of hands of the Presbytery. Surely it is the same Presbytery that has power to ordain. The presiding Minister who ordains him is appointed by Elders as well as Ministers, and is the mouth or organ of both—and all the members of the Presbytery, in their order, are to take the person ordained by the hand, saying, "we give you the right hand of fellowship to take part of this ministry with us." Both ordination and deposition of Ministers are acts of Presbytery, and all the church rulers, who compose the Presbytery, have a right to participate in these acts; and as well might Elders be excluded from taking part in other acts of church government as in the ordination of Ministers. If the right be given by the constitution, the bare forbearance to exercise it, cannot take it away. It is not essential to the validity of ordination, that every member of Presbytery should impose hands. In very large Presbyteries, it is impossible for them to do so at the same time.

By the Westminster Form of Government, *Preaching Presbyters* alone laid on hands, and after that form was changed in our church, the practice

might have continued, Elders not deeming it important to press forward. But if imposition belongs to *Ministers* alone, why was the Westminster form changed? The First Book of Discipline of the church of Scotland provided, that ordination be with fasting and prayer—laying on hands was judged not to be necessary: (chap. 5.)

The Second Book of Discipline, “with fasting, earnest prayer and imposition of hands of the *Eldership*”—and this Eldership was constituted of Pastors and Elders—chap. 2 and 7. The Westminster Form of Government changed this, and says, “by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting by the *Preaching Presbyters*.” Our Form changed this again, and says—“by prayer and with laying on of hands of the *Presbytery*,” and defines the *Presbytery* to consist of Ministers and *Elders*, and whenever the word *Presbytery* occurs in our Book, it must be taken according to that definition, unless otherwise explained, and both Ministers and *Elders* have a right to participate in every act of *Presbytery*, unless excluded by other provisions.

The framers of our constitution deliberately rejected the words “*Preaching Presbyters*,” and adopted the word “*Presbytery*.” The form of ordination in Scotland directs, that all the *Ministers* of the *Presbytery* shall take the person ordained by the right hand: (Stewart, p. 10.) This is also changed in our Book, and “all the *members* of the *Presbytery* in their order,” is substituted for “all the *Ministers* of the *Presbytery*.” If it was not intended to change the provisions, why thus change the language?

The ministerial members of the Westminster Assembly had received Episcopal ordination, and after many warm debates, they changed the Second Book of Discipline, as we have seen—and the General Assembly of Scotland, being extremely anxious for uniformity of church government with England, adopted this change. The framers of our constitution restored the true *Presbyterian* order, declaring the power of ordination to be in the *whole* *Presbytery*.

It seems to the Committee, that Elders as clearly have the right to lay on their hands in the ordination of Ministers, as they have to vote for their ordination or deposition.

The following resolutions are submitted:

1. That by the constitution of our church, a *Presbytery* consists of Ministers and Elders.
2. That the *Presbytery* has power to ordain Ministers.
3. That ordination is with prayer and the laying on of the hands of the *Presbytery*—the same *Presbytery* that has power to ordain.
4. That a committee be appointed to present the views of this Synod to the next General Assembly, and urge their adoption by that body.

On the adoption of the report and resolutions, the yeas and nays were taken, and stood as follows:

YEAS—*Ministers*.—J. C. Young, A. A. Hogue, J. D. Paxton, D. C. Proctor, W. L. Breckinridge, W. W. Hill, D. T. Stuart, S. S. McRoberts, N. H. Hall, J. G. Simrall, W. H. Forsythe, J. F. Price, J. H. Logan, G. B. Armstrong, Samuel Lynn, W. D. Jones, W. G. Allen.

Elders.—D. A. Russell, Wm. McAfee, Stephen Gray, Samuel Casseday, Peter Jett, A. Logan, J. Allen, W. M. Todd, James Logan, W. P. Holloway, Waller Bullock, James Stonestreet, J. M. C. Irwin, Lewis Collins, W. P. Boyd, J. M. Preston, E. F. Eunston, — Warren—35.

NAYS.—*Ministers*.—G. W. Coons, S. Scovel, E. P. Humphrey, J. Kennedy, H. H. Hopkins, D. S. Tod, J. K. Burch, C. Stewart, N. L. Rice, J. T. Hendrick, J. H. Condit, J. S. Watt, R. F. Caldwell, A. A. Case.

Elders.—W. Q. Morton, F. Snowdon, H. H. Young, T. Carr, A. McClintock, O. Glass.—20.

NON-LIQUET—*Ministers*.—J. Montgomery, C. A. Campbell, R. Davidson, J. J. Bullock, J. D. Mathews, J. F. Coons, R. C. Grundy.

Elders.—R. P. Crooks, John Poyntz, John Todd.—10.

Against the action of Synod in the premises, the following protest was presented by N. L. Rice in behalf of himself and others, and ordered to be spread on the records. Brethren Young, Stonestreet, and W. L. Breckinridge, were appointed to answer it.

PROTEST.—"We, the undersigned, feel constrained to enter our solemn protest against the vote of the majority of Synod, by which they decided that Ruling Elders ought to lay on hands in the ordination of Ministers of the Gospel. This decision we cannot but regard as a perversion of the plain meaning of our Book of Discipline. It is true, that ordination is an act of Presbytery, but it is equally true, that the reception of members into the church is an act of the Session; and yet the Ruling Elders, whilst they, by their vote, give the right of membership, cannot introduce them into the church, by baptizing them. So in ordination, they may, by their vote, in connection with Ministers of the gospel, give the right to the office, but they cannot, by laying on hands, induct an individual into the office.

It is also true, that Ministers are to be ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery; but the meaning of this language is clearly determined by other expressions connected with it.

1st. After the ordaining prayer, "the Minister who presides shall first, and afterward *all the members of the Presbytery*, in their order, take him by the right hand," &c. Now it is an indisputable fact, that the expression "*members of Presbytery*" is never used in our Book, except with reference to Ministers of the gospel, who are standing members. We do not deny that Ruling Elders, when properly appointed, are, for the time being, members. We speak only of the meaning of a particular expression, as it is used in our Book.

2d. But as each member gives the newly ordained Minister the right hand of fellowship, he is directed to say—"We give you the right hand of fellowship, to take part of this *ministry* with us." Now the words *Minister* and *ministry*, have, in our Book, a technical sense, and are, in all cases, confined to ordained preachers of the gospel. How then can a Ruling Elder give the right hand of fellowship, to take part of this ministry with him, when he has not this ministry?

When a Ruling Elder is ordained, the existing members of the Session are to say—"We give you the right hand of fellowship, to take part of *this office* (not this *ministry*) with us."

The *usus loquendi* of our Book, therefore, is clear evidence, to our minds, that only *Preaching Elders* are to lay on hands in the ordination of *Preaching Elders*.

3d. But the almost uniform practice of our church on this subject, from its earliest history, leaves no room to doubt, that our view is the correct one. It has been alleged, that the framers of our Book changed the language of the old Book for the express purpose of introducing the practice, against which we are contending; and yet, (strange to tell) it is an undoubted fact, that, in this, they never did change the old practice. Nay, there appears never to have been a word of controversy on the subject. Did those wise men understand their own meaning: and did they practice according to their own doctrine? If so, (and who can dispute it?) the decision of Synod is wholly incorrect.

4th. We utterly object, therefore, to the doctrine, now avowed by the Synod, as an *innovation* in our church. Whatever may have been the practice of a few Presbyteries, for a few years past, this doctrine was certainly never, till recently, believed to be taught in our Book. We have ever taken the ground, that the uniform practice of the church determine the meaning of our constitution, and that all pretended new discoveries are false. We maintain this ground still. If our Book has been misunderstood, not only by the great body of the church, down to the present day, but by the framers of the Book themselves, we despair of ever being able to understand it.

5th. We, the more earnestly, protest against the decision of the majority of Synod, because there is reason to believe that successful efforts have been made to excite the prejudices of the Elders of our churches against all Ministers who contend for the old practice, by charging them with having formed the settled purpose of degrading, if not of abolishing their office. This charge we regard, as both false and injurious, and calculated, by producing alienation between Ministers and Ruling Elders, to do incalculable mischief. Moreover, such appeals to feeling and prejudice are never needed by a good cause and are but too characteristic of a bad one.

6th. Finally, we protest against the decision in question, because we cannot but believe, that the principles involved in it, if legitimately carried out, will produce disastrous results.

It is worthy of particular remark, that our brethren who zealously press this matter have been able to point out no evils, flowing from the established usage of our church, and to specify no advantages to be derived from the change. Why then agitate the church?

We forbear to mention other reasons for entering our solemn protest against this proceeding.

Signed—N. L. Rice, J. T. Hendrick, Chs. Stewart, E. P. Humphrey, James K. Burch, H. H. Hopkins, Sylvester Scovel, John Kennedy, S. Watt, G. W. Coons, John H. Conditt, David S. Tod, Hugh H. Young, John Poyntz, Owen Glass, A. A. Cass, Francis Snowdon, R. F. Caldwell, Thomas Carr, A. McClintock.

The Committee, appointed for the purpose, presented the following answer to the above protest, which being approved, was ordered to be copied into the records of the Synod.

ANSWER.—The Committee appointed to answer the protest of N. L. Rice and others, against the action of Synod, in deciding that Ruling Elders have a right to impose hands in ordination, beg leave to submit the following answer:

The protesting brethren object to our decision as a perversion of the plain meaning of the Book of Discipline; and yet it is true that the disputed passage cannot receive the interpretation, which our brethren give to it, unless by imposing on the word *Presbytery*, the meaning of an *assembly of Preachers, exclusive of all Elders*—a meaning which it has no where else in the Book—and a meaning directly in conflict with the strict and clear definition of the word, which the Book has given.

Elders, even when members of Presbytery are excluded from preaching by express provisions of the Book—so when members of a Session, they are excluded, by express provisions from baptizing, which is an act done by the authority of the Session. But whenever a Presbytery or a Session are empowered to perform an act, all its members have an equal right to participate in the act, unless a clear provision be made for confining the act to a part of the body. Now there is no clause in our Book, limiting the *Presbyterial* act of ordination to the *Preachers*—nay, the framers of our present Form of Government left out of it those limiting clauses which existed in the Book they had previously used, and which had been introduced into that Book, *purposely* to exclude Elders from all participation in examination, imposition of hands, and every thing else pertaining to ordination.

Further, in drawing up our present form of ordination, in the place of the phrase "*Preaching Presbyters*," they substituted the word "*Presbytery*," (which they had before clearly defined) and in the place of the phrase "*all the Ministers of Presbytery*," they substituted the phrase "*all the members of Presbytery*." These changes in the phrasology harmonize perfectly with the omission of the clauses in the former Book, restraining the rights of Elders; and yet we are expected by our brethren to believe that these remarkable omissions and alterations *were not the result of de-*

sign on the part of the authors of our Book. If these authors had designed to remove every previously existing barrier, which prevented the Elders from exercising the rights of Presbyters, in the work of ordination, their design could only have been effected by the series of omissions and alterations, which we find exhibited: and no conceivable reason for these omissions and alterations can be assigned, unless the authors of our Book wished to restore to Elders, those rights and powers which they had enjoyed under the early constitution of the Scottish church, as exhibited in the second Book of Discipline.

2. Our protesting brethren deny that the phrase "members of Presbytery," in our Book, is ever applied to a Ruling Elder, even when he is commissioned and acting as a member of Presbytery; yet, with strange inconsistency, they say, that *they believe* he is "a member of Presbytery." Surely, if our Book does not authorize our brethren, in calling a Ruling Elder, when sitting in Presbytery, and regularly commissioned "a member of Presbytery," they ought not to designate him by such a phrase. But, it is certainly an undeniable fact, which our brethren in vain attempt *indirectly* to discredit, that Ruling Elders, sitting in Presbytery are "members of Presbytery."

3. When our Book directs each member of Presbytery to give to the newly ordained Preacher the right hand of fellowship, he is directed to say, not exactly what our brethren represent, "We give you the right hand of fellowship to take part of this ministry with us,"—but he is only directed to use words to that general purpose. (See form of Gov. chap. 15, sec. 14.) The framers of our book did not enjoin the use of this phraseology in all cases—so that an argument, based upon a peculiar and technical sense of a word in this formula, can at best, produce but a dubious conclusion. But Ruling Elders may, with perfect propriety, use this phraseology, as the Presbyterial office which they, as members of Presbytery sustain, is a ministry, to a participation in which they can welcome the newly ordained Presbyter. Though they cannot discharge all the duties he can perform, yet they share with him in the office of government.

4. The general practice of the church is pleaded by our protesting brethren, and we are charged with serious innovation. Various satisfactory answers might be given to this ground of protest, were the present a proper occasion for the full discussion of the subject. It is sufficient here to observe, that the changed phraseology of our Book has gradually produced a most extensive and important change in the action of our church on this subject of ordination. For now, perhaps, Ruling Elders, in all parts of our church, share in the examination and approval of candidates for ordination. They are no longer excluded from these most important parts of our ordination; and it should ever be borne in mind, that the interpretation of the Book, for which our brethren contend, would exclude Elders, not only from the imposition of hands, but also from all participation in the examination and approval of candidates for ordination.

There are multitudes of instances in which a change of the law has been followed by a far more partial change of practice, than has been witnessed in regard to the action of our Elders in reference to ordination. We ought never, indeed, to be seduced from the plain meaning of a written constitution, by a desire to harmonize it with any practice, of however long standing that practice may have been.—Practice is, at best, but tradition, and tradition or unwritten testimony, in whatever shape it may be presented cannot be admitted to set aside or change the plain, obvious, and simple meaning of a written document. If the practice of our fathers is to affect our view of the clear statements of our book, we shall be bound to believe, that our church courts may be constitutionally composed of other elements than merely ruling Elders and preachers—for we find, that during the times of those who assisted in forming our present book, and with not merely

their concurrence, but even their active co-operation, men, who were never ordained either to the office of ruling Elder or Preacher, were introduced into some of the Presbyteries, as constituent parts of these bodies. This practice continued for upwards of 30 years. Ought this practice to affect our view of that part of our book, which declares that "a Presbytery consists of Ministers and Ruling Elders?"

There is one reason presented by the protesting brethren, for their present action, with which your committee scarcely know how to deal. It is contained in the following extract:

"We the more earnestly protest against the decision of the majority of Synod, because there is season to believe that successful efforts have been made to excite the prejudices of the Elders of our churches against all Ministers who contend for the old practice, by charging them with having formed the settled purpose of degrading if not of abolishing their office. This charge we regard as both false and deeply injurious, and calculated, by producing alienation between Ministers and Ruling Elders, to do incalculable mischief."

Either this reason is irrelevant, as introduced into a protest against the action of his body, or it is meant to convey the imputation, that the majority of this body have used efforts to excite prejudices against those who differ from us on this question, and to load them with charges, which they declare to be false and injurious. We do not, and cannot believe, that our protesting brethren mean to insinuate, that any of the majority of Synod have done or said aught, which could warrant them in protesting against our conduct, as designed to asperse their character and alienate from them the confidence of the Elders of our churches. If others have been guilty of the conduct reprobated in the protest, we have no objection to our brethren, under proper circumstances, bringing forward their accusation against such persons, or even proving their misdeeds, and bringing them to punishment. But we conceive it to be a most unjustifiable and reprehensible course, on the part of those brethren, to seek an opportunity of attacking others, by bringing a false accusation against us.

Our protesting brethren assert, that no reasons had been given for changing the general practice, and that no evils can flow from a denial of the right of Elders to impose hands in ordination.

This is really a strange assertion. Many, and, as we conceive, strong reasons, were urged to show the importance of conforming our practice to the plain letter of our Constitution; and various evils of a weighty character were exhibited, as flowing from denying this right to our Eldership. There is no right, indeed, however small it may be, the denial of which is not injurious. No class of men can be properly, or without detriment, deprived of any thing to which they are fairly entitled, whether it be honor, emolument or power. But the principles involved in the denial of this right to Elders, we regard as deeply important. The same principles of interpretation, which deprive the Elders of the right to impose hands in ordination, if applied to those passages which declare their right to sit and vote in the examination of candidates, or the trial of Ministers for deposition, will strip them of these rights, and leave our Ministry a self-perpetuating body—a close corporation.

We wish the Elders of our churches to be active and efficient members of our ecclesiastical courts—not such *cyphers*, as they were during the period when they had no right to share in any part of the work of ordination—a period, when for many years, we can find, in the records of our highest courts, no instance of a Ruling Elder having ever been appointed on a committee—a period, during which the government of the church seems to have been almost exclusively in the hands of the Preaching Presbyters.

Your committee have not deemed it necessary to present a full argument in vindication of the views of Synod—and they have omitted much that

seemed called for, even in a very abridged answer to the protest, placed in our hands.

JOHN C. YOUNG,
JAS. STONESTREET,
W. L. BRECKINRIDGE.

Under the *fourth resolution*, appended to the report of the "Committee on the rights of Elders," the following committee was appointed to present and advocate the views of this Synod, at the next meeting of the General Assembly, viz: J. C. Young and J. H. Brown, from the Presbytery of *Transylvania*; W. L. Breckinridge and Mark Hardin, *Louisville*; J. M. Preston and R. C. Grundy, *Ebenezer*; W. D. Jones and — McCullough, *Muhlenburg*; J. H. Logan and J. F. Price, *West Lexington*.

S. S. M'ROBERTS, S. C., *Synod of Ky.*

Throwing together the votes of these two Synods, the state of opinion on the general question is this, to wit:

YEAS.—*Ministers.* Young, Hogue, Paxton, Proctor, W. L. Breckinridge, Hill, D. T. Stuart, McRoberts, Hall, Simrall, Forsythe, Price, Logan, Armstrong, Lynn, Jones, Allen, Owen, Andrews, Morris, Morrison, Wallace, DuBois, Carter, Dulap, Happersett, Berry, R. J. Breckinridge, Spottswood, Cross, Watson;—31. *Ruling Elders.* Gillis, Sanford, Thompson, Stewart, Brown, Russel, McAfee, Gray, Casseday, Jett, A. Logan, Allen, W. M. Todd, J. Logan, Holloway, Bullock, Stonestreet, Irwin, Collins, Boyd, Preston, Easton, Warren;—23. Total yeas, 54.

NAYS.—*Ministers.* G. W. Coons, Scovel, Hufnphrey, Hopkins, Tod, Kennedy, Burch, C. S. Stewart, Rice, Hendrick, Conditt, Watt, Caldwell, Case, Cuyler, W. Latta, Engles, Parker, Macklin, McCalla, C. Williamson, Tudehope, Loughridge, Elliott, Boardman, Wilson, Howard, Jardine, M. Williamson, Boyer, Grier, Love, W. W. Latta, Burrowes, Wynkoop, Work, McNair, Backus, Purviance, Laurie, Van Rensselear, Bosworth, Tuston, Moody, McKinley, Patterson, McDonald, J. V. Moore, Murray, J. Moore, Waller;—51. *Ruling Elders.* Whitehill, Armstrong, English, Donaldson, Coulter, Morton, Snowdon, Young, Carr, McClintock, Glass. 11. Total nays, 62.

NON LIQUET.—*Ministers.* Montgomery, Campbell, Davidson, Bullock, J. F. Coons, Matthews, Grundy, J. Latta, McKinney;—9. *Ruling Elders.* Crooks, Poyntz, John Todd;—3. Total, Non Lique, 12.

Ponder these results for a moment. Out of 91 Ministers who are called to vote on this question, 9 declare that they are not decided what is right in the premises, and that too, after hearing the matter pretty largely discussed: at the same rate one tenth part of our Ministers may be presumed to be in the same state of mind. And yet this is a matter which touches fundamentally the character of Presbyterianism, as presented in our standards! Again, out of 82 Ministers who vote directly on the question, 51, or five-eighths, are against you. Two facts seem therefore evident; 1st, that our Ministers have to a considerable degree neglected to inform themselves on this subject; 2d, that the inclination of their opinions is very obviously and decidedly against you, in this matter. I said as much in my first letter, published last August; and though I have been bitterly abused for saying it, is it not evident I was right? It is also true that many of our oldest,

ablest, and most successful Ministers, are with you; and this also I said, and was sneered at for saying it; but the proof supports me.

Now take another view. Of 37 Ruling Elders who have been required by official duty to act in Synod on this question, 3 had not made up their minds; that is nearly one in twelve; a smaller proportion than of the ministers. Though your incompetence is the commonest and most offensive argument against you, it appears you have examined this important business more carefully, as a class, than the others; that is, supposing you equally conscientious in making up and delivering your judgment. Again, out of 34 who voted directly, 22, that is, two to one, voted in favor of sustaining the letter and spirit of our standards and against permitting any man to take away your crown. Once more; if there had been 91 Ruling Elders in these two Synods, and the votes of those who *should* have been there, may be inferred from those of as many as *were* there, the vote of these 91 Elders would have stood (omitting all fractions,) thus; yeas 55, nays 28, non liquet 8; and if we add the whole vote of the ministers actually given, the result would stand thus; yeas 86, nays 97, non liquet 17. And so not only in the Synod of Ky., but also in that of Philadelphia, and jointly in the aggregate vote of both, this great question would have been carried. You may rely upon it, you must under God, depend upon yourselves; and if you will only do your duty, there is nothing to fear. If there be a full representation of Ruling Elders in the next Assembly, no man can tell how much trouble, vexation and division may be saved to us all; but if there be not, no man can tell to what extent rash men, who have never examined this question, who do not understand it, who are filled with prejudices in regard to it, and who fancy their ecclesiastical dignity is implicated by it, may carry measures.

I conjure you, therefore, dear brethren, to do three things: 1st, carefully, prayerfully, examine this question; read your Bibles and your church Standards thoroughly in regard to it, together with all other helps to its full understanding, and make up your minds honestly and firmly about it: 2d, make it a solemn duty to see that your body is fully, fairly, and always represented in all our church courts, especially the higher ones: 3d, when acting as members of those courts, firmly, constantly, exercise your inherent rights and the authority with which God has invested your office; do this with the spirit of Christ, as the officers of Christ's church, and no longer be content with the part you have acted till men begin to say you have neither capacity nor right to act any other. I feel as confident as I can feel of any future event of this kind, that if you will but show yourselves competent to your duties, and vindicate your right to perform them, it will be a very little while before the general sentiment will concede to you all that is really yours. Never, till this reform is effected, can you or the church we all love, take that position, and do that work which our glorious Lord requires.

For his sake, your servant and fellow-laborer.

R. J. B.

ACTION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN SPREADING THE GOSPEL;
INSUFFICIENT AND ILL-DIRECTED.

WE were very forcibly struck with the following paragraph in a letter from Rev'd W. M. Lourie, one of the missionaries of the Foreign Board of the Presbyterian church, attached to the mission to China. It is published in the "Missionary Chronicle" for Feb. 1843—pp. 45-6.

The Roman Catholics have the start of all the Protestant missionaries in Hong Kong. Several French Jesuits went there from Macao, after raising very large sums of money here; got a grant of the very best place on the Island for a chapel, and are now building a chapel and school-house, &c., which will probably cost \$20,000 or \$25,000. They are three or four in number, some of them being men of some experience and knowledge of the world. To compete with such men, the Protestant churches send out one or two young men, fresh from the schools, whose beards are not yet grown, and who have seen little or nothing of the world; *then cram them by instructions, which at times, it is almost impossible to follow, and if they venture to go beyond them, reprove them for acting too independently, and tell them always to write home and ask leave first;** and to crown all, give them such scanty supplies of funds, that they are obliged to see opportunity of usefulness after opportunity pass before them, and in reach, while they can no more reach out their hands to seize them, than a man chained to the roots of a tree can catch the birds that sing among its branches.

Here are several matters which are worthy of the grave and earnest attention of the people of God in general, and especially of that branch of his church to which this young missionary belongs.

1. "Roman Catholics have the start"—even in China. Here is a third part of the human race as yet shut out from the light of divine truth, but now about to be brought within its reach; and behold papists are before us in the field! Is it now manifest that we must fight this battle with Rome toe to toe, in every corner of the earth? If nothing else would rouse up protestants, surely here is a prize large enough; "the third part of men!"

2. These Romish missionaries are *Jesuits*, too. Instead of growing better, Romanism is manifestly more corrupt, as a system of doctrine, at this moment than it ever was before. There is a more absolute rejection of the way of salvation, a more thorough idolatry, a more ingrained heresy in Romanism to-day, than when Luther rose. And the spiritual dominion of the pope is more absolute, within the circle of his own sect at this moment, than ever before. And yet you may hear the assertion daily, and that from men who say they have examined the subject, that popery is much changed for the better, and much weakened in its power to do harm.

3. The British authorities in China have aided these Jesuits. The same authorities in India aid idolatry. And they would strike hands, we doubt not, with Satan himself, if they could thereby sell two pieces of merchandise where they now sell one, or in any other way gratify their lust for money or for power. A war begun in order to force a great nation to tolerate a contraband trade in opium, is appropriately concluded by providing the means whereby Jesuitism may take root amongst them. A government that shut up India against

*I am not complaining here of our instructions, which have heretofore given me as much freedom as I wished for; but what I refer to above has taken place, again and again.

the gospel for fifty years, now presents the combined blessings of Popery and opium to the Chinese. The folly of expecting any thing from the British Government, is about equal to that which believes in the amendment of Popery.

4. The missionaries sent out by Protestants are neither sufficient in number nor always adequate in ability. Melancholy and disgraceful facts! Clear and humiliating proofs of the lack of zeal, yea of piety in the ranks of the Protestant clergy as a body! Positive and palpable evidence of the improper, or to say the least, inadequate influence exerted upon the minds of our candidates for the ministry! What that is great or blessed can be expected of a ministry, of whom these two facts can be truly asserted, to wit, that only a few, and as a general rule only inexperienced men from amongst them, have a real zeal for the conversion of the world? Oh! that God would revive religion in the hearts of its ministers!

5. The means furnished to the missionaries, are utterly inadequate. Then the people of God are as much to be blamed as their spiritual guides. How could it be otherwise? People are not apt to be as good as their opportunities ought to make them; but who ever saw them better? How can missionaries be sent, unless the means be given by the churches to send them? And what hinders but that means enough might be given? There can be but three reasons; 1, want of ability; 2, want of inclination; 3, want of confidence. As to the first, it is out of the question; the second we are convinced exists to a great extent—and have tried to show that both pastors and people are to blame; the third is not without its influence, nor wholly without excuse. For

6. Read again that part of the extract from Mr. Louie's letter which we have printed in Italics. "Cramp them by instructions," "reprove them for acting too independently," "tell them always to write home and ask leave first."—We will first say, that we have as much confidence in the bulk of the excellent brethren who compose the Executive Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, as they themselves would say we ought to have in any like number of persons—let the others be who they might; and we unhesitatingly admit, that the Committee is as well composed, perhaps better composed than it could be in any other locality in the bounds of our church. But we must at the same time say, that we are no more firmly convinced of the personal excellence of the gentlemen composing this committee, than we are of the irregular, unpresbyterial, and unscriptural nature of the authority which they exercise, and the mischievous and deplorable results which must sooner or later follow therefrom. Our testimony against all these ecclesiastical corporations has been considered purely theoretical, if not visionary: but here is a *practical* testimony from one of their own missionaries, in one of their most important fields; yea of a missionary, who having no *personal* complaints to make, delivers of his repeated personal knowledge a testimony at once unimpeachable and fatal. Practically, the matter is proved to be evil: theoretically, this result is just as demonstrable as any moral result ever was; and it has been again and again demonstrated. Is it wonderful then that a cordial confidence does not exist on the part of our

ministers and people? That men of a superior stamp, and who think and comprehend, should hesitate to become missionaries, under such circumstances? That pastors should hold back in their efforts, when they see so much reason for apprehension? That our people should pause, when they see such testimonies as these concerning ministers of Christ who having gone to heathen lands, find their hands fettered by instructions originating in an authority unknown to our standards and to our Bible?

This whole subject is one of intense interest and illimitable extent. We will not at present go farther than to say, that if the church could be once set fairly on its feet, in the true, scriptural track—if a faithful trial could but be made of our own covenanted principles, under competent management, we are sure the result would prove how much better it is to live by faith, than to resort to contrivances;—how much better to carry out the true laws and ordinances of God's house, than to pick up at second hand the devices of a close corporation under the laws of Massachusetts. Oh! that men would sometimes think, and not always imitate.

ORIGINAL LETTERS OF THOMAS PAINE, THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JAMES MONROE, TO JOHN BRECKINRIDGE (THE ELDER,) WITH TWO FROM HIMSELF TO COLO. MONROE; IN REGARD TO THE TREATY FOR THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA, AND MATTERS CONNECTED THEREWITH.

ON the 50th page of this vol. (see No. for January) there is an allusion to various subjects of deep national importance connected with the name and services of the late John Breckinridge the elder, in regard to which it has occurred to us, that it would be a service to historic truth and not unacceptable to the public, to publish, from time to time in this periodical, documents and letters which have come into our hands in the course of providence, many of which have never been printed, and are not only important but extremely curious. We begin with a letter of Thomas Paine, the author of *Common Sense*, the *Rights of Man*, the *Age of Reason*, &c. &c., which is in many respects remarkable. The first letter of Mr. Jefferson, in which this of Paine was inclosed to Mr. Breckinridge—is printed on pp. 511–13 (as Letter eccvi.) of the 3d volume of the "*Memoir, Correspondence and Miscellanies*" of Mr. Jefferson, edited by Mr. T. J. Randolph. There are several verbal errors in the printed copy, and some minor alterations in spelling and punctuation and paragraphs, all of which are restored, and the letter now printed just as it was written. Mr. Jefferson wrote an extremely plain and beautiful hand; but his use and rejection of capital letters were very singular, as the reader will see: the same may also be said of Mr. Paine's habit of writing. All these letters, with the single exception just mentioned, are believed to be hitherto unpublished. They give rise to many curious reflections. Those of Mr. Jefferson seem to prove, that the correspondence of that distinguished gentleman even as published by himself, cannot be considered as satisfactorily exhibiting the entire nor always the actual state of the matters to which it relates. Why these various letters should be addressed to Mr. Breckinridge may be accounted for in part, no

doubt, by his actual relations at the moment to the Government of the United States, and his position in the Democratic party of that day. But his relation to the particular questions treated of in the letters, and to the whole subject of that policy which heaped so much renown on Mr. Jefferson, was the true and great reason why he was thus singled out; and it may be safely affirmed of him that few men have ever received a smaller portion of the fame they earned; or ever lost, by premature death, more of the impression of the commanding position they really occupied in regard to so many and so great interests.

Mr. Paine to Mr. Breckinridge.

*Bordenton on the Delaware, N. Jersey
August 2nd. 1803.*

My dear friend

not knowing your place of Residence in Kentucky, I send this under cover to the President desiring him to fill up the direction.

I see by the public papers, and the Proclamation for calling congress, that the Cession of Louisiana has been obtained. The papers state the purchase to be 11,250,000 in the six per cents and 3,750,000 dollars to be paid to American claimants who have furnished supplies to France and the french Colonies and are yet unpaid, making on the whole, 15,000,000 dollars.

I observe that the faction of the feds. who last winter were for going to war to obtain possession of that country and who attached so much importance to it that no expence or risk ought to be spared to obtain it, have now altered their tone, and say it is not worth having, and that we are better without it than with it. Thus much for their consistency. what follows is for your private consideration.

The second section of the 2d article of the Constitution says, "The President shall have power by and with the consent of the senate to make Treaties provided two-thirds of the senators present concur."

a question may be supposed to arise on the present case, which is, under what character is the cession to be considered and taken up by Congress, whether as a Treaty, or in some other shape? I go to examine this point.

Though the word Treaty, as a Word, is unlimited in its meaning and application, it must be supposed to have a defined meaning, in the constitution. It there means Treaties of alliance, as of navigation and commerce. Things which require a more profound deliberation than common Acts do because they entail on the parties a future reciprocal responsibility and become afterwards a supreme law on each of the contracting countries which neither can annul. But the Cession of Louisiana to the united states has none of these features in it. It is a sale and purchase, a sole act, which when finished, the parties have no more to do with each other than other buyers and sellers have. It has no future reciprocal consequences, (which is one of the marked characters of a Treaty,) annexed to it; and consequently the idea of its becoming a supreme law to the parties reciprocally, (which is another of the characters of a Treaty,) is inapplicable in the present case. There remains nothing for such a law to act upon.

I love the restriction in the constitution which takes from the Executive the power of making Treaties of his sole will; and also the clause which requires the consent of two thirds of the senators, because we cannot be too cautious in involving and entangling ourselves with foreign powers; but I have an equal objection against extending the same power to the senate in cases to which it is not strictly and constitutionally applicable, because it is giving a nullifying power to a minority. Treaties, as already observed are to have future consequences, and whilst they remain, remain

always in execution externally as well as internally. and therefore it is better to run the risk of losing a good treaty for the want of two thirds of the senate than be exposed to the dangers of ratifying a bad one by a small majority. But in the present case, no operation is to follow but what acts itself within our own Territory, and under our own laws. we are the sole power concerned after the Cession is accepted and the Money paid and therefore the Cession is not a Treaty in the constitutional meaning of the word subject to be rejected by a minority in the senate.

The question whether the Cession shall be accepted and the bargain closed by a grant of money for the purpose (which I take to be the sole question,) is a case equally open to both houses of Congress, and if there is any distinction of *formal right*, it ought according to the constitution, as a money transaction, to begin in the house of Representatives.

I suggest these matters that the Senate may not be taken unawares, for I think it not improbable that some Fed, who intends to negative the Cession will move to take it up as if it were a Treaty of Alliance or of Navigation and Commerce. The object here is an increase of territory, for a valuable consideration. It is altogether a home concern. a matter of domestic policy. The only real ratification is the payment of the money, and as all verbal ratification without this goes for nothing, it would be a waste of time and expence to debate on the verbal ratification distinct from the monied ratification. The shortest way, as it appears to me, would be, to appoint a committee to bring in a report on the President's Message, and for that committee to report a bill for the payment of the money. The french Government, as the seller of the property will not consider any thing to be ratification but the payment of the sum contracted for.

There is also another point necessary to be aware of, which is, to accept it in toto. Any alteration or modification made in it, or annexed to it as a condition, is so far fatal, that it puts it in the power of the other party to reject the whole and propose new Terms. There can be no such thing as ratifying in part, or with a condition annexed to it, and the ratification to be binding. It is still a continuance of the negociation.

It ought to be presumed that the american Ministers have done to the best of their power and procured the best possible terms, and that being immediately on the spot with the other party they were better Judges of the whole, and of what could, or could not be done, than any person at this distance, and unacquainted with many of the circumstances of the case, can possibly be.

If a treaty, a contract, or a cession, be good upon the whole, it is ill policy to hazard the whole, by an expedient to get some trifle in it altered. The right way of proceeding in such cases is to make sure of the whole by ratifying it, and then instruct the minister to propose a clause to be added to the original Instrument to obtain the amendment or alteration wished for. This was the method Congress took with respect to the Treaty of Commerce with France in 1778. Congress ratified the whole and proposed two new articles which were agreed to by France, and added to the Treaty.

There is according to News-paper account an article which admits french and spanish vessels on the same terms as american vessels. But this does not make it a Commercial Treaty. It is only one of the items in the payment: and it has this advantage with it, that it joins Spain with France in making the cession, and is an encouragement to commerce and new settlers.

with respect to the purchase, admitting it to be 15 million dollars, it is an advantageous purchase. The revenue alone purchased as an annuity or rent roll is worth more. at prescut I suppose the revenue will pay five per. cent. for the purchase money.

I know not if these observations will be of any use to you. I am in a retired village and out of the way of hearing the talk of the great World.

But I see that the Feds., at least some of them, are changing their tone and are now reprobating the acquisition of Louisiana; and the only way they can take to lose the affair will be to take it up as they would a Treaty of commerce, and annul it by a minority; or, entangle it with some condition that will render the ratification of no effect.

I believe, in this state (Jersey,) we shall have a majority at the next election. we gain some ground, and lose none any where. I have half a disposition to visit the western world next spring and go on to New Orleans. They are a new people and unacquainted with the principles of representative Government and I think I could do some good among them.

As the stage boat which was to take this letter to the Post-office at Philadelphia does not depart till to-morrow, I amuse myself with continuing the subject after I had intended to close it.

I know little, and can learn but little, of the extent and present population of Louisiana. after the Cession be completed and the territory annexed to the United States, it will, I suppose, be formed into states, one. at least to begin with. The people, as I have said, are new to us, and we to them, and a great deal will depend on a right beginning. As they have been transferred backward and forward several times from one European Government to another, it is natural to conclude they have no fixed prejudices with respect to foreign attachments, and this puts them in a fit disposition for their new condition. The established religion is Roman; but in what state it is as to exterior ceremonies (such as processions and exhibitions,) I know not. Had the cession to France continued with her, religion, I suppose, would have been put on the same footing as it is in that country, and there no ceremonial of religion can appear in the streets or high-ways; and the same regulation is particularly necessary now, or there will soon be quarrels and tumults between the old settlers and the new. The Yankees will not move out of the road for a little wooden Jesus stuck on a stick, and carried, in procession, nor kneel in the dirt to a wooden Virgin Mary. as we do not govern the territory as provinces but incorporate it as states, religion there must be on the same footing it is here, and Catholics have the same rights as Catholics have with us and no other. As to political condition the idea proper to be held out, is, that we have neither conquered them, nor bought them, but formed a Union with them, and they become in consequence of that Union a part of the national sovereignty.

The present inhabitants and their descendants will be a majority for some time, but new Emigrations from the old States and from Europe, and intermarriages, will soon change the first face of things, and it is necessary to have this in mind at the first measures that shall be taken. Every thing done as an expedient grows worse every day, for in proportion as the mind grows up to the full standard of right it disdains the expedient. America had nearly been ruined by expedients in the first stages of the Revolution, and perhaps would have been so, had not *Common Sense* broken the charm and the *declaration of Independence* sent it into banishment.

Yours in friendship,

THOMAS PAINE.

Remember me in the circle of your friends.

This letter is endorsed on the back in the hand writing of Mr. Breckinridge "Wrote to Colo. Monroe."

Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Breckinridge inclosing the foregoing letter.

Monticello Aug 12. 03

Dear Sir

The inclosed letter, tho' directed to you, was intended to me also, was left open with a request that, when perused, I would forward it to you— it gives me occasion to write a word to you on the subject of

Louisiana, which being a new one, an interchange of sentiment may produce correct ideas before we are to act on them. our information as to the country is very incomplete: we have taken measures to obtain it full as to the settled part which I hope to receive in time for Congress. the boundaries which I deem not admitting question are the high lands on the Western side of the Missipi inclosing all its waters, the Missouri of course, and terminating in the line drawn from the Northwestern point of the lake of the woods to the nearest source of the Mis'pi as lately settled between Gr. Britain and us. we have some claims to extend on the seacoast Westwardly to the Rio Norte or Bravo, and better to go Eastwardly, to the Rio Perdido, between Mobile and Pensacola, the antient boundary of Louisiana. these claims will be a subject of negociation with Spain, and if, as soon as she is at war, we push them strongly with one hand, holding out a price in the other, we shall certainly obtain the Floridas, and all in good time. in the mean while, without waiting for permission, we shall enter into the exercise of the natural right we have always insisted on with Spain, to wit that of a nation holding the upper part of streams, having a right of innocent passage thro' them to the ocean. we shall prepare her to see us practise on this, and she will not oppose it by force. objections are raising to the Eastward against this vast extent of our boundaries, and propositions are made to exchange Louisiana or a part of it for the Floridas. but, as I have said, we shall get the Floridas without, and I would not give one inch of the waters of the Mississippi to any nation. because I see in a light very important to our peace, the exclusive write to its navigation and the admission of no nation into it, but as into the Potomac or Delaware, with our consent and under our police. These Federalists see in this acquisition, the formation of a new confederacy embracing all the waters of the Mississippi, on both sides of it, and a separation of its Eastern waters from us. these combinations depend on so many circumstances which we cannot foresee, that I place little reliance on them. we have seldom seen neighborhood produce affection among nations. the reverse is almost the universal truth. besides if it should become the great interest of those nations to separate from this, if their happiness should depend on it so strongly as to induce them to go through that convulsion, why should the atlantic states dread it? but especially why should we, their present inhabitants, take side in such a question? when I view the Atlantic states procuring for those on the Eastern waters of the Mis'pi friendly instead of hostile neighbors on its Western waters, I do not view it as an Englishman would the procuring future blessings for the French nation with whom he has no relations of blood or affection. the future inhabitants of the Atlantic and Mis'pi states will be our sons. we leave them in distinct but bordering establishments. we think we see their happiness in their union, and we wish it. events may prove it otherwise; and if they see their interest in separation why should we take part with our Atlantic rather than our Mis'pi desendants? it is the elder and the younger son differing. God bless them both, and keep them in union if it be for their good, but separate them if it be better. the inhabited part of Louisiana from Point coupee to the sea will of course be immediately a territorial government and soon a state. but above that, the best use we can make of the country for some time will be to give establishments in it to the Indians on the East side of the Mis'pi in exchange for their present country, and open land offices in the last, and thus make this acquisition the means of filling up the Eastern side instead of drawing off its population. when we shall be full on this side we may lay off a range of states on the Western bank from the head to the mouth, and so range after range, advancing compactly as we multiply. This treaty must of course be laid before both houses, because both have important functions to exercise respecting it. they I presume will see their duty to their country in ratifying & paying for it so as to secure a good which would otherwise probably be never

again in their power. but I suppose they must then appeal to the nation for an additional article to the constitution, approving & confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. the constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our union. the Executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advanced the good of their country, have done an act beyond the constitution. the legislature in casting behind them Metaphysical subtleties and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify & pay for it, and throw themselves on their country for doing for them unauthorized what we know they would have done for themselves had they been in a situation to do it. it is the case of a guardian investing the money of his ward in purchasing an important adjacent territory; & saying to him when of age, I did this for your good; I pretend to no write to bid you, you may disavow me, and I must get out of the scrape as I can. I thought it my duty to risk myself for you. but we shall not be disavowed by the nation, & their act of indemnity will confirm and not weaken the constitution, by more strongly marking out it's lines.

We have nothing later from Europe than the public papers give. I hope yourself & all the Western members will make a sacred point of being at the first day of the meeting of Congress; for *vestra res agitur*.

Accept my affectionate salutations & assurances of esteem & respect.

Honble J. Breckinridge
Frankfort
Kentucky.

TH. JEFFERSON.

The following was inclosed in the foregoing letter.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Reps. of the U.S. two thirds of both houses concurring, that the following amendment to the constitution of the U.S. be proposed to the legislatures of the several states; which, when ratified by three fourths of the said legislature shall be valid to all intents & purposes as a part of the sd constitution.

Louisiana, as ceded by France to the U.S. is made a part of the U.S.

Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Breckinridge.

Monticello Aug 18. 03

Dear Sir

I wrote you on the 12th inst. on the subject of Louisiana, and the constitutional provision which might be necessary for it. a letter received yesterday shews that nothing must be said on that subject which may give a pretext for retracting; but that we should do *sub silentio* what shall be found necessary. be so good therefore as to consider that part of my letter as confidential. it strengthens the reasons for desiring the presence of every friend to the treaty on the first day of the session. perhaps you can impress this necessity on the Senators of the Western states by private letter. Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of great respect & esteem

TH: JEFFERSON

Honble J. Breckinridge
of Kentucky

Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Breckinridge.

Extract of a letter from a judicious & well informed American who has for some time been at the settlement of Natchetoches.

"What kind of government would at first be most suitable & proper God only knows. it would be sarcical to see a lawyer in a court of justice addressing a jury of them at present. with a few exceptions they have no other idea of any kind of government than a Commandant with both

civil & military jurisdiction. they have been accustomed to such ill luck in any attempt to obtain justice, they seldom apply, & submit to any thing that happens quietly."

Th Jefferson with his salutations to Mr Breckinridge sends him the above extract, as also a separate paper from an American on the same subject. this last being an office paper he desires to have returned after Mr Breckinridge shall have made what use of it he thinks best.

Nov 22., 03

Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Breckinridge.

Th. J. to Mr Breckinridge Insert in some part of the paper of yesterday "Slaves shall be admitted into the territory of Orleans from such of the United States or of their territories as prohibit their impotation from abroad, but from no other state, territory or country." Salutations

Nov 25. 1803

Mr. Breckinridge to Colo. Monroe. Copy.

Fayette (Kentucky) July 9. 1803

Dear Sir.

Your favor from N. York of the 4. of March come safe to hand shortly after my return Home.

You do me but that Justice to which I am entitled, when you confide in my readiness to serve you; and I feel gratified that any thing like professional compensation was named only to disavowed. The token of regard with which you kindly wish to possess me, I will accept with that sensibility which I cannot but experience when so distinguished by one, on whose friendship I have long set the highest value.

Upon my return to this country I found it in the most profound tranquility. The attempts of the minority in the Senate to inflame the western people, were wholly abortive. They were so insidious, that they attached instant suspicion & odium to those who made them, & strengthened the existing confidence in the Executive. All believed these new projects where intended for mischievous & vindictive purposes, & not for the good of the western states. But a single man in this state ventured to oppose the general sentiment by publishing an inflamatory piece recommending war, disunion &; and at the first Sitting of the Federal court thereafter, he was presented by the Grand Jury, & burnt in effegy by the mob. I mention this fact to show that the people were not only apparently tranquil but were heartily so, & were determined to maintain that tranquility until the result of the mission was known.—The restoration of the deposits which took place about the 19th May has removed the anxiety which existed on account of our exports during the present year. That event moreover has sanctioned the wisdom of the measures pursued by the Executive and Legislature and more glaringly exposed the destructive projects which were so ardently pressed upon the country.

Believing however, as I do, that the peace of the Union will be at hazard, & that the Western States cannot prosper so long any foreign nation is possessed of the mouth of the Mississippi, I feel all that solicitude which an object of such great national & personal interest, can inspire. A simple restoration of the right of deposit, I consider as ultimately of very little importance. The perpetual fear of similar, & more violent outrages on our commerce will effectually discourage every adventurer possessing ordinary prudence and foresight; and a second similar outrage will kindle a flame which cannot be extinguished until its cause is completely removed. Such I believe is the general sentiment here. Nothing therefore can be more interesting to men, than you & your mission are to us.—We are greatly gratified at the accounts published of your reception at Havre. God grant you complete success to the extent of your powers; I know

they cannot be more extensive than your wishes, and no man will enjoy with more sincere satisfaction the lasting applause which a grateful nation will bestow upon you, than

my Dear Sir

your affectionate friend & servant

Honble James Monroe
Paris.

JOHN BRECKINRIDGE

Colo. Monroe to Mr. Breckinridge.

London March 2. 1804

Dear Sir

I did not receive yours of July 9th until some considerable time after my arrival here. It went to France where it was detained I presume in the post-office sometime. I need not tell you that I was happy to hear from you, as I shall at all times be when you have leisure, to write.

I have not yet recd. official accts. of the surrender of Louisiana by the French governor to our govt.; but as the procln. of that officer & of Govr. Claiborne, after the transfer, are recd. from N. Orleans, I conclude that the whole transaction is completed, and that we are in possession of the territory. The effect which this great event has on our political importance in Europe is precisely what we might expect it wou. be. There is but one opinion on it, wh. is that while its blessings are incalculable in the interior to our people, that it gives us a much higher rank and entitles us to much greater respect as a nation with other powers than we held before. It reflects honor on the wisdom and patriotism of our councils since the whole transaction is admitted to have been managed with a firmness, integrity, and discretion wh. are exemplary. I will only add that had our govt. precipitated itself into any act of hostility, at the time when it was thought by many the occasion invited it, that I have no doubt the object wou. have failed & that we wou. now be a party to the war; or had we avoided an union in it with this power, the condition of wh. must have made a common cause in the prosecution and result, wh. seemed to form a part of a system of attack, that if we had succeeded in negotiation we shou. have obtained much worse terms. After a long exertion, it has plac'd our western brethren in the full enjoyment of their natural rights. For their patience & their virtue they are entitled to the applause of America. It is an important fact tending to prove that disorder never proceeds from the people; that mankind are competent to self-government. It is important in another view as it tends to prove that representative govt. must & will be responsive to the opinion & interest of the people. This affair has ended where it ought to do; since it has secured their just rights to those who were oppressed; to our govt. & people a resource of wealth for ages to come; not in mines wh. bury them in the ground, but in fertile territory wh. invites to agriculture & the increase of the human race; not in a funded debt wh. enriches the few and oppresses the many, but in furnishing vast materials for a profitable commerce, extending its benefit, especially in their carriage to market, to every quarter of the union. You will readily believe that in every view in which it can be contemplated, I rejoice in this event, on wh. I offer you my most sincere congratulations.

I say nothing on the topicks of the day wh. are applicable to Europe; in wh. most fortunately we have but a slight interest. You will be well informed thro' other channels.

While in France, I bespoke you a watch wh. has been finished since I came here. It is still there.—I will send it out in the course of the fall, by some friend going home to meet you in the next Congress.—Let me hear from you occasionally and believe me sincerely your friend & servt.

Honble J. Breckinridge
of the Senate of the U. S. Washington.

JAS. MONROE.

*Mr. Breckinridge to Colo. Monroe. Copy.**

Fayette Ky. Sept 8. 1804

My Dear Sir.

Since my answer of the 18th May† to your favour of the 2nd March I have delayed writing to you for sundry reasons, the principal of which was, that you were by many of your friends here expected to return in this month to New Orleans, and take upon yourself the Government Louisiana. I had no means here of obtaining correct information on the subject; and as I wished the report to be true, I indulged myself in the hope that my next letter to you would be addressed to that place.

There is nothing new in this quarter of the Union. The people of Louisiana are as happy and contented as could be expected under so great a change. I have heard latterly of some little attempts among them to promote a memorial to the next congress to erect them into a state Government. I doubt they are not ready for such a change. The emigration to that country has, as yet, been far short of my expectations. There has been little or none from this quarter. Our people dread the climate. I have not yet heard who is, or probably will be appointed Governor of Louisiana, or indeed to any other office there; altho' the law is to take effect the first of next month. I cannot but still hope that you are destined for it. I feel strongly the importance of our setting out rightly there; for if we can only keep them straight in their shoes there for a year or two, all will go on well afterwards. The last Natchez papers state that some of the Spanish subjects in West Florida are attempting to usurp and set up for themselves. It is uncertain what numbers are engaged in the combination. Its truth cannot yet be vouched for, or to what lengths they may proceed.

The atlantic papers which are no doubt regularly forwarded to you, furnish you with the subjects of the day. The Kentucky papers, I presume, do not reach you. In one of them I have been lately wontonly & wickedly calumniated & charged with patronizing attempts here to hold me up a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, against Mr Clinton. The attack was made by some old enemies who have lately been stirred up to it by their unsuccessful applications to me last session for recommendations to high offices in Louisiana. Fortunately I had it in my power to repel it satisfactorily; but not until they had considerably agitated the public mind here. It has however given me much concern; and I cannot discover from what sources you public men who have been the frequent objects of abuse, draw your philosophy, & with unconcern & patience see malevolent rascals publish wittingly down right, stark naked falsehoods respecting you. From the sensations produced by this first attack, I doubt I shall never learn to bear them with patience.—I hear of no federal candidates for President & vice-President, & do not believe there are any.

affectionately your friend & servant

Hoble Jas Monroe.

JOHN BRECKINRIDGE

*This and the previous letter from Mr. B. to Col. M. contained various details in regard to the land business of the latter in the West, which are omitted as of no interest to the general reader. This correspondence is very extensive and covers a long series of years.

ED.

†We do not find a copy of this letter in the file at present.—[ED.]

SHORT NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

The Fables of La Fontaine, translated by Wright.—*The Nestorians, by Grant.*—*Judaism Overthrown, by Litch.*—*The New Test Tested, by W. L. Breckinridge.*—*Dowling's Reply to Miller's theory of the End of the World.*

1. *Fables of La Fontaine. Illustrated by J. J. Grandville. Translated from the French by Elizur Wright, Jr. Boston, 1841. 2 vols. large 8vo.* The prints in this work are executed in France. They are exquisitely fine, both in their conception and execution. We could hardly conceive it possible for wood cuts to be so superbly executed, or for the highest triumphs of art to make the inferior creation so terribly human. The letter press is also very fine. But the translation is the merest doggerel that can be conceived. The contrast between the prints and the poetry is the most thorough that can be imagined: the one imaginative and elegant to the highest degree, the other stiff, naked, bald, awkward beyond any thing we have seen printed in irregular lines under the name of poetry. Indeed if it were not for the prints, it would sometimes be difficult to tell upon what ground the page of pointless rigmaleure facing them, is called a *Fable* at all. And yet such is the condition of the public press, that we have seen this translation again and again commended as strikingly clever.

2. *The Nestorians; or the Lost Tribes, &c. By Asahel Grant, M. D. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841, pp. 385, 12mo.* This vol. is divided into three parts.—The I. contains the personal narrative of Dr. Grant, during a tour from the United States, and a short abode amongst the Independent Nestorians. This portion of the work is full of interest. The II. part, which is the largest of the three, is written to prove that these Nestorians are the Ten Tribes of Israel. There are many curious facts and much interesting matter in this portion of the volume; but the conclusion of the whole seems to us no more than this, that these people may probably be of Hebrew origin. As to their being the ten tribes, the hypothesis, we must say, is wholly absurd. The III. part is an attempt to make the inspired prophecies support the conclusion of the II. part. And a

more idle, futile, and ill-executed attempt there hardly could be. There is a valuable appendix containing an account of the Yezidees, a History of the Nestorian Missions in former ages, and some notice of the Jews of Media and Assyria. The collateral evidence scattered through the volume against many of the pretensions and much of the doctrine of the church of Rome is extremely clear and conclusive. Here are a people, who have been branded by her historians for ten centuries as vile heretics, and behold when we come to know the truth we find a church pure compared with Rome in her best estate. The discovery and mission amongst these Nestorians is one of the most striking and delightful incidents of this century; and this little volume, notwithstanding the errors and weaknesses we have suggested, is in many aspects a very remarkable publication.

3. *Judaism Overthrown, &c. By Joseph Litch. Boston, pp. 34.* This pamphlet is No. xxv. of "Second Advent Library;" and its author is one of the leading friends and fellow-labourers of the Rev. Mr. Miller, whose name is very widely spoken of just now. The object of this publication is to prove that the Jews will not be converted to God nor restored to Canaan, in any thing like a national sense; and that in fact the death of Christ utterly and eternally dissolved all the national hopes of the Jews and all their special relations to God as his people chosen from of old. The argument is specious, but wholly fallacious. It proceeds upon the implied, though not stated and perhaps not clearly conceived assumption that in the Abrahamic covenant there was but one single promise, to wit, that of the Messiah. It proves very plainly that a door is open to the gentiles whereby they are made partakers of this promise; and then assumes that there is no promise besides to Israel. We readily admit that this is the great and glorious promise; and that all the other promises to the Jews are dependent on this in such a sense, that they will never enjoy them again till they return to Christ. But we think it is very manifest that the promises are full and abundant, that they shall one day return to him, and that then they will also be restored to Canaan, both of which Mr. Litch denies. Let him read once more the xi. chapter to the Romans.

The pamphlet is a very remarkable instance of the *inconsequence* of theorisers. The whole system of Mr. Miller professes to rest on a strict and literal interpretation of the Scriptures; and yet here is a breach upon his principles which lets the whole flock of his followers out into a wider range of spiritualising, than was ever before contended for. For the most imaginative spiritualists have conceded the conversion of the Jews to be plainly foretold. Perhaps the shortness of remaining time pressed their theory, and they began to distrust the power of God to do so much in so short a time; and therefore answered the objection by curtailing the work. For our part we have no such fears; and if it can be shown that our dear Master will come again in glory in 1843, half as clearly as we think it can be that when he does come he will gather back his ancient people both to God and to Canaan, we will gladly embrace the doctrine, and confidently rely on his power to do the whole. It may not be out of place to say, that we think Mr. Miller is very unfairly dealt by in many respects; and that many of his views are far easier mocked than answered. Some of them we think are entirely unsound, and many more crude and ill-digested. It is also worthy of remembrance that he is in no respect the originator of the system which passes under his name; but that every leading feature of it, if we understand it even tolerably, has been over and over, advanced by men, some of whom are of the very highest note; indeed some of the most obviously erroneous points, by some of the most famous men. This very notion that the Jews are never to be restored, has been for a long time the current opinion amongst that class of critics which seems most fierce against their follower (in this view) Mr. Miller; we mean the extreme supporters of anti-literal interpretation.

4. *The New Test of Christian Character Tested. Or the Bible Doctrine of Temperance, &c.* By W. L. Breckinridge, pp. 44. Frankfort, Ky. 1842. We exceedingly regret the appearance of this and every other publication on both sides of all disputes amongst the friends of the temperance reformation; and so we have already and more than once said. Still more do we regret the necessity, which on either side should even appear to good men to require such and similar disquisitions. There never was a

cause, as it seems to us, which might have been managed with less dissention amongst its real friends, than the temperance reform; surely never one whose true interests required more imperatively such a management. The mission of the societies was perfectly simple, to wit, to collect, embody, and disseminate facts; the principle of union was absolutely plain, to wit, the fact of agreement in the practice of abstinence. No reasonable man can deny that many foolish things have been done, many false principles asserted, many dangerous methods resorted to; and therefore, that much prudence, firmness, and forbearance have been required on the part of thinking people, who have gone along with the movement, as we have tried to do these fourteen years without once putting off the harness. We know, personally, that the author of this pamphlet was an earlier advocate of the temperance cause than we were, and a bolder one; and that his whole influence now and always, personal, public, and professional, has been and is, in favor of every thing that reasonable men ought to ask or expect. It is therefore folly and worse, for the friends of temperance to attack such a man; and little less than madness to attack him upon the principles and for the purposes against which he contends in the present publication. We could hardly have supposed that any man in his senses—that is supposing him to have any sense at all—would assert that the progress of the temperance reformation required us to deny the leading principles of this pamphlet, to wit, that total abstinence is not of universal moral obligation, and that good men are not to be denounced because that is their judgment.—What a pity it is that we cannot fight even such a monster as drunkenness without wounding one another.

5. *An Exposition of the Prophecies supposed by William Miller to predict the Second Coming of Christ in 1843, &c.* By John Dowling, A. M. pp. 47. Second Edition. New York. 1842.—We have never read through a single book or even pamphlet of Mr. Miller, nor as much as fifty pages of his writings, all together. It is therefore hardly possible that we can have a clear view of his opinions in a connected form, much less a full impression of the arguments by which he endeavours to support them. As far as we can judge from the

very cursory examination we have made of some of his publications and the attentive perusal of some tracts and newspapers of his immediate disciples; it has occurred to us, that his system, supposing it to be false, as in some at least of its parts it seems to us evidently to be; must be capable of being most clearly and indubitably confuted. Because his appeals appear to be constant and direct to alleged historical facts, and his proofs are cited places out of God's word. It is therefore the simplest thing imaginable to meet so frank an opponent by showing that he has mis-quoted or mis-conceived the facts; or that he has perverted the Scriptures. As for this disquisition of Mr. Dowling, we may confidently say that it is hardly to be conceived that any thing could be printed by Mr. Miller or Mr. any body else, more shallow, absurd, and worthless. There is hardly a point he touches, on which he has not managed to adopt the very idlest conjectures of past writers on the prophecies; and this so entirely without regard to any coherent system, that the only clear conviction a man of sense or reflection could draw from his pamphlet, if such a man could be supposed capable of believing it, would be, that the prophecies themselves are a jumble of nonsense. Such answers as his can have no effect, we would suppose, except to bring the whole subject into ridicule, or to promote the cause he attacks. The gentlemen, we believe, are both Baptists.—Since the foregoing observations were penned, we have read in the religious newspapers, a paper by the Rev. Dr. Weeks, of N. J., entitled, "*Mistakes of Millerism, No. 1,*" in which he sets out upon the task above suggested, and professes to have detected 58 mistakes, chiefly in the chronology of 'Millerism,' of which number 29 are given in this No. 1, and the rest will follow. This is meeting the affair in the right way, and we think the paper of Dr. Weeks, is to be commended as serious and earnest, in its treatment of a very solemn subject, in regard to which, a man must be very ignorant or very mirthful, who finds room for jest. We have read the paper of Dr. W. at-

tentively, and in a number of particulars, we think he is evidently correct and Mr. Miller mistaken; and especially, as it seems to us, the criticism of Dr. W. on the passage in Acts xiii. 20, is extremely plausible, and sheds valuable light upon an intricate point in the Bible chronology. But after all, this paper relates almost wholly to that point of 'Millerism' which asserts that the 6000th year of the world terminates in or near 1843; a point very curious and important in itself, but by no means essentially connected with the truth or error of his general system. We must say, that standing in the attitude of an impartial judge, and even supposing the chronology of "Millerism" to be no more than a conjectural approach to truth; this paper of Dr. Weeks, as a whole, does by no means prove, that the conjecture may not be, after all, as near right as other conjectures on the same subject. In other words, however it may be shown that Miller does not clearly establish his chronology, it is not attempted to be shown, that any other can be better established; and the mode and substance of the proof of Dr. W. rather conduce to show that it cannot than that it can be done. So that the real objection against Miller is the want of certainty in his chronology, rather than the absolute certainty of its incorrectness; and the objection to his proceedings is, that he asserts and proclaims with pre-emptoriness what he is wholly unable to demonstrate as certainly true—thereby proving himself a rash and probably an ignorant man. But in the mean time, what he says, might be positively disproved, which we submit, has by no means been done; and it might be clearly shown that some other chronology is true, which no one has yet attempted, and which, we sorrowfully admit, there are not five in America competent to discuss, at this moment.—Here is the great secret of the trouble; the profound and general ignorance which prevails on the whole subject; of which no greater evidence need be produced, than the fact that this pamphlet of Mr. Dowling has been extensively relied on, yea *preached*, as a sufficient answer to Miller.

BUSINESS NOTICES, &C. &C.

New Subscribers. James Webb, Esq'r, Hillsborough, Ohio, from Jan'y and \$3 paid by P. M.—A. M. Turner, Esq'r, Springfield Furnace, Huntingdon County, Pa., in the place of Rev'd Mr. Gibson; \$5 paid by Mr. Gibson, through the P. M. at Williamsburg, which is in full.—Mr. J. W. Maxwell, St. Charles Co., Mo.—Miss Sarah K. Smith, Alexandria, D. C., and \$2,50 for 1843 paid.—Mr. Garrett Van Metre, Hardy Co., Va., and \$2,50 for 1843 paid to David Owen.—Mr. William Gregory, Alexandria, D. C., from January 1843.

Discontinuances. P. M. for James C. Bruce, Esq'r, Halifax Co., Va.; the money paid to D. Owen some time back (\$11,50,) appears to have paid only to the end of 1841.—Dr. Paul Eve, Augusta, Georgia, by the P. M. refused; the letter is dated February 11, instead of being sent when he received the December No.; of what use are the remaining ten numbers of 1843 to us?

Payments. Mr. McClanehan, Baltimore Co., Md., \$2,50, for 1843, by the hands of Mr. Hopkins.—Dr. Wm. S. Graham, Campbell Co., Va., \$2,00 by the P. M.; see private note.—Rev'd Dr.

McMaster, President of South Hanover College, Indiana, \$5,00, which pays for 1841 and 1842.—Mrs. J. B. Bibb and Judge Broadnax of Ky., each \$2,50 for 1843, from the latter, by the hands of Hon'ble Mr. Underwood.—Rev'd Dr. J. M. Krebs, city of New York, \$5,00, which, if our books are correct, pays for 1841 and 1842, (the last previous credit entered being \$3,75, paid May 1840, to Mr. Carter of New York,) the missing number sent.—Rev'd J. M. C. Bartley, Hampstead, N. H., \$3, which pays for 1843, and 50 cents over.—Rev'd J. G. \$5, for Col. Thomas McKean and James Wilson, Esq'r, of Easton, Pa., for 1842.—Rev'd J. C. Coit, Cheraw, S. C., \$10, for himself and for Messrs. McLean, Matheson, and Wright, for 1843; the numbers written for sent; the subscription of Mr. Prince discontinued.—John C. Sowers, Esq'r, Staunton, Va., \$10, in full to the end of 1842.—P. M. Shelbyville, Ky., \$3, for Rev'd J. D. Paxton, for 1843, and 50 cents over.—P. M. Versailles, Ky., \$5, for Rev'd J. F. Price, for 1843, and John Aberdeen, Esq'r, for 1842; the numbers requested for Mr. J. J. Berryman sent to the Lexington P. O.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

APRIL, 1843.

No. 4.

[For the Spirit of the xix. Century.]

PROPHECY INTERPRETED LITERALLY OR SPIRITUALLY; OR THE MILLENIST AND MILLENARIAN VIEWS OF SCRIPTURE INTERPRETATION.

1. *Dissertations on the prophecies relative to the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ—by the Rev. George Duffield, D. D.*
2. *The Great Commission—by the Rev. John Harris, D. D.*

THE author of the first of these volumes discusses the following topics:—The duty of studying the prophecies and the objections commonly urged against it: the rules of right interpretation: the nature of figurative, symbolical and typical language: the discussion of these subjects occupies five chapters and about one-third of the volume. Upon the subject of interpretation he observes, that “two very different, and in some respects antagonistical systems, are, and have been for centuries, adopted by commentators: they may be designated the *literal* and the *spiritual*.” The author is very decided in his preference of the former of these systems, which he describes and contrasts with the spiritual system as follows:

By the **LITERAL**, we understand that system which assumes the **LITERALITY**, or **HISTORICAL REALITY** of the events predicted, and resorts to the grammatical interpretation of the language of prophecy to determine its meaning. By the **SPIRITUAL**, we understand that system which assumes the **SPIRITUALITY** of the events predicted. It traces something analagous, it may be, to the literal, but entirely different from it, and peculiar, of which the literal may be employed as the representative or allegorical exhibition. THE **LITERAL** is what Ernesti, in his “Tracts on the Interpretation of the Scriptures,” has called the grammatical; and THE **SPIRITUAL**, the mystic, metaphysical, or philosophical.

The *grammatical method* “adheres to the words, and directs us to comprehend things through the medium of words, and not words through the medium of things.”* The mystic or spiritual, is that “which philosophizes rather than interprets, and prefers to be metaphysical rather than grammatical, or, as it is uncouthly expressed, *real* rather than *verbal*.” His meaning is, that the grammatical or literal interpretation, which is concerned with the proper meaning of words, “proceeds entirely upon grammatical principles,” and is first, in all cases, to be resorted to, to know what are *the things* which the writer asserts or means; but that the mystic or spiritual interpretation inverts this order, and undertakes to determine the meaning of words by preconceived notions about the things.—p. 34-5.

In another place he observes: “The leading and essential characteristic of the literal system is, that the prophecies set forth real

* Bib. Reper., vol. iii. p. 125.

† pp. 122.—3.

persons and events, as literally and historically to arise and occur in the world as any matters of historical observation and verity which have already transpired."

In another place* he says "Two things are obvious from the prophets' use of types—the first is, that while types are not to be rejected utterly, they are not to be multiplied at the will of the interpreter. . . . The other . . . is the literality of the results predicted The brazen serpent, for example, was a literal, carnal ordinance; but the type of Christ on the Cross, as the means of healing; just as literally and truly lifted up from the earth.' †

According to the author, it is not a matter of indifference which of these systems is adopted. They lead often to opposite conclusions, and have a most important bearing upon the Christian's life and hopes.

Whether that long predicted and expected coming of Jesus Christ, and of the kingdom of heaven, are matters of literal verity, according to the grammatical import of the expressions, or analogically to be understood, and therefore to be interpreted altogether figuratively or spiritually, is a question of deep and wonderful bearing: nor is it to be slighted and sneered at, by any one professing to love and reverence the sacred oracles of God. It is vital to all our hopes, and forms the very warp and woof of all the scriptural revelations on the subject. It must be met; and will be candidly examined by every man who loves the truth, and is unwilling to be swayed by the dogmas of others. The decision, we contend, must be had from the word of God itself.—Preface, p. vii.

"The radical difference," says the author, ‡ "between the literal and spiritual interpretation, is nowhere more striking, or important, than on the great themes of prophecy, designed to be brought into view in these disquisitions, viz. the coming and kingdom of Jesus Christ. That the Sacred Scriptures speak of a second coming of the blessed Redeemer, and of a kingdom to be established at his coming, will not be denied. But how is that coming to be understood? and what is meant by his kingdom? The grammatical interpretation says, literally and truly, i. e. the second coming of Christ will take place, actually and visibly, as truly a matter of observation as was his first coming, long since become a matter of history, and the kingdom of Christ, a dominion which he will then establish in this world, as truly a matter of sensible observation, as was the theocracy once established in Israel.

As the best and fairest specimen of the views of those who prefer the spiritual to the literal interpretation, the author gives us|| the following extract from the Lectures of Bishop Hurd on Prophecy.

"It may be proper to observe, that the *second* advent of the Messiah is not, like the *first*, confined to one single and precise period, but is gradual and successive. This distinction is founded in the *reason of the thing*. He could only

* pp. 145. 147.

† Some seem to suppose that the literal system requires us to believe that the *hills* will hereafter literally sing, that the tress will clap their hands,—that the woman mentioned in Rev. 17. 9. was a real woman literally seated in broad expanse upon seven huge mountains—that when Paul spoke of the middle wall of partition between Jew and gentile as broken down, he meant a wall of brick or stone and mortar. &c. &c. We can hardly suppose any thing intended, by such objections but derision. But what if the system thus caricatured after all be true, and the only system by which we can come at the mind of the Holy Spirit? It is quite superfluous to say, that literalists understand (in perfect consistency, as they suppose with their system) all such expressions in the same sense that spiritualists do. The reader may be referred to Sirr on the First Resurrection, Letter V. in the 5th Vol. of the *Literalist*, where the principles of literal and figurative interpretation are ably discussed and illustrated by numerous examples. Our author's remarks also upon this topic, set it in a clear light.

‡ p. 33.

|| p. 39.

come *in person* at one limited time. He comes in his power and providence through all ages of the church. His *first* coming was then over when he expired on the cross. His *second* commenced with his resurrection, and will continue to the end of the world. So that this *last* coming of Jesus is to be understood of his Spirit and kingdom; which is not one act of sovereignty exerted at once, but a *state* or constitution of government, subsisting through a long tract of time, unfolding itself by just degrees, and *coming*, as oft as the conductor of it thinks fit to interpose, by any signal acts of his administration."*

Of the spiritual system the author says † "It has no standard—it gives rein to men's imaginations—it has engendered some of the most pestiferous heresies, and ridiculous and fanatical sects that have disgraced the Christian name."

Again, "We see no difference, as far as the principles of interpretation are concerned, between the Unitarian who tells us that the stories of the paradisiacal state and fall of Adam, of the temptation of Christ, and other historical matters in the Bible, are mere fables or allegories, and the Neologist, who, assuming the language of the sacred writer to be often that of the superstitious vulgar, or of the extravagant poet, accounts for every miracle upon natural principles, and the ignorant mystic who sees no use or value in the Bible, but as he can give a spiritual gloss to its historical and literal statements."—p. 45.

The discussion of the principles of interpretation is followed by a general outline of the literal and spiritual systems of interpreting the prophecies and a general statement of the expectations which those who adopt them, form of the future.

"The spiritualist believes," says the author, ‡ "that the Millenium is nothing more than a highly-prosperous state of the church, which shall be introduced through the gradual diffusion of light and knowledge, by means of missionaries, Bibles, tracts, and other instrumentalities employed for that purpose; that during this illustrious period, Satan will be restrained from the practice of his deceitful and corrupting arts, and his influence almost, if not entirely, suppressed;—that the Jews in their dispersion, and the gentile heathen nations throughout the whole world, shall be converted;—the church enjoy an increased and astonishing influence of the Spirit of God, of like character with that which he exerts in extensive and powerful revivals of pure religion, and in this way realize all the glowing and glorious anticipations of the Old Testament prophets;—that the principles of the gospel becoming universally prevalent, all wars will cease;—that the nations of the earth becoming a vast confederated family for the preservation of peace, and for the promotion of human happiness, shall no longer cultivate the warlike arts—civilization be carried to the highest pitch, the blessings of civil, political and religious liberty universally be enjoyed—all forms of oppression cease,—the rulers of this world becoming righteous and religious, rule in the fear and love of God—and the entire population of the globe, increased and enriched by industry, frugality, virtue, and piety, present an Eden-like scene of prosperity, and glory, and blessedness;—that at the end of a thousand years, or of this halcyon period, the spirit of piety, which, like that of the martyrs of Jesus, had prevailed in the world, will begin to decline,—the great adversary who had been imprisoned, be let loose again, and gain an influence over the nations so as to deceive them, and to produce a general defection from the millennial purity and truth;—that the apostate nations, under the denomination of Gog and Magog, shall conspire together, and commence hostile movements for the destruction of 'the camp of the saints and the beloved city,' and bring about a general and dreadful corruption of morals and of religion in the world;—that then, but not till then, the Lord shall suddenly rain down fire from heaven and destroy them all;—that immediately thereafter, the second personal visible coming of Jesus Christ shall take place, and the resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, and the dissolution by fire of this entire

* Hurd's Lect. on Proph., p. 102.

† p. 158.

‡ pp. 183.—155.

globe ensue; and that then, but not till then, will the new heavens and the new earth be created, and that glorious heavenly kingdom be established, which is to be the inheritance of the saints for ever.”

“The literalists differ greatly in their views from them, and what is remarkable, they mostly agree among themselves in the general outline and results. It is true, they sometimes differ as to minor and subordinate prophecies not yet fulfilled, but not as to the general system, in its bold and radical features. The Millennium is regarded by them, not as the expansion and universal diffusion of the gospel, in a season of unprecedented religious prosperity; not as the consummation of the present evangelical dispensation, but as a new dispensation, to be miraculously introduced, as all the former dispensations were, and to possess its own distinct and peculiar attributes. The gospel dispensation, which commenced with the ministry of Christ and was fully introduced on the day of Pentecost, they believe—as Christ and the apostles styled it—is the dispensation of *the good news of the kingdom of heaven drawing nigh*, but the Millennium, the kingdom itself, commenced with the awful retributions of Divine justice on the enemies of Christ; the one, the proclamation or heralding of the kingdom coming, and the other, the kingdom come, introduced by terrible displays of divine vengeance, and established and perpetuated by the exercise of all the high functions of executive, legislative, and judicial sway, entitling it to the denomination of **THE DAY OF JUDGMENT**.

This kingdom, they affirm, is not the Church of God, as she now exists in her visible organizations, and in which Christians, or the saints, are *the subjects*, yielding obedience to the commands of Jesus Christ; but it is a new and glorious development of Almighty power, and grace, and justice, in which the saints of all ages, that have died in the faith, and been with Christ, shall return with him to the earth, and receive their bodies raised from the dead, and made like to his most glorious body; when those that love the Lord and his appearing, alive on the earth at the period of his coming, shall undergo an instantaneous change in their mortal bodies, assimilating them to the saints of the resurrection, and shall all be employed by Jesus Christ as *his kings and priests*, his subordinate agents and officers, to administer under him the government to be then established over the nations that shall yet remain in the flesh. The saints in the millennial state are to *reign with Christ*—to be the *rulers* and not the *ruled*—having been schooled in affliction, persecuted, tried, and many of them put to death for the testimony of Jesus, and no longer selfish, ambitious, covetous, and vindictive, like most rulers of this world, become fit and safe depositaries of power for the government of the nations of the earth.”*

These extracts, though they comprise but a portion of the author's outline, present the prominent points of difference as the author conceives of them, between the systems. In continuation of the last of these passages, the author states the views of some writers who, as it strikes us, have carried at least some of their conclusions quite too far.† The great points in debate, are few and simple, and susceptible of being treated separately from others, which all must admit, the Scriptures leave in obscurity. These should not be prejudiced by being blended with others which do not admit of demonstration, or of any such determination as would carry with it the full persuasion and confidence of a serious and candid inquirer.

In the next three chapters,‡ the author traces the history of what has been called the Millenarian doctrine. In these chapters, which

* pp. 161—163.

† pp. 163—166. We do not understand our author as expressing his own views upon these points. He speaks of them “as among the points or facts believed by different writers who have pursued their investigations the farthest” without expressing any opinion of his own. We do not reckon all of these among the profitable topics of investigation. Some of them we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, which will prevent the necessity of a specification in this place.

‡ 7th, 8th and 9th.

occupy nearly a hundred pages, the author has collected and condensed much interesting matter pertinent to the subject and not generally known.

“The term Millenarian,” he says,* “is sometimes used as a term of contempt; but is, nevertheless, admitted by those who adopt the literal system of prophetic interpretation, to be an appropriate designation, in contradistinction from the spiritualists, who, in their turn, are denominated Anti-millenarian. It is intended by it to denote those who believe that the prophets of the Old and New Testament predict the personal visible coming of Jesus Christ with his saints before the Millenium, to raise their dead bodies, to destroy the anti-Christian nations, and to establish his glorious kingdom or dominion over all the earth, in which, by the ministry of his saints raised from the dead, and quickened at his coming, He will reign for 1,000 years and judge the world. The term Anti-millenarian denotes those, who affirm that the coming of Christ to judgment will not take place till after 1,000 years’ great prosperity in religion, during which He may be said spiritually, that is allegorically, to be present and to reign with his saints on the earth.”

“Anti-millenarian views, as at present entertained in the United States,” he remarks,† “are of but recent date.” Dr. Daniel Whitby, who died A. D. 1726, seems to have been the first to reduce them into order. He has written a commentary on the Apocalypse, to which he has appended a treatise on the Millenium, denying the distinctive features of the ancient millenarian faith, and spiritualizing the restoration of the Jews, the coming of Christ, and the first resurrection.

In that treatise, Dr. Whitby explains the manner in which his mind was led to the views he originated, of an allegorical Millenium. He confesses it to be, and calls it a “NEW HYPOTHESIS.”‡

The author endeavours to shew,—and as we think successfully,—that during the first three centuries of the church, the doctrine of the pre-millennial advent of the Lord Jesus Christ was generally received. To the system of interpretation, invented by Origen, he ascribes the change which was gradually wrought in the faith of the church upon this article—a system which, while it prepared the way for the general contempt and rejection of the ancient faith, laid a foundation for the claim of the learned to be the exclusive interpreters of the Scriptures and threw around them a cloud of mist and darkness that repelled the common people and allowed the clergy ample means and opportunity to erect the enormous fabric of the Papacy. Yet the voice of the church in every age, as the author shews, has been to a greater or less extent in favour of the views of Millenarians.§ The question concerns a matter of fact, and it is certainly an important one. For without giving undue weight to human opinion, in favour of a religious doctrine, novelty in any matter of religion is, by common consent, a just ground of suspicion. Many, who have adopted anti-millenarian views, will be surprised to learn, that they cannot be traced back to a date much anterior to the beginning of the eighteenth

* p. 169.

† pp. 259, 260.

‡ See Whitby’s *Treatise on the Millenium*, Introduction, where he so calls his system.

§ “As the same star at different seasons is the evening star, setting immediately after the sun, and then the morning star shining immediately before it, so was this truth”—viz: the reign of our Saviour with his saints on earth—“the evening star to the first coming of Christ, setting together with the glory of that day in a night of Anti-Christianism; and now it appears again in our times as a morning star to that blessed day of the second effusion of the Spirit and the second appearance of our Saviour, in the glory of the Father.” Peter Sterry, see his *imprimatur* of *Home’s Resurrection Revealed*. Sterry was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

century.* This part of the work, and the original sources from which it has been derived, deserve a careful examination, and if the author's conclusions are not supported by sufficient evidence, it should be shewn.

The subject next in order, is the Second Coming of Christ. This the author maintains will take place prior to the destruction of popery† and before the millenium. He then discusses the nature of the day of judgment and answers objections, which, it is supposed to afford, against the doctrine of the pre-millennial coming of Christ. This is followed by a chapter on the season and signs of Christ's coming, and the volume is closed by a consideration of the sceptic's objection; "Where is the promise of his coming; for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

Thus much as to the contents of the volume.—We shall not attempt to follow the learned author in his reasonings upon these topics. His arguments and statements of facts are too much condensed to admit of an abridgment without impairing their effect. In general, we may observe, his topics are well chosen, logically arranged, and concisely and clearly discussed. The numerous facts the author has embodied in a small compass, and the considerations he derives from them shew, not only extensive research and a discriminating judgment, but in general a clear perception of the bearings of his facts upon the main question. He is always in earnest, always interesting and impressive, and often eloquent. If the reader wishes to investigate these subjects (and they are highly interesting as well as important) we feel sure he will be greatly aided by this work. We heartily commend it to the careful and prayerful consideration of the reader.

But although we cannot attempt minutely to analyze these dissertations, or to pass a critical judgment upon every part of them, we are not inclined to dismiss the author without a more particular notice of what he very properly considers the fundamental question. In doing this, we shall have the opportunity to refer to some of the more important arguments advanced or suggested by him. In this way, we hope to perform a more acceptable service, than by attempting a formal review.

"The great question," says the author,‡ "which forms the nucleus of the whole discussion is one and very simple," viz:—"Is the king-

* If the fact be as our author (and as we believe the Rev. Edward Bickersteth) asserts, that the prevailing expectations of the church concerning a spiritual millenium before the coming of Christ, originated with Dr. Whitty, it is a strong argument against them. Dr. Doddridge (Lectures Prop. 165, Sch. 4, also vol. 2, pp. 453, 455) speaks or seems to speak, of Whitty as the author, or at least first promulgator of the theory. It appears however that John Howe, preached in 1678 a sermon on the prosperous state of the Christian interest (serm. 2d) in which he advances something, which the reader may suppose is very much like the present theory; but this sermon was not published till 1725. Dr. Whitty's treatise on the Millenium was first published in 1700 with his paraphrase and commentary on all the epistles of the New Testament. (See works of the Learned, vol. 2, June 1760 where this volume is noticed. His commentary on the Gospels and the Acts first appeared in 1763.) This fact therefore does not materially affect the statement of our author. Whitty was born eight years after Howe and survived him twenty years.

† But . . . when shall Jerusalem be made the praise of the whole earth? It is very hard to determine the particular time; but surely at the end of Antichrist's reign it must be." Jerusalem's Glory, by Jeremiah Burroughes.

‡ Pref. p. V.

dom of heaven a new dispensation, to be introduced by the visible, personal coming of Jesus Christ? Or has it commenced, and is it now in the progress of expansion," &c. The question is indeed, very simple, and one would think, scarcely debateable. Is the kingdom of God a great and glorious reality which, at its coming, will cover the whole earth and every where exhibit irresistible evidence of its presence and power, or is it a kingdom limited in its extent and concealed where it exists, from the observation of all, except those gifted with spiritual discernment? Discordance of opinion upon such a question, argues discordance of views concerning the nature of that kingdom, and consequently discordant interpretations of all those Scriptures which describe or predict it. We add; the difference is fraught with consequences, important in their bearing upon the conduct and hopes of men. This is almost too obvious to need illustration; nevertheless we offer the following: Our Lord taught his disciples to pray for the coming of the kingdom of God: "Our Father who art in Heaven . . . thy kingdom come." "The special rule for our direction in the duty of prayer," says the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly," is that form of prayer which our Saviour Christ taught his disciples." What then are we to understand by this petition? The spiritualist will say perhaps,* that "this prayer taken alone, is not strictly adapted to the New Testament dispensation—that when it was delivered, the Old Testament economy was in force and the setting up of the new, prayed for as future." This petition then, in a certain, that is the literal sense, is in his view obsolete, and can now be offered, with strict propriety, only in a qualified sense. His guide in making deductions from the full or literal sense, is the other Scriptures, or rather his interpretation of them, which nevertheless he does not receive literally, except so far as his views of the analogy of faith require him to do so.

The literalist on the other hand will tell us that the kingdom prayed for in this petition is still future, and the petition itself, literally understood, is in harmony with his expectations and appropriate to express his most intense desires. If we ask the particulars of his belief on this article, he will tell us the coming of the kingdom he prays for, will be signalized by the second and glorious coming of the Lord Jesus Christ in person, by the resurrection of a part of the dead, called in the Scriptures the first resurrection or the resurrection of the just, and the binding of Satan, so that he shall deceive the nations no more, for a long time to come.† He cannot now pray for the coming of the kingdom of God in the sense of *the diffusion* of the Gospel of Christ; for in that sense the kingdom came long since and has been long established upon earth.—Nor can he pray *absolutely* (as we do when we use this petition) for the coming of the kingdom of God in the sense of a *greater* diffusion of saving truth and knowledge, than has yet taken place; for that would not be to pray absolutely for the coming of a *new* kingdom *as such*, but for the better establishment and wider extension of one *already come*. Still less can he pray for the coming of the kingdom of God *in heaven*; for there it has always existed and cannot be better established;—be-

* Biblical Repository, Vol. X. p. 161.

† Greswell on the Parables, Vol. I. p. 151—2.

sides the prayer has respect to the kingdom of God on earth, for in the next petition we are taught to add: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."*

We stop not now to inquire whether the spiritualist or the literalist best interprets this prayer: our object at present, is merely to point out a difference which affects, as well their exercises in the closet, as their worship in the house of prayer. That it is not a trivial matter, will appear if the reader considers, that in those assemblies of Christians, where it is the custom, for one to offer extemporaneous prayer in the name and on the behalf of all the worshippers, points of difference may be multiplied in proportion as the minister employs the language of Scripture to express his own desires and the desires of those in whose behalf he officiates.

Take another example: The Lord Jesus Christ enjoined upon his followers the duty of watching for his coming. A reason which he gave them for the performance of this duty, was their ignorance of the time of his coming; "Watch therefore, for you know not what hour your Lord doth come." (Matth. 24, 42.) The spiritualist has been taught to believe "the coming of the Lord" is spoken of in many senses. It may mean any great, though invisible interposition; it *may* mean the effusion of the Holy Spirit; it *may* mean the propagation of the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, or the destruction of Jerusalem. Coming in the clouds, is the prophetic style for judgment. The expression also *may* mean the visible appearance of the Lord for general judgment.† There is yet another sense given to the expression: the Lord may be said to come to a believer, when he removes him by death. In this way we have heard the midnight cry, "behold the bridegroom cometh" in the parable of the ten virgins, explained. This the spiritualist esteems a good practical sense and the only one, which really concerns Christians of the present day. He cannot watch for the coming of the Lord for the destruction of Jerusalem.‡ It is an event long since past, nor can he suppose the Lord commands him to watch for his personal coming in power and great glory for general judgment, because he is sure that event will not occur until a very distant day. The Gospel has not yet done its work; hitherto it has been confined to comparatively a few of the nations. It will gradually but surely and steadily expand, and before the Lord shall come it must cover the whole earth and introduce universal peace and righteousness: and not only this, the reign of righteousness, when once established must continue a thousand years before the personal visible coming of the Lord. He cannot therefore watch for that day, which he confidently believes nay is divinely assured, as he supposes, will not come, till long cycles of ages have revolved over his sleeping dust, and his soul shall have been gathered into the company of the departed just.

* Gresswell on the Parables, Vol. I. p. 255. Introd. † Gerard's Instit. p. 286. Note.

‡ "Signa quæ in Evangelis ponuntur non omnia pertinent ad secundum adventum, qui erit in fine, sed quedam eorum pertinent ad tempus destructionis Hierusalem, quæ jam præterit. Quedam vero, et plura pertinent ad adventum quo quotidie venit in Ecclesiam, eam spiritualiter visitans, prout nos inhabitat per fidem et amorem." *Thomas Aquinas in Sumon. Theol. Suppl. Qu. 89, or 88.* Thomas was born A. D. 1224 and died in 1274, so that this opinion is not modern nor of Protestant origin. If the allusion of this author is in any degree to the doctrine of transubstantiation, no protestant of course, will admit this sense of "coming."

The literalist views the injunction very differently. He believes* "the Scriptures uniformly command him to look forward with eager expectation to the coming of Christ"—"that the Lord Jesus Christ will have the day of *his coming to judgment* unknown to men, that they may shake off all carnal security and be *always watchful*, because they know not at what hour he will come, and may be ever prepared to say; "come Lord Jesus, come quickly." Accordingly he receives this injunction and all others like it, literally, and as applicable to all, to whom it has come or shall come, and if he lives according to his belief, he is actually looking for the personal, visible, glorious coming of the Lord Jesus Christ to judgment, as an event which may occur in his day.

Now we do not affirm, that the literalist is wrong, or that the spiritualist is right in his views of the coming of the Lord. At present we say only, that they have not the *same* views of this Scripture, and the difference between them results from discordant principles of interpretation. Nor is the difference merely in theory: for we see by these examples, that while men holding these different views may outwardly join in the same language, they do in truth give utterance to different thoughts and desires; and while concurring in the same good work with a hearty consent, that consent may be the effect of motives so different, that neither would allow the least weight to those which sway the other.

It would be easy to add other illustrations, but the limits of a review, will not admit of it. We are not surprised that the advocates of these different systems oppose each other with warmth. The difference between them respects things of very great importance; for nothing can be more important than the right understanding of Divine revelation. The difference has sometimes been stated in very strong terms, and indeed it cannot be disguised, that if the literalist be right, "God hath said many things which the spiritualist does not believe" in the sense in which they were spoken; and on the other hand, "if the spiritualist is right, the literalist is a visionary, inventing a revelation for himself and calling it God's word."† Nor can the question be settled by the mere authority of human opinion.—Men distinguished for learning and ability—for sobriety of judgment and ardent piety have taken opposite sides of the question, and great as the difference is between them, neither has the right, as it seems to us, on the score of authority, to consider his own opinions as too clearly true to admit of reasonable debate. We venture another observation; as there is scarcely any heresy, which has not some, though it may be, slight foundation or semblance of truth; so there is no system, claiming to be orthodox, which may not have in it some admixture of errors. This may be true of the two systems under consideration,—yet the great truths upon which the whole question

* Calvin's Instit. Book 3, Sec. 6, Vol. 2, p. 208.

† Westminster Confession of Faith, the last article of the last chapter. Saybrook Platform, last article of the last chapter. The Divines who composed and adopted these confessions, as well as Calvin, appear to have understood such texts as Mark 13; 33; Math. 24, 42.—25, 13; Luke 12, 40,—21, 36, in their literal sense and as referring to the coming of Christ to judgment.

‡ McNeile's Lectures, published in the Literalist, by O. Rogers, Phila.

turns, should not be prejudiced, by any errors or extravagancies, however gross, with which they may be mixed; and our object, as sincere inquirers after the truth, should be to confine the controversy to the cardinal truths rather than to place it,—as in the ardour of debate we are too apt to do,—upon subordinate matters, or upon indefensible parts of the system in which these truths may be incorporated.

Waiving however further observations of this kind, we remark that the foregoing illustrations shew the importance of that portion of Dr. Duffield's work which relates to the different systems of interpretation. He has done well we think, in giving these systems a careful and extended examination. We do not suppose however, that his arguments under this head of the work, will carry conviction to the minds of all those who have, upon examination, adopted and inculcated upon others the opposite system. It is hard for any man to admit that the labours of (perhaps) a long life, have been wasted in the study of a false system, or that while he conscientiously believed he was serving the cause of truth, and doing the will of his master, he was in fact employed in propagating doctrines, many of which are the mere inventions of men. Yet this is a concession which some upon both sides of the question must make, before they can heartily adopt the views of their opponents. If the reader should think the difference too strongly stated, and that less than this is demanded by either party of the other, he must suppose that the differences are few and unimportant, or if not that the very sense of the same Scripture may be multifarious: but we see not how this can be. Both systems cannot be right, as in many respects, they conduct to opposite results: and consequently neither can relinquish his own, without the virtual concession that he has erred in many points of instruction or belief.

Right views of the kingdom of God and of the time and manner of its coming, Dr. Duffield supposes, would tend to reconcile for the most part, these conflicting opinions. The force of this remark will appear by the following considerations. The spiritualist believes the kingdom of God has already come*—that it is in fact the existing economy. Of course he expects to find the fulfilment of the numerous prophecies predictive of that kingdom and of the state of the world as subject to its benign influence, in the past and present condition of things or in such future condition of the church and the world, as may be reasonably hoped for, as the result of the more active, extensive and effective use of such moral and religious means as are now employed for the propagation of the gospel. "Some of these prophecies, understood according to their grammatical import, foretell changes, affecting the face of external nature; others promise a change in the instinct of animals;† others still excite the hope, if

* "Regnum Dei" explicat Origenes in Matth., "dicit mysteria Regni Dei. id est, divinas Scripturas quas tradidit Dominus primo quidem populo illi priori" scilicet Judæis "cœcredita sunt eloquia Dei; secundo autem Gentibus facientibus fructum."

† In the view of some interpreters, the literal interpretation of such prophecies as Is. 11. 6-8: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid" &c. shews the absurdity of the system; but in opposition to this the Rev. W. W. Pym remarks, "Our early notions are so deeply impressed upon us, that it is difficult to remove them and substitute others in their stead. . . . Accordingly when the spirit of the Lord tells us that in the millennial state, "the lion shall eat straw like the ox" &c., we are hard of belief, thinking it strange it should be so. But are we prepared to assert, that the

they may be literally understood, that physical and moral evil will be for the most part, if not entirely, removed.* Other predictions promise an increase of glory and splendour to the luminaries of heaven.† Again we find predictions which foretell a change so great in the hearts and dispositions of men, that they shall no longer engage in war or any sinful strife.‡ In fine, there are prophecies which promise every conceivable good, both negative and positive of a terrestrial kind, in the absence of fear, sorrow, distress and trouble; in the presence of peace, plenty and prosperity; which literally understood, imply the cessation, both of all moral and all physical evil during their continuance, and a state of things which must be the perfection of human society on earth.”§

The adjustment of these magnificent promises or prophecies, to any thing which has thus far appeared in the world, requires principles of interpretation which would justify a wide departure from their literal import. Accordingly, some who adopt the spiritual system, consider such representations as nothing more than highly figurative or poetical descriptions of such things as we see, or may hope for, without any change of dispensations. Referring as they do, to the kingdom of God, which is a spiritual and not an earthly kingdom, or a kingdom on earth, they believe these prophecies must be spiritually interpreted, because literally understood they are as they suppose, absurd and inconsistent with the nature of the kingdom they are intended to describe.|| They divest these promises therefore, of so much of their magnificence as transcends the things seen or hoped for on earth, as the result of the moral means now in use to extend the gos-

tion and other beasts of prey, fed in Paradise, as beasts of prey fed at this hour?” (See Gen. 1-30) “Or must we not rather acknowledge that this was one, amongst many instances of the curse of Adam’s covenant coming on the beast of the field, as it did on the field itself for man’s sake? The really strange thing is, that one animal should prey upon another, and the removal of this, will only be one effect of the restoration of the primeval peace, which prevailed during the period of man’s innocency and which will be restored in that season of rest which remaineth for the people of God” when the creature itself (which was made subject to vanity, not willingly) shall also be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God—Rom. 8. 19-23. These expectations however, are by some interpreters, deemed so extravagant as to be quite unworthy of credit by sensible men. Our object is not to offer an opinion on this matter, but rather to shew how contradictory are the opinions of men whom courtesy, as well as truth compels us to believe are not only men of sense, but of learning. The subject belongs according to the millenarian system, to a future economy, about which it is not of practical moment to inquire.

* Is. 52; 14, 15-3; 1, 2, 6, 7-41; 18, 19-43; 19, 20-51; 3-55; 13-11; 6, 8-35; 9-65; 25—Hos. 2: 18.

† Is. 30; 26.

‡ Is. 51, 4-51; 13, 14-59; 20, 21-60; 21. Jer. 3; 15, 19-31; 31, 31-32; 39, 40. Ezek. 11; 19, 20-36; 25, 27. Zeph. 3; 9, 12, 13. Mal. 3; 3, 4, 17, 18. Ps. 80; 9, 11. Is. 2, 4-11, 9, 13-50; 18. Mic. 4; 3. Ps. 46; 8, 9.

§ Is. 4; 5, 6-25; 6, 8-30; 19-32; 15, 19-33; 20, 22-19; 9, 10-51; 11-51; 13, 17-62; 8, 9-65; 7, 25. Jer. 23; 3, 6-31; 12, 14. Ezek. 23; 21, 26-31; 11, 16, 23, 31. Hos. 2; 21, 22. Joel 3; 8. Amos 9; 13, 15. Micah 4; 4-5; 4-7; 14. Zeph. 3; 15. Zech. 3; 10-9; 10, 17-11; 11. Ps. 36; 5, 10-65; 9, 13-72; 2, 7, 12, 14, 16. See Gresswell on the Parables, Vol. I. Introd. part 1, chap. 12, p. 234 to p. 252.

|| “If I am asked then, why I give a *spiritual exegesis* to all those passages which respect his (Messiah’s) future reign on earth, my answer is, that I do it for a reason like that which leads me to explain all the anthropopathic expressions concerning God and the future world in a spiritual manner, i. e. because any other exegesis would be utterly opposed to the well known and certain nature and condition of the messianic reign. *The kingdom of God cometh not with observation*. It is spiritual, internal, moral. The happiness for which it prepares men is of this character, and therefore the preparation on itself must be congruous and appropriate.” Rev. Professor Stuart’s Hint, &c., see App. 166-7.

pel and increase its power upon the hearts of men. They are driven to this by their own theory; for believing this dispensation to be the last and the most glorious God has appointed to take place on earth; either these descriptions of the ancient prophets must find their fulfilment in it, or they can have no earthly application whatever. Now if the spiritualist could be convinced that this dispensation is not the final one, but only introductory to one far more glorious, which is yet to take place on earth, he might be persuaded, perhaps, to refer, as the literalist does, the fulfilment of these predictions to that future economy.

The literalist on the other hand, believes that this dispensation of the gospel among the gentiles is limited in its continuance to the times of the gentiles, and that it is not in any sense the kingdom of God foretold by the ancient prophets. The kingdom of God he admits, was brought to the Jewish nation and offered to them, by the Lord Jesus Christ himself, during his personal ministry on earth. Yet that kingdom, when it was rejected by that people, was taken from them, and is now, so to speak, in abeyance, and will so continue, during all the times of the gentiles. The dispensation which now is, he believes is appointed only to gather an elect people from Jews and gentiles into the place of the Jewish nation which, though originally the elect nation, and in fact called the sons of the kingdom, fell from their high privileges, and will continue in dispersion and unbelief till the elect church which will constitute another elect nation shall be fully gathered. How long this order of things will continue, he knows not, but he watches, as he believes he is commanded, continually for its end. When the end shall come,—be it sooner or later,—he believes a new order of things will suddenly be introduced by the advent in glory, of the second Adam, with myriads of his holy ones. It is to this future but constantly expected advent, he looks for the coming of the kingdom of God. He thinks it not incredible that God should *then* fulfil, under the glorious reign of Messiah, *literally*, all that the prophets have foretold concerning this kingdom, and the condition of the earth over which it shall be established.* If these things are not to be so fulfilled he knows not how they can be fulfilled at all. Accordingly he believes these and many similar predictions—even the greater part of the ancient prophecies—to be unfulfilled, and he refers them to a future state of the world in which the condition of human society, and the constitution of nature, shall undergo a change corresponding exactly, with the truth and plainness of the promises themselves. Now if the literalist could be convinced, that the present dispensation or order of things, is the final one; and that his expectations of such a future, or of any future economy on earth are visionary, he might be persuaded—perhaps even compelled—to join with the spiritualist in his views of interpretation.

These we suppose are some of the reasons of the author for believ-

* "As Adam had a world made for him, so shall Jesus Christ the second Adam have a world made for him. This world was not good enough for him; he hath a better appointed than that the first Adam had—a new heaven and a new earth according to Isaiah 65; 17. 25—66; 22, where the saints shall reign with him." Dr. Godwin's exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians 1; 21.

ing the right decision of the question concerning the nature of the present dispensation—whether it be the kingdom of God come, or whether that kingdom is yet future—would tend to reconcile conflicting opinions. And indeed, it seems to us, a question which, if it could be resolved to the satisfaction of both parties, would virtually resolve all other points of controversy between them of any importance. It is a question too which may be discussed by itself, and as we shall endeavour to shew, without much embarrassment from controverted principles of interpretation.

But before submitting to the reader the outlines of an argument upon this question, it is proper to promise a few observations concerning the nature of the kingdom which literalists or millenarians* look for, as yet to come. This is necessary, in order to prevent misconceptions. Undoubtedly, there is considerable diversity of opinion among millenarians upon this subject. This will be obvious, to any one acquainted with their writings. Some there are, who cautiously confine their inquiries to a few general points of doctrine. They confess themselves ignorant of many questions touching the details or minute arrangements of the expected economy. They believe that light is withheld upon many points, because it would be of no use to the church in its present condition; but when the kingdom shall come, God will make further manifestations of his will, and elucidate many matters about which, at present, they can only conjecture. Others more bold, push their inquiries further than they have clear light, and undertake to pronounce with confidence upon almost every inquiry which the curiosity of men can suggest, concerning the coming, the progress or the consummation of the kingdom. In the observations about to be submitted, we hope to confine ourselves to the views which the first of these classes would approve. It would be gratuitous to go farther: for, as has been said already, the whole controversy depends upon a few great questions which are in no respect, connected with a multitude of matters to which curiosity, or rashness, has given great, and we may add, undue prominence and importance.

We begin then, by observing that the millenium is commonly understood of a state or condition of things on the earth. The word is used to denote a period of unwonted happiness and holiness, to be enjoyed by mortal men, dwelling upon the earth. In this, we believe both spiritualists and literalists agree. Both derive the term from Rev. xx. 2, when the binding of Satan, during a thousand years,

* We fear we shall not use these words with due discrimination. If we understand them however, the denomination of *literalists* has respect to their *principles* of interpretation—that of *millenarians* to the *doctrinal results* of their principles. Mr. Cuninghame we observe, prefers the terms *literalists* and *spiritualists* to millenarians and anti-millenarians. In fact, if millenarians are those who believe in a *millenium*, all Christians, so far as we know, are millenarians; for all believe in a millenium past or to come, of some sort. Nor can we well distinguish those who expect a millenium before the coming of Christ, as *spiritual* millenarians, from those who expect the millenium as a new economy to come after the advent; because if we believe the latter, the millenial personal reign of Christ and his saints, which they expect will be spiritual, and that too, in a much higher sense, than the term is understood by their opponents. However, we will manage these terms as well as we can, but if we should, in the judgment of the reader, blunder occasionally as very likely we shall, we can only crave his indulgence. By millenarians, we intend those, who believe that the second advent of Christ will take place *before* the millenium.

is foretold. But in this sense of the word, it is not equivalent to the expression "kingdom of heaven" or "kingdom of God"—nor does the word in this sense extend to the state or condition of the saints of the first resurrection. "Flesh and blood," says the Apostle Paul,* "cannot inherit the kingdom of God," but flesh and blood will inherit the blessings of the millenium. "The kingdom of God" and "the millenium" are not therefore, equivalent or convertible expressions. This distinction was overlooked by some at least of the ancient Chiliasts, and hence their error with all its consequent absurdities arose. They did not distinguish between the risen saints of the first resurrection and the nations in the flesh, which, according to the views of those whose opinions we are stating, are still to be continued on the earth: to whom, and not to the children of the resurrection, promises of earthly enjoyment are made.† Some, and perhaps many, modern millenarians commit the same mistake; and others who do not, are not always sufficiently careful to distinguish, as they should, between the kingdom of God and the condition of the earth and its inhabitants during the millennial period of that kingdom. To conceive rightly of that future economy, the reader must consider the whole family of Adam under six divisions: (1) The righteous dead.—(2) The wicked dead.—(3) Believers in Christ or the sains, or the elect who shall be alive at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.—(4) Apostate Christians or rather those wicked men, to whom the gospel has been preached, and by whom it has been abused and rejected.—(5) The unevangelized nations, which, however guilty, have not committed the sin of corrupting or rejecting the gospel and treading under foot the Son of God.—(6) The posterity of Israel. Of these, the righteous dead, say the millenarians, will be raised and the righteous living or the living elect will be changed at the coming of the Lord, and both be manifested to the universe as the sons of God and the heirs of his kingdom.‡ The wicked dead will, as they suppose, remain in the place to which they have departed, there to continue till the millenium be past. Upon apostate Christians, the Lord at his coming, will inflict dreadful, if not exterminating judgment, while he will wholly spare or treat with much less severity, the unevangelized nations of the earth. One class more remains—the scattered and oppressed sons of Jacob; these, the

* 1 Cor. 15; 50.

† See Fry on the Second Advent, vol. 1. p. 410. Commentary on Is. 60; 21. 22. Joseph Caryl a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in his commendation (imprimatur) of a millenarian work by Dr. Nathaniel Homes, called "The Resurrection Revealed," says "And whereas some have been and still are apt to abuse this doctrine by making it an occasion to the flesh, and of heating themselves in the expectation of carnal liberty and worldly glory; I find this author has cautiously forelaid and prevented all such abuse, by shewing the exceeding spirituality and holiness of this state, to which, as none but the truly holy can attain; so having attained it they shall walk in the height of holiness. I therefore judge this book very useful for the saints and worthy of public view."

‡ See Toplady's Works, vol. III. p. 470. This author, whose zeal for the doctrines of grace will not be disputed, avows his belief in a first resurrection, or resurrection of the elect, to take place 2 thousand years before this general resurrection and in the personal reign of Christ on earth. The whole period of this personal reign is the day of judgment and the acts by which it will be introduced, at the advent, and the acts by which it will be closed at this general resurrection, are in the language of Scripture, acts of the morning and evening—the beginning and ending of the same day. "The day of the Lord is as a thousand years" &c. See Mede's Works, book 3. chap. 11th, pp. 602-3, edition in folio. The text from which the Jewish Church expected the great day of judgment is Dan. vii. 9, 21, 22 to which Jude refers in his Epistle, verse 6.

millenarian believes, will be gathered, perhaps before, perhaps amid the judgments and overturnings of that day, and at least a remnant of them, be made a nation again, in the land which God gave to Abraham. To restored Israel then, and to the saved or spared nations of the earth, will belong the earthly blessings of the millenium, while the risen and glorified saints will inherit the higher glories and intenser joys of the kingdom of God.* The coming of the kingdom of God will concur in point of time, with the binding of Satan, but the binding of Satan will be only one of the effects of its coming. The saved nations being delivered from the power of the great deceiver, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit,† will yield a willing and perfect obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ as the appointed ruler in the kingdom of God. The condition of the earth and its inhabitants, during the period in question, therefore, is the result or effect of the coming of the kingdom of God, and the millenium strictly considered, designates merely a period in the duration of that kingdom or an economy of that kingdom considered as come and established over the earth.

Another remark which it seems proper to make, is that the kingdom which the Lord Jesus Christ as the son of man will exercise during the millennial economy, will not be confined to this earth. It is frequently said by way of objection, that the period of our Lord's humiliation is past, as if his coming to the earth personally to reign over it, would be to undergo another humiliation. Now he is seated on the throne of glory in the heavens—shall he leave that throne to preside in a city or reign over even the whole earth as a kingdom?‡

* Dr. Whitby's objections (in *Treatise on the Millenium*, chap. IV, sec. 1, second head) are applied to a theory which supposes the saints of the first resurrection will be raised or changed into bodies which shall be still mortal and corruptible, having need of meat and drink. See also arg. 2, sec. 2. *Fourth* subdivision.

† See Woodward's *Essays on the Millenium*, published in the *Literalist*, vol. I, Essay 1, pp. 9-11.

‡ The idea of the personal reign of the Lord Jesus Christ on earth, is a great stumbling block in the way of many persons. But the idea of a personal reign does not in the view of many, involve the necessity of his constant personal, visible presence. Mede says (see his works, 603-4, 10th edition.)—"The presence of Christ in this kingdom will no doubt be glorious and evident, yet I dare not so much as imagine (which some ancients appear to have thought) that it should be a visible converse upon earth, for the kingdom of Christ ever hath been and shall be a *regnum coelorum*—a kingdom whose throne and kingly residence is in heaven. There he was installed, when he sat down at the right hand of Majesty on High. (Heb. I.) Yet we may grant he shall appear and be visibly revealed from heaven especially for the calling and gathering of his ancient people, for whom, in the days of old, he did so many wonders." He then refers to Rev. i. 7, *Matth. xxiv. 30. Dan. vii. 13, Zech. xii. 10.* in proof of this last point. Some millenarians however, venture farther than Mede upon this subject;—although Dr. Godwin and many others do not. Deschamps, the author of a translation of Isaiah i. to the French language, (who was not a millenarian, though he believed in the literal restoration of the Jews) considered Is. iv. 5, as signifying that "God will re-produce upon Mount Zion, over the place chosen there to be worshipped, the cloud which, during the day, was as a thick smoke, and as a brilliant flame by night" &c., upon which he suggests a question, whether it will be *literally* fulfilled, or whether it is to be understood *allegorically* in part. The question he does not attempt to resolve. The event alone, he says, will shew. Perhaps, Mede had allusion to some symbol or manifestation of the Divine presence like this, without determining for any thing more. As the question belongs to a future economy, according to the millenarian view, the wisest course is, to refer the solution, as Mede and Deschamps do, to the event. The great questions upon which the whole matter depends, may be resolved without a more certain determination of this point than Mede appears to have made. See also "Jerusalem's Glory," by Jeromiah Burroughes (one of the Westminster Assembly,) published 1675, under the 7th particular, p. 65. "I say the *glorious presence* of Christ. I do not say the personal presence of Christ in his body, for that would require arguing and much disputing." &c.

But the millenarians or literalists, if we understand their views, do not suppose that when the kingdom of God shall come on earth, that it will be confined to it or be limited, in its duration, to a thousand years. Nor do they suppose the Lord Jesus Christ, the appointed heir of all things, who has ascended far above all heavens, that he may fill all things, will, during that period or any future period, confine his presence to the earth or his dominion to the sons of Adam. They do suppose however, that at the epoch in question, the kingdom and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven will be added to his already immeasurably vast domains, "As the Son of God," says Mr. Greswell,* "his kingdom and the administration of it, is from everlasting; as son of man, he now reigns by virtue of a commission derived from the Father in the mediatorial kingdom and actually exercises sovereign power over all, but the Father himself. At his second coming, he will enter upon and exercise another kingdom, extending over all the earth as the Son of David and the Messiah of Israel." This last kingdom, they suppose, is represented in the parable of the nobleman who went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom and to return. The accession of the Lord Jesus Christ at his second coming to this new kingdom, will not be the relinquishment of his natural or hereditary kingdom as the Son of God; nor of his mediatorial kingdom as the son of man. It will be no new humiliation, but a triumph over Satan, sin and the curse, and the restoration of a lost world to its proper place in the creation of God. Cowper conceived more justly of the object of the Saviour's advent in his kingdom in the following lines :

" Come then, and added to thy many † crowns
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth
Thou who alone art worthy! 'Thine it was
By ancient covenant, e'er Nature's birth,
And thou hast made it thine by purchase since,
And overpaid its value by thy blood,
Come then, and added to thy many crowns
Receive yet one, as radiant as the rest,
Due to thy last and most effectual work,
Thy word fulfilled, the conquest of a world."

These observations are sufficient also to guard the reader against another misconception touching the condition of the glorified saints; but as it is some times complained of, we add a further explanation. It is often objected, that the millenarian hypothesis robs the saints of the glories of heaven and sinks their joys to the level of sense. Their bodies it is said, will be spiritual and glorious and they cannot belong to a material world. Now their spirits enjoy the beatific vision of God. They dwell in his presence, where is fulness of joy;—shall they be degraded from their thrones of glory to the things of earth and sense? § Such is the objection; Mr. Fry admits, in a passage before cited, that this objection might be justly applied to the doctrines of the ancient Chiliasts—he means those who embraced

* Greswell on the Parables, vol. IV, pp. 491—500.

† Luke xix. 11—27.

‡ Rev. xix. 12, *δικθόμενα πολλά.*

§ See Whitby's Treatise on the Millenium, chap. 5, sec. 1,—also Arg. 2, sec. 2.

the error of Cerinthus. We have seen however, that orthodox millenarians distinguish between the millenium, properly so called, and the kingdom of God,—between nations in the flesh dwelling on earth, who will inherit the former, and the glorified saints of the first resurrection, who will inherit the latter. The world and the myriads of mortal men who shall then inhabit it,* will be subjects in that kingdom over which the risen and glorified saints, under their glorious head, will be rulers. This distinction is briefly stated by Dr. Duffield, at p. 162 of his Dissertations. A writer of considerable eminence among millenarians, remarks that the saints are not called in the Scriptures, *subjects* of Christ. The title “King of Saints” though often applied, by spiritualists, to the Lord Jesus is, in Rev. xv. 3, (the only place where it occurs,) applied to the Lord God Almighty. The saints on the contrary, are called joint heirs with Christ;—they have his promise that they shall sit upon thrones—that they shall sit with him on his throne—they shall judge the world; angels, the twelve tribes of Israel. They are called his friends, his brethren, and himself their first born brother. They are called his redeemed, the children of his Father, sons of God, sons of the resurrection, his own children, his witnesses, his bride, his members, members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones, his fellow sufferers, fellow kings, fellow priests: they are said to be one with him.† Now if the reader will consider how great and glorious he is, to whom the saints will be thus allied, sustaining in fact the most intimate and most endearing of all relations, he will not think lightly of the glories of their inheritance, or of their employments in the economy to come, whether in heaven or on earth. Of the Lord Jesus Christ, the head of this glorious body, it is written: “Thou madest him a little lower than the angels,—thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the work of thy hands,—thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet; for in that he hath put all things in subjection under him, he hath left nothing that is not put under him; but *now*, we see not yet all things put under him.”‡ “But when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted that did put all things under him.”§ “Who hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love . . . who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature—or the first producer of every crea-

* Dr. Scott (on Rev. xx. 4-6) says “we may readily . . . allow, that the number of persons who shall live on the earth, during the millenium, may be immensely greater than the whole multitude of all the preceding ages.”

† We should have said that the author referred to, is remarking upon the common phrase “gospel kingdom.” He says it has no scriptural warrant. The gospel can neither reign nor be reigned over. It is an improper abbreviation of the larger phrase “The glad tidings of the kingdom of the heavens.” In John 1; 14, the Jews are referred to, as the people of the Lord Jesus *as* the Christ.—See Ps. 81; 13, 16, compared with Mauh. 23; 37, 39.—Is. 30; 26. The Jews however will be restored to God’s favour and their own land hereafter.—Rom. 9, 25, 27. They will then become the subjects of Christ, their king, in the kingdom of God come on earth; and will then constitute the peculiar people or subjects of Christ among all the nations of the earth. Christ does indeed now reign in the hearts of believers, and they are his servants. *δοῦλοι*, but this fact does not justify the phrase “gospel kingdom” or the inference that this dispensation is the kingdom of heaven;—such is the drift of the author, in the passage from which the above remarks are taken, as we understand him.

‡ Heb. 2; 7, 8.

§ 1 Cor. 15; 27.

tion*—for by him were all things created—things in the heavens and things on the earth—things visible and things invisible, whether thrones, dominions or principalities or powers—all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him do all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the church, who is the beginning, the first born from the dead, that in all things he might have the preeminence.† “He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all heavens that he might fill all things.”‡

Literalists are bound by their principles to receive all these Scriptures in their full and obvious import. Nor do they think them, when thus understood, at all incompatible with their views of the personal reign of Christ and his saints on earth, in the kingdom of God. To the question which is often asked, how is it possible for numbers so vast, as those which will compose the redeemed church, when raised from the dead, to find a resting place upon so inconsiderable a planet as this, they answer that they will not;—nor do their views of the kingdom of God suppose that they will. Being made like the angels and equal to the angels, they will not be confined to the earth by any necessity of their nature. The heavens, the whole realm of Christ as the son of man will be open to them. Being heirs of God and conformed to the body of the glory of Christ, and one with him, they will be with him, wherever he is, beholding his glory and executing, as the messengers of his power, his high behests, throughout the kingdom of God.§ It is a misconception therefore, to suppose that the glorified saints will leave the heavens, in order again to become isolated and permanently fixed upon earth and mingle and jostle with men in the flesh, and share in their various occupations, as if they were subject to the same necessities of food, raiment and shelter. Yet they do believe the glorified saints will have intercourse—perhaps frequent and intimate intercourse—with the inhabitants of the earth;|| although the manner of it, they are unable to explain. If the spiritualist demands explicitness upon this point, and many others, which may be stated, touching the expected economy, the literalist in his turn inquires of the spiritualist, how could Moses and Elias appear to the disciples, Peter, James and John, on the holy mount?—how could they join in conversation with the Lord Jesus both audible and intelligible to the disciples? How did they so suddenly disappear from their view? The power of God, who raised up Jesus from the dead, shewed him openly from time to time during forty days, not to all the people, but to chosen witnesses. Where was he during the intervals of apparition? What was the manner of his being as a man? Could he be seen by others? He appeared and disappeared in a manner quite unaccountable to the disciples—suddenly standing among them and joining in their conversation and then vanishing out of their sight.

* See Appendix to Sirr's Letters on the First Resurrection, re-published in the 5th vol. of the Literalist, by O. Rogers, Philad. a.—Isidorus Pelusiot, Lib. 3, Ep. 31, there cited on the word πρωτότοκος.

† Col. 1; 13. 14 ‡ Eph. 4; 10. See also Heb 7; 26—8; 1—4; 14—2; 10. Eph 1; 23.

§ Cuninghame on the Premillennial Advent of Messiah.—Preface to 2d edition sub. fin., published in the Literalist.

|| See Noel's Prospects of the Christian Church, chap. 8, published in the 1st vol. of the Literalist.

These examples,* and the instances of angelic intercourse with men, of which there are many,† are relied upon by litera'ists to prove the possibility of effective interposition by the risen saints in—yea the most absolute control over—the affairs of this world, without supposing them confined to it. They deny that it lies on them to show how such intercourse will or can take place, because the spiritualist is equally unable to explain these recorded facts which involve the same difficulty.

We do not affirm that the millenarians are right in these views: our object is rather to state for the consideration of the reader, certain points of doctrine and certain distinctions, which some who hold such views, think necessary to prevent misconceptions. They think a mere statement of their opinions, whether well or ill founded, is sufficient to shew the inapplicability of many objections, which are brought against them. Jerome, for example, who was one of the earliest and most influential opposers of the millenarians, expresses himself in the following terms: "I do not envy those persons, (their opinions) if they are so fond of earth as to miss and desire again, earthly enjoyments in the kingdom of Christ; and after a surfeit of meat and drink till the throat and belly are crammed full, seek next for those things" &c.‡ We cite no further for a reason which will appear to the reader upon consulting the context of the place referred to. In the sequel of the same passages he says; "not that after rising again, we are to eat and drink, as the millenarians will have it, and that immortal and incorruptible bodies, are to be supported by earthly aliments. Otherwise, where there is meat and drink, diseases must also come next, and where there is disease a physician must be called, and where there are physicians, there are frequently deaths, and then again a resurrection and a new round of existence."§

* Mark 16; 9. 10. 12. 14. 19. Matth 28; 9. 16. 20. Luke 24; 13, 32, 36, 43, 44, 49, 52. John 20; 19. 31. John 21; 1, 25. Acts 1; 9. Matth 27; 52 53.

† Gen. 16; 7. Nomb. 22, 23, 24. 31, 34. Judges 6; 11, 12. 21. 22—13; 3, 16, 20. Gen. 22; 11. 1 Kings 19; 5. Mark 16; 5. Matth 28; 5. Luke 24; 5. 8. Acts 1; 10, 11—12; 7, 10—27; 23.

‡ See Mede's Works, folio edition, p. 836, Epistle 64. Mr. Mede to Mr. Estwick. The passage in Jerome, occurs in his preface to the 18th book of his Commentary on Isaiah, Tom. 5th, p. 212. See also his Commentary on Isaiah 53; and on Ezek. 33.

§ Robert Philip in his little volume on "Redemption, or the New Song in Heaven" says "modern millenarians would readily agree, &c., were it not preceded by appeals to Christian experience, which recognize as true Christians, millions who either know nothing or care nothing about their carnal and vulgar notions of Christ's personal reign on earth. They mean by the mutual reign of Christ and Christians on earth *nothing more or better than the mother of Zebbede's children meant when she wished her two sons might be prime ministers of the Messiah in a temporal kingdom. To sit at his right or his left hand even in the clouds—to be stared at by the world and envied by the church seems to be the height of their ambition and the very climax of glory.* And because good men however wise, care nothing about such a distinction, millenarians reckon them foolish if not bad men. . . . I will gladly resign the clouds both as thrones and chariots to those who have a taste for such aerial elevation. . . . Show it and slight as this reference to modern notions of the personal reign of Christ on earth is, it is too long for my own patience and too moderate for my own feelings. . . . Their selfish and secular enjoyments, I will gladly leave for the pleasure of joining angels in their joy over penitents. . . . I have no sympathy of any kind (except pity for them) with those perverted minds, who can treat the church as Babylon because she does not treat the world as Sodom. . . . My pity for modern millenarians proves no more, what is the mind of the spirit, than does their contempt for me." &c. pp 128—130, ed. New York, 1835.—D. Appleton & Co. The last of these remarks is very just. Pity and contempt are very poor arguments; although if in the state of mind which their existence supposes, we may not be able to appreciate properly better ones. It may be added that Dr. Whitby's notion of the millenarian theory was, that the saints after rising from the dead were to live again on earth a life of indolence

It is possible, Jerome had in view the followers of Cerinthus, although this seems hardly probable, when all that he has written is considered. However this may be, it is needless to say that objections of this sort, do not lie against the doctrine as it has thus far been stated.

Others have objected that the millenarian scheme contemplates a kingdom in which all must of necessity be rulers, and none subjects. All Christians they say, will be kings and priests unto God. Who then will be subjects, when all men shall be converted? This objection say the literalists, lies rather against the popular hypothesis of a spiritual millenium before the coming of Christ, than against the system in question. Literalists contend that the promise of the kingdom and priest-hood is confined to the elect church* which will be gathered during this dispensation. This elect church, which is also called the church of the first born, will be complete, when the Lord shall come and introduce the new dispensation. If it be inquired, what shall become of the saints who shall be born or be converted after the church of the First Born is complete, and during the millenium? whether they shall be translated, or die, and go into a separate state, or into heaven, or be aggregated immediately or ultimately to the church of the First Born? or what shall become of the saints who shall be living, at the eve of the general resurrection and final judgment?—these, replies the literalist, are inquiries which concern not us, who now live, and cannot be resolved perhaps by any light we now have; yet if it can be established, that there is an economy yet to come on this earth, which will be introduced by the personal advent of the Lord Jesus Christ and the resurrection of his saints, the spiritualist is as much bound to consider and resolve for himself any difficulty which may be involved in these questions, as the literalist; who denies the right of the spiritualist to assume that a question touching the details of a future economy which we have not sufficient light to answer, amounts, in itself, to an irrefutable argument against the futurity of such an economy.

But we must not dwell too long upon particular objections. Enough has been said to shew, that some who believe in the premillennial advent and personal reign of the Lord Jesus Christ and his saints, entertain the same views of their exalted condition, that the spiritualists do. The difficulty is to shew how the glories of their condition are compatible with the doctrine of their personal reign on earth.

We add in this place another objection, often made, which appears to be founded in a misconception of the doctrine. Millenarians, as we have seen, expect the actual restoration of the Jews to their own land, and their future pre-eminence among the nations. Now nothing is more clearly established it is said, than the fact that the Jews have lost their pre-eminence,—the middle wall of partition which formerly existed between Jews and gentiles, is broken down: nay

and peace and plenty in the enjoyment of the goods of fortune faring deliciously, eating and drinking &c.—(See Treatise on Millenium, chap. 1, sec. 4. chap. 4, Arg. 3, sec. 3.) He admits however that Methodius (among the ancients though he says he is the only one who does so) denies that the saints will be thus employed after the resurrection.

* See Cuninghame on the Pre-millennial Advent of Messiah, Pref, to 2d edit. near the end, pp. xxviii and xxix.—Published in the Literatist.

more, believing gentiles, we are taught, are the children of the promise and are in truth the seed of Abraham, rather than the unbelieving Jews who are children after the flesh.—Rom. iii. 29; ix. 8. Gal. iii. 7, 14. Eph. ii. 14.* Why then should the Jews be restored at all? or if restored, how is their future pre-eminence consistent with the conclusion which Paul laboured so earnestly to establish, *to wit*: that the same Lord over all is rich unto all (without distinction) that call upon him?—Rom. x. 12.

We may premise that there is a difference among spiritualists upon the question of the political restoration of the Jews. Some deny it altogether.—They spiritualize the prophecies which seem to predict their actual restoration; making them to signify nothing more than their conversion and reception into the church. Others receive these prophecies, so far as they relate to the *mere fact* of their return, literally; and they suppose that the Jews, when restored and converted, will be made the honoured instruments in the hand of God of rapidly extending the church and introducing the millenium.† The literalist agrees precisely with neither. He believes the Jews will be politically restored, or at least a remnant of them; but his views of the prophecies and other scriptures, lead him to postpone that event, till this dispensation is virtually if not actually and formally closed, and the Lord Jesus Christ shall come or be about to come to judgment.‡ Until then, that is, until the close of this economy, he holds that the Jew will have no pre-eminence over the gentile; in other words, he believes that all the apostles have written, will be found true, till the dispensation for which it was written, shall end. Whether the end of this dispensation, be near or remote is another question; the decision of which, can have no effect upon this. For let it be established, that it certainly is remote, as many spiritualists believe, then

* Mr. Miller, whose views create so much sensation in some parts of the country at present, adopts the same reasoning. He denies the actual restoration of the Jews, and spiritualizes, as our author says, all that is said about their conversion and restoration.—(See Dissertations, p. 389.) Our author considers Mr. Miller and his followers the most ultra-spiritualists of the day, as in order to maintain their chronological conclusions they allegorize those prophecies which speak of the restoration of the Jews, the battles of Gog and Magog, the destruction of antichrist, the millenium &c., and say they will have their accomplishment in the resurrection of the dead, the renovation of the globe and the eternal state of things to be introduced immediately at Christ's coming.—See pp. 157-8. According to this, they are neither literalists nor millenarians, but spiritualists of a particular kind. If we are rightly informed, Mr. Miller, and those who agree with him publicly, avow their decided dissent from millenarians of the literal school.

† See Whitby's Treatise on the Millenium and his discourse of the calling of the Jews, appended to his notes on Rom. xi.

‡ A remark may be necessary to prevent a misconception of "the judgment," as millenarians understand it.—The judgment is (in fact) a whole dispensation.—it is not a natural day of twenty-four hours, but a day of the Lord, which is as a thousand years.—2 Pet. 3; 3. Ps. 90; 4. It is a long period including the whole personal reign of Christ, as it is called. *Judicare*, to judge, signifies often the same as *gubernare, regere, praeesse*, to govern, to rule, to be the head over.—See Judges 3; 10-4; 4-10; 2, 3-12; 7, 8, 11, 13-15; 20-16; 31. Ruth 1; 1. 1 Sam. 4; 18-5; 15, 16, 17-8; 5, 6, 20. 1 Kings 3; 9. 2 Kings 15; 6-23; 22. 1 Chron. 16; 33. 2 Chron. 1; 10, 11-26; 21. Ps. 7; 8-9; 8-67; 4-72; 2-75; 4-82; 3-96; 10, 13-110; 6 (and according to some, Prov. 29; 14-31; 9.) Is. 2; 4-16; 5. Dan. 9; 12. Mic. 4; 3. Zach. 3; 7. The beginning and ending of this long period or day will be as they suppose especially signalized by the stupendous miracles of the first and second resurrection, and by acts of retributive judgment; while the intervening interval, will be a period of judgment in the more general sense indicated by the places cited. In this sense of ruling and governing, they understand the promise of our Lord to his disciples that they should sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.—Luke 22; 30. Math. 19; 28. See 1 Cor. 6; 2. Rev. 3; 21-5; 10-20; 6. See Mede's works on this point, p. 772 in folio, also pp. 602-3.

the belief of the literalist as well as of the spiritualist is, that until that remote event shall occur, the middle wall of partition will remain as it is,—broken down; no difference will be put between Jew and gentile. Believing gentiles will be reckoned children of Abraham, rather than the unbelieving Jews. Nay; so far from allowing to the Jews any pre-eminence over the gentiles, during this dispensation, the advantage in point of fact, as the literalist maintains, will be rather on the side of the gentiles. For till then the Jews as a nation or race will continue, as they have been, for nearly eighteen centuries, a dispersed and an oppressed people, and what is of much more importance, their blindness and obduracy, will, by the just judgment of God be allowed to continue: and though the gospel is offered with equal freeness to them, yet, if we may judge by the past, the Spirit of God will less frequently make it effectual to their conversion than when preached to gentiles.*

The objection we are considering is in truth misapplied. The pre-eminence which the millenarian expects for the Jews, is to take place, not during this economy, but in an economy yet to come, which the spiritualist deems a chimera, and this, in truth, should be his objection. But instead of taking the millenarian upon his own ground, the objection imputes to him the denial of doctrines which he holds as fully and firmly as the spiritualist does. Both agree that the personal advent of the Lord Jesus Christ to judge the world, will put an end to this dispensation. Both must agree, that all the apostles of the Lord have written for the instruction, correction, comfort or direction of the church, will be found true, and suited to its condition till the Lord comes. Neither supposes these Scriptures were written for the future use and guidance of the church in glory, or that they will have the same application to any order of things, whether in heaven or on earth, which may afterwards be established that they now have.—Where then is the difference, except upon the question touching the futurity of such an economy as the millenarian expects? This difference, it is true, leads to others; but they are differences

* *Ita exerceat oculos horum, deserens atque destituens eos lux divina, sicut occidens sol noctem efficit: Nam qui non admittunt radios lucis divine, illi occerantur, et qui non vult exauire salutarem sermonem, surdus recte perhibetur.* Cameron, in Joh. 12: 38, which place compare with Rom. 11; 25. 31. Math. 23, 39. Zech. 12; 10, 14. See Whitby's Discourse of the calling of the Jews, appended to his notes on Rom. xi; where the reader will find a good deal of learning, and strong argument touching the spiritual condition of the Jews during their present captivity, and the ultimate conversion and restoration to Palestine. What Dr. Whitby calls "the time for the fulness, i. e. for the conversion of the still heathen gentiles," millenarians say is a new dispensation, though he considers it otherwise. His theory never does give the Jews a pre-eminence during this dispensation which according to literalists, is at variance with the New Testament. See Treatise on Millennium, chap. ii, § 35.

† A learned author considers the epistle to the Hebrews entirely irreconcilable with the notion even of the literal restoration of the Jews at all, because such a restoration would, in his view, not only be useless, but it would follow from the same principles which conduce to the conclusion of a literal return, that the Levitical priesthood must be restored and sacrifices must be renewed, which are no longer needed, and in fact are no longer acceptable. He adds, "a man may as well ask me to trample under foot the epistle to the Hebrews, (see also Whitby on the Millennium, chap. 2.) and with this a large portion of the New Testament, as to ask me to believe in such a scheme of restoration." No principles of benevolence can be sound, which make the Bible contradict itself." The last remark is an axiom of which, as we shall see, some use is made on the other side of the question. But the reader will perceive from the remarks above, that there is really no difference between the author referred to and millenarians on this point. Their scheme gives the full effect to every part of the New Testament Scriptures which have respect to the state of the church on earth; to the state of the Jews, and of the gentiles and the world at large, until the New Testament economy itself shall end, and the Lord Jesus Christ

touching the interpretation of other parts of the Scriptures, and especially the prophecies respecting the future condition of the Jews. The spiritualist spiritualizes these prophecies, which literally understood, promise to that people the dominion over all others, in order to harmonize them with these parts of the New Testament which deny to them such distinction during the New Testament dispensation; while the literalist refers them to an economy to come, in respect to which those portions of the New Testament upon which the objection is founded, have no application.

No orthodox millenarian supposes that the church of this dispensation, in any time to come before the end of it, or believing gentiles composing it, will ever become the servants of the restored Jewish nation. On the contrary "the accomplished aggregate of the elect," of all ages, will be gathered to the Lord at his coming, in bodies of immortal vigour and glory. They will be kings and priests unto God, being sons of God and heirs of the kingdom. The period of Israel's glory and dominion over the nations of the earth follows this eventful epoch. It will take place during a new dispensation, in which, though first among the nations of the earth, they will be subject to the dominion of Christ and his glorified elect. If therefore, it can be proven that the present dispensation is the final one, or (what amounts to the same thing) that these times of the gentiles shall expire only with the end of all earthly things; then, according to the views in question, there will be no political restoration of Israel—no rebuilding of Jerusalem, now and so long trodden under foot of her enemies; no time of glory and pre-eminence among the nations, to the sons of Jacob;—but desolation and wasting (till their name and their race as a separate people shall be extinguished) will be their portion.

It would require a volume, instead of few pages, to notice at length, all the objections* which have been made against the distinctive

shall come in person and power and great glory to judgment. In fact millenarians think those interpreters of the spiritual school who utterly deny the restoration of the Jews (whether right or wrong) much more consistent than those spiritualists, who maintain that the Jews will be restored during this dispensation; and as it were, mid-way in its progress. The above remarks also may supply a reason why our Lord and his apostles said little or (as some suppose) nothing about the restoration of the Jews. (See however, Luke 21; 2. Rom. 1; 25, 26, 27 &c.) The dispersion of the Jews, measures the times of the gentiles, and the present dispensation of the gospel among the gentiles will terminate with their times. The restoration of the Jews therefore, is an event which can scarcely be said to belong to this dispensation; because it will not take place until it is virtually, if not to malty at an end. It is for this reason so little is said in the New Testament scriptures about it. Returning however to the matter in hand; millenarians who they concede the positions which are supposed to give validity to the objection before stated; call upon those who make it, to prove what they take for granted, viz: that this present dispensation of the gospel among the gentiles, is the final economy of God's government over men upon earth. This is the great question; for if it can be proven, that the present dispensation is not the final one, but merely introductory to another far more glorious; it will be impossible to prove that those prophecies of the Old Testament which have respect to that future economy, are not to be literally understood, by the fact, that they would be repugnant (if so understood) to the order of things appointed by the New Testament to continue till the end of the present economy. That there is such a future economy, millenarians believe is taught by the author of the epistle to the Heb 2; 5—although they by no means rely on that passage alone; as we shall have occasion to shew. See Dr Godwin's "World to Come" exposition of the epistle to E; h 1; 21. Also Mede's Works, 196-7 577, 705 Mandeville on Hebrews in loc. for the view which millenarians take of Heb 2; 5. Dr Godwin was a member of the Westminster Assembly.

* The reader will find several objections stated at length in Whitty's Treatise on the Millennium, chap. 4. But he seems to have had in view especially the theory of Dr. Burnett, and the indefensible tenets of the ancient millenarians, which he supposes are essential to the system.

views of millenarians. Many of them, as it strikes us, ought not to be made; we refer especially to those, which turn upon *the manner*, in which the prophecies, literally interpreted, can be or will be fulfilled. Such are more properly called *difficulties* than objections; with which, all have equal concern—or rather we should say, none has any concern—provided the futurity of such a dispensation, as millenarians expect can be proved. “You would bring me,” says Mede,* in one of his epistles, “first to express myself *de modo*, before you are persuaded *de re*; but soft you there; I like not that method.” Many millenarians forget this wise rule. When pushed by their opponents with objections of this nature, they attempt to explain matters which they cannot;† and their failure is taken for an argument against the whole system. Besides it is quite useless to discuss questions touching the details of a supposed future economy on earth, with one who maintains that no such economy is to be expected. First let this *main* question be decided and the rest will follow. The spiritualist, if he yields his previous conclusions, will feel himself as much concerned to resolve the difficulties connected with the doctrine, as his opponent. If the literalist is brought to yield his conclusions, nothing will remain to be discussed.

But there is another class of objections which it would be improper to pass without some notice; as they turn upon the supposed influence of the millenarian creed upon Christian life. Some there are who, while they reject all that is distinctive in it, nevertheless allow it to be a pleasing, and if not pursued too far, an innocent speculation; but this is the extent of their favourable judgment. They do not conceive the peculiarities of the system essentially connected with the doctrines of grace, nor in any degree important to the advancement of righteousness. Others more severe, pronounce it a carnal system, calculated to impede the progress of truth, by the discouragement it casts upon missions, and thus destroy souls.

At this stage of the discussion it seems proper to introduce to the reader's notice, the work of Dr. Harris on missions, the title of which we have also put at the head of this article. It is not our intention to notice at length, the various contents of this work, but only so much of it as bears particularly on the question in hand. While the work contains much that is beautiful and excellent in its kind, and much which those who agree in its theory, would consider edifying

* Letter 64, to Mr. Estwick.—Mede's Works in folio, pp. 836-7.

† We have noticed that some on both sides of this question, are extremely prone to begin the discussion with the end of all things—we mean with the remotest events, which the Scriptures notify us, are to occur—events which according to the millenarian scheme, lie near the end of a future economy of God's government on earth, in which they cannot possibly have any personal concern. They overlook entirely, things near (for which they should be watchful, if the millenarians are right) for such questions as these; How can men be seduced by Satan at the end of the thousand years, if they are to become such as you expect? Who are Gog and Magog? Where will those nations come from? How can they assault the celestial city? etc. etc. Some millenarians, instead of avowing their inability to answer these and the like questions, imagine that Gog and Magog must be the spiritual host of the wicked dead, just raised or let out of the abyss with their leader, the arch-deceiver, and many other things, for which, as we think, they have no clear Scriptural warrant. If such would take a word of advice, from one who certainly has no sympathy in such speculations, it would be a much better way, to call on such inquirers, first to answer, how sin entered into heaven and hurled from thrones of celestial glory some of its principalities? God knows; but to man these things are mysteries, and a Christian man certainly (if others will not) should be content to take God's word, as a sufficient reason for his belief of them.

and encouraging, the solidity of the author's reasoning depends, for the most part, upon the truth of the hypothesis of a spiritual millenium before the end of the present dispensation and the coming of the Lord. His opposition to that system of opinions which Dr. Duffield advocates is very decided; and as what he has written upon the subject must, under the circumstances which led to the composition of the work, and the approbation it received, be presumed to be the result of careful and thorough research as well as mature reflection, we cannot do better than state his objections (and this we shall do with some abridgment) nearly in his own words.

Dr. Harris then objects to the millenarian scheme that it makes the prophecies of Scripture clash with its commands—that it is at variance with the unimpeachable sincerity of the Divine character—that it is at variance with the wise reserve of Scripture concerning such events of the future as involve the freedom of human action. Nay more; he maintains also, that the literal or millenarian interpretation of prophecy through which, as he supposes, the peculiarities of the system are all derived, is derogatory to the present economy of the dispensation of the spirit and the ordinance of preaching as the medium of his operations.*

These are very grave charges, and quite sufficient to overthrow any system of religious doctrines against which they can be established. Undoubtedly, a great variety of opinions—and some of them quite unscriptural—have, in different ages of the church, passed under the name of *chiliasm* or *millenarianism*. But by the concession of Dr. Harris himself—and we know not how he could with candour or truth withhold it—"there are now to be found" among the millenarians, "divines of considerable reputation and Christians of the highest sanctity"†—a concession, which it is conceived, would in his view, justify a discrimination of this class from the enthusiasts and fanatics of the present or any former age, with whom nevertheless, they are not unfrequently confounded. However this may be, it is certain that there is a class of millenarians, who combine with their peculiar views of prophecy, all the great doctrines of grace, which are received by the most orthodox Christians of the spiritual school. They believe in the fall of man, the total corruption of his nature,—the doctrine of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, his atoning sufferings and death, his resurrection and ascension into heaven, his future advent to judgment in power and great glory; They believe also, in the doctrine of free grace, of election, justification by faith, and the perseverance of the saints; all these doctrines, to mention no more, they cordially receive and teach as integral parts of their faith. These, for distinction's sake, we shall denominate "orthodox millenarians." The reader may suppose that the objections just stated, are not intended to apply to such; or if they are, that the system itself, in its best form, must be, if the objections are well applied, a strangely repugnant compound of truth and error. The first of these suppositions would be incorrect. It is against such especially, that the objections of Dr. Harris are directed. Indeed, men of sense and learning, (as Dr. Harris undoubtedly is) would

* Harris's Great Commission, pp. 110—112.

† Harris's Great Commission, p. 135.

scarcely think it worth their while to deal with fanatics or enthusiasts, in the way of argument. The last of these suppositions, suggest the topic which we are now to consider.

Millenarians allege that these objections, like those already considered, are founded in a misconception of the peculiarities of their belief, and of the results of their principles of interpretation. Whatever of truth or semblance of truth there may be in them—and they deny that there is any—it must be sought for if we believe them, in those articles of doctrine which they hold in common with many of the most orthodox of the spiritual school. If this be so, it is as they contend, a sufficient reason why they should not be held especially amenable *as millenarians* to answer charges, which may be made with equal truth against others. Still they are willing to maintain, with God's help, but otherwise single handed, if it must be so, the common, as well as the peculiar articles of their system. In doing this however, the ground of controversy, as they maintain, is changed; it is a controversy concerning the doctrines and statements of the New Testament which, as they contend, are falsified in several particulars, by the advocates of a spiritual millenium before the end of the present economy.

In order to appreciate properly the objections just now stated and to unfold the arguments by which they are met, it is important to state a little more fully, some parts of the system in question. Orthodox millenarians maintain then, as a cardinal doctrine of the New Testament, that the present dispensation of the gospel among the gentiles has been appointed *solely* for the purpose of gathering an elect church;* according to the declaration of the apostle James, recorded in Acts xv. 14: "Simcon hath declared, how God at the first, did visit the gentiles to take out of them (or hath visited, to take out gentiles) a people for his name." The declared rule of the Divine procedure is, sovereign mercy in election. "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy." Rom. ix. 15. Exod. xxxiii. 19. As we know not how soon this purpose of God may be accomplished, and as the Scriptures throw no certain light upon the time of its accomplishment, they maintain that the continuance of the dispensation is *uncertain*, and that its end may be looked for as *possibly* near. While the Lord delays his coming, it is certain that he has still elect ones to gather, and as no man knoweth who they are, or where they dwell, it is the duty of the church, in obedience to the great commission—"Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature"—to send the gospel with *all* diligence to *all* men *every* where,

* In one of the prayers appointed to be used at the burial of the dead by the Church of England, the following clause occurs: "beseeching thee, that it may please thee of thy gracious goodness shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect and to hasten thy kingdom; that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul in thy eternal and everlasting glory," &c., thus teaching that the resurrection of the just will take place as soon as the number of God's elect shall be accomplished. The Episcopal Church in the United States have altered this prayer, by omitting entirely the clause printed in Italics. (reading it thus "and we beseech thee that we with all those," &c.) which besides the omission alters the sense of the part retained. Whether the omission was caused by a prevailing dislike for the doctrine of election, we do not pretend to know, although we have heard it surmised. But the form according to the Church of England, is evidence of the views of that body, when it was first adopted.

both as a witness to the nations, and as the means of grace to those whom the spirit shall effectually call. Obedience to this injunction, is enforced by a motive of prevailing efficacy, with all those who love the Lord's appearing;—the assurance, namely, that the universal promulgation of the gospel shall mark the epoch of the completion of the body of God's chosen ones—of the end of the dispensation—of the second and glorious coming of the Lord, and of the resurrection and glorification of the elect. These views of the nature and object of this dispensation and of the uncertainty of its continuance, lead to the further conclusion that the moral aspect of the world, however much it may be changed in the eyes of men, at the coming of the Lord, be it sooner or be it later, will be much the same in the sight of God, as it hitherto has been or now is; at least not improved. For although the gospel should be as extensively published among all nations, as it has been in the most favoured of them, millenarians by no means expect it will produce other effects, than has marked its progress hitherto. The external call, has indeed a certain influence. It tends, through the light which the gospel sheds—and blessed be God for it—to elevate men in their social condition; but it stops there. Without the spirit's prevailing influence (which they expect will be co-extensive only with God's purpose of election) men are not made better in the sight of God. Their lusts are not overcome; they are slaves of sin; and their end will be everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power. Millenarians have no expectation that the Papal apostacy, the Mahometan delusion, or the infidelity, irreligion, and false religion of Protestant countries, or the other abominations of the earth will be dispelled, by the means now in use for the advancement of truth and righteousness, nor by any amount of them which can be employed; God will bless the efforts of his people and make them effectual to the salvation of his elect, wherever found; and therein, together with the testimony* it bears to the nations, will his word accomplish that whereto he sent it. But says our Lord, in reference to the end of this dispensation and the day of his coming, "as it was in the days of Noah so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be; for as before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage until the day that Noah entered into the ark and they knew

* "We think it clear from the tenour of our text" (Matth. 24; 14—This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations and then shall the end come.) "that the witness is given by the mere act of preaching: so that if going through the Roman empire, the apostles had not a solitary convert, the sign of its approaching end, would still have been furnished by the publication (however fruitless) of the gospel. And now, if all our labours, to evangelize the heathen, win not over a single idolater, our disregarded Bibles, and our persecuted Missionaries, would serve to give the heraldry which is to announce the second advent."—*Rev. H. Morille*. If this be the correct view of the subject, the activity of the propagators of false religions is no ground of discouragement to those who go forth bearing the true. Nor need the missionaries of orthodox churches, be extensively indoctrinated before they go forth in the subtleties or superstitions of those who may come athwart their paths. Their duty is to proclaim the gospel for a witness—they are not responsible after they have faithfully and earnestly delivered their message, that those to whom they have proclaimed it, should believe it. They will not believe it, if the enemy, or any who serve him, can prevent them. Nor will they, if left to themselves. Hence the great duty of Christians is to scatter the seed far and wide, and when persecuted in one place, to flee to another, God will give the labour that effect which seems best to him, meanwhile the witness is given to the nations—the elect are effectually called—and the great consummation is hastened. Such is the millenarian view.

not, until the flood came and took them all away, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be." This shews then, what will be the result of the preaching of the gospel upon the men of the last days; and they contend, there is no ground in Scripture to believe that its result will be different upon the men of any age, till the Lord comes.

It is against these views especially the objections before stated are alleged, and the argument of Dr. Harris in support of them runs thus: "The Divine injunction of any relative duty implies a promise of the Divine assistance requisite to its performance, and of success proportioned to the degree in which we avail ourselves of that assistance. This constancy of connexion between means and ends—between causes and effects, seems essential to the character of a wise and gracious government, as well as to furnish some of the motives, necessary to obedience; especially, as it reserves to its Divine Sovereign, the right of exceeding his promises in whatever way he pleases. But according to these views, here is a grand exception to the uniformity of the Divine procedure. Yes; in the closing scene of the great drama of Providence, the universe is to witness the disruption of this principle—a great gulph is to open and yawn between means and end. For though the commands of God had pointed to a particular issue—the conversion of the world, it is to appear, that the endeavours of his people to fulfil them, never tended to realize it.

"But again; the substance of all the relative commands which God has enjoined is this: "Evangelize the world;" and the substance of all his promises corresponds with it—"The world shall be evangelized." And now when the church is beginning to address itself more seriously than ever to its great vocation, the millenarians, as if to discourage the effort, bring forward a class of Scriptures which, if we believe them, have an occult meaning and difficult to be understood; the practical result of which is, that obedience to the command, will prove all but fruitless for the end proposed, and that the hope of personal success, inspired by the promise, is almost entirely unfounded; as if the plain meaning of the commands and promises of the Scripture are or could be nullified by some secret sense to be extracted from the Scriptures by laborious study. This, if it were possible, would throw a deep shade on the sincerity of their author.

"More than this; the benignity of God annexes to his commands appropriate promises and blessings; always taking it for granted, that fallen as we are, we should not be enamoured of duty for its own sake. A joy was even set before the Saviour, when he endured the cross and despised the shame. But upon the millenarian scheme, the followers of Christ are required to labour and suffer, not only without the hope of consequent usefulness, but even in the clear foresight of comparative failure; and to require equal activity in evangelizing the world, in the face of foreseen defeat, as in prospect of success, is at variance with the benignity of the Divine requirements.

"Yet again; the prophecies predictive of happy results encourage obedience and stimulate to the greatest activity, while those predictive of evil, are designed not to disparage the former and counteract their influence, but merely to produce repentance and furnish motives to holiness. But according to the views in question, there is a large class of prophecies the tendency of which is, to dishearten obedience,

by depriving it of its appropriate results; thus interfering with that probationary freedom of action, which a concealment of the future would have left undisturbed.

“Finally, that these views are derogatory to this economy of the dispensation of the Spirit and the ordinance of preaching, appears in this; that they cast a shade on that happy prospect which Isaiah and Joel and Ezekial and Paul have foretold, and upon the anticipated spiritual transformations by the agency of the Holy Ghost, of which the day of Pentecost was as but the earnest;—and in this also, that these views would transfer the honour of effecting those transformations to the miraculous agency of some other department of the Divine government.”*

The importance of this matter must be our apology for so diffuse a statement of the views of the opposing parties. For at this point of the discussion, a twofold issue is formed. The spiritualist charges, as we have seen, the advocates of the system of literal interpretation with making the prophecies of Scripture, by their false principles, clash with its commands; while the latter charge the former with interpreting the prophecies of the Old Testament so as to make them clash with the doctrines and statements of the New, especially with the doctrine of election, and on the ground of this supposed conflict they invoke, in defence of this doctrine, the aid of all consistent Calvinists—in fact of all who hold that doctrine—whether calling themselves Calvinists or not—in the sense in which it was received by the Reformers; for it is to this doctrine, if we believe them, and not to any thing distinctive in their system, the objections and the reasonings just stated are applicable. It is no new thing, say they, to hear it said of this doctrine,† that it is derogatory to the Divine benignity—that it is at variance with the unimpeachable sincerity of the Divine character—that it is inconsistent with the freedom of human action—that it depreciates and disparages the ordinance of preaching, as much as if a prophet had been deputed to say your strength is to sit still. But not to enlarge; it is the truth of this doctrine then which in reality is called in question, under the guise however of millenarianism, to which though essential, it is not peculiar. Such in general terms is the answer to these objections. But we prefer to consider the matter in another aspect. There are many persons who would recoil from a dogmatic discussion of this sort, who nevertheless

* Great Commission, pp. 139—144.

† The author of an article in the *Presbyterian Review* (Edinburgh, Oct. 1842, p. 386, on the *Missionary Prize Essays*) says, “Dr. Harris pities all who are committed to our views as working without hope and predicts that in consequence, they will soon cease to work at all,” and then in allusion to a remark of Mr. Hamilton in his *Work on Missions*, that “men, who have not the mind of Christ can admire, appreciate, and desire *our* (that is millenarian) views,”—“that men of spiritual apprehension, of heavenly temper, partakers of the divine nature, *alone* can delight themselves in *his* (that is anti-millenarian) views,”—the reviewer adds “to those who can look somewhat deeper (than Mr. Hamilton does) it will at once occur, that his statement must be reversed to coincide with truth. Of such a millennium as he contends for, all poets have sung, and the most gentle taste could always relish it. But introduce *election* into the question, and none will love the vision and linger over it, but they who have been renewed by the Holy Ghost, to prefer the glory of Christ as their chiefest joy.” We give this extract to exemplify the remark above. It is to be hoped however, that both the reviewer and the reviewed state the matter too strongly. In the judgment of charity, many excellent men whom the Lord will own and welcome at the great day, are to be found on both sides of the question, although one or the other may be greatly mistaken in many matters of great importance.

admit the statements of the New Testament in the full sense requisite for the present part of the discussion, while Calvinistic millenarians (if we may conjoin these terms without offence) can have no objection to rest the discussion on the broad basis of the New Testament without embarrassing it by distinctions or technicalities, derived from systems of theology. We think it right also, to allow the millenarians at this stage of the discussion, to become actors, and establish if they can, their aforesaid charges against the popular spiritualizing system of interpretation; especially as their discussions under this head, supply some of their principal reasons for applying the Old Testament prophecies predictive of the future glory of the church, to a future economy. In pursuing this course, we shall endeavour to state the views of orthodox millenarians as we conceive of them, clearly and with as much brevity as we can. If we fail to do them justice, we hope that some one more competent, will supply our deficiencies. They argue thus:

The commission which our Lord gave to his disciples is indeed general in its terms;—"Go ye into *all the world* and preach the gospel to *every* creature,"—but it is limited in effect; for our Lord adds, "He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not, shall be damned." If we could suppose it doubtful in the minds of the disciples at the time this commission was given them, whether none or few or many or all to whom the gospel should be preached would believe, the experience of the church during eighteen centuries since and our own observation would prevent any such doubt from arising in our minds. But the instructions of the Lord Jesus to his disciples during his personal intercourse with them as well as the example of their own nation, must have prevented mistakes on this head. It is pertinent to refer in this place, to a few passages shewing what expectations the disciples were authorized by their master to entertain, touching the success of their ministry, and its influence upon the world. "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you nay; but rather division: For, from hence forth, there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three: The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father, the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother," &c.—Luke xii. 51, 53. When one inquired "Lord are there few that be saved?" he replied "Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for I say unto you many shall seek to enter in and shall not be able,"—Luke xiii. 24—or take the parallel passage in Matth. vii. 13, 14: "Enter ye in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate and broad the way that leadeth to destruction, and *many there be* that go in thereat; because strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto life, and *few there be* that find it." In our Lord's intercessory prayer, we find the following petitions: "I pray for them, I pray not for the world, but for them that thou hast given me." "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also *which shall believe* on me through their word." John xvii. 9, 20. This prayer then, is limited; it excludes, or at least does not embrace, some to whom the commission afterwards given, extends.* We add a passage from 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16,

* The reader may consult the following passages on this subject: Rom. 9; 15. Matth. 11; 25, 26, 13, 16. Mark 4; 11, 12, 34—13; 20. Luke 10; 21. John 6; 37, 39, 41, 64, 65—12;

to shew Paul's sense of the influence of his ministry and of its acceptableness to God. "For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved and in them that perish—to the one the savour of death unto death, and to the other the savour of life unto life." It is unnecessary to multiply citations on this point; yet we add one reference more—the parable of the sower: (in Matthew xiii. 3, 23. Mark iv. 3, 20.) This parable is designed, as millenarians suppose, to represent the constant effect of the preaching of the gospel, to the end of the dispensation. The sower ever goeth forth to sow. The scattered seed ever falls, some by the way side, some on stony places and some among thorns and produces no fruit. Such has been the experience of the church from the beginning,—such is the experience of every minister of the gospel at the present time, however incessant or urgent his labours. Yet without any limitation in this passage restricting it to a part of the dispensation and in spite of experience, those who expect a spiritual millenium before the end of the dispensation, do in effect deny that it will continue to be a fit representation of the preaching of the word in future, or they must deny that there will be a millenium, or if not, they must suit their views of the glory of the millennial state to the condition already attained in those places where the gospel has been fully published. Let us suppose however, that at some future time, every seed sown will fall in good ground and take effect and yield even a hundred fold, still, according to millenarians, there are other representations of the New Testament which are equally repugnant to the hypothesis in question. By the parable of the tares, we are taught that the world is like a field, in which a man sowed good seed, and his enemy sowed tares. The good seed we are told, are the children of the kingdom and the tares the children of the wicked one. Both the tares and the wheat, *by the command of the Lord of the field*, must be permitted to grow together *till the harvest*, which is interpreted to signify, *the end of the world*, or more properly, of the dispensation. However largely and widely then the sowers of the good seed may scatter it, and however abundantly God may bless the labour, still the enemy is not less industrious. The tares he sows will continue to spring up and grow, commingled with the wheat till the end. The design of this parable cannot be mistaken; as the parable of the sower represents the effect of the gospel at any one time wherever it is preached, so the parable of the tares of the field, represents the *continuing moral aspect* of the world under the influence of preaching, from age to age till the end of the dispensation. "Now I ask" says Mr. McNeile, "is this phrase, *let both grow together*, equally characteristic of the millenium and of this dispensation? If it be answered, yes; I cannot for a moment deny that such a millenium will precede the coming of the Lord; we have it already. But the millenium predicted by the Holy Ghost is not however of such a mixed character, as this would make it," &c.

37, 41—13; 18—15; 16, 19—17; 2, 6, 9. Acts 2; 39, 47—13; 48—15; 14—18; 1, 8, 9, 10. Rom. 8; 28, 30, 33—9; 10, 17, 19—11; 2, 4, 8, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36. 1 Cor. 1; 9, 26, 31. Jan. 2; 5. Eph. 1; 3, 7, 9, 11. 1 Thess. 1; 4, 5. 1 Cor. 1; 18, 24. 2 Tim. 1; 8, 10. Rom. 1; 6. 2 Tim. 2; 10, 18, 19. 1 Pet. 1; 1, 2. Tit. 1; 1. 1 Pet. 2; 8, 10. Rev. 13; 8—17; 18, 8—20. 15—21; 27.

We stop not to inquire into the reason of the hitherto partial success of the preached word. The Calvinist may explain it on the ground of the depravity of the human heart—he may say if he pleases, that God's purpose in election, is the only ground of hope for the *least* success. The Arminian may explain the fact in some other way if he can.*—It matters not to the present argument, if the fact itself be conceded. But will the same partial success continue to mark the progress of the gospel during all the residue of this dispensation till the Lord comes? Or to state the question more broadly; will any of the passages of Scripture before cited, or any kindred texts, become obsolete and inapplicable to the state of the church and of the world before the Lord comes? This is an important, although perhaps, not a difficult question. But there is another class of texts, closely connected with these, which must not be omitted. Our Lord in one of the passages already cited, plainly declares that few find the gate of life, while many crowd the way to destruction. The inference therefore is inevitable that the true followers of Christ, so long as this declaration is applicable to the conduct of men, will be few in numbers compared with those who reject the gospel. But not only are the followers of Christ represented as few in numbers,—they are uniformly described as a depressed and a suffering people; a condition, which is inconsistent, not only with the anticipated enlargement of the church, but with its predicted peace, and prosperity and overruling influence. The following are a few out of many examples. Said our Lord to his disciples "In the world ye shall have tribulation." "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the gentiles, and brother shall deliver up brother to death" &c. "Behold I send you forth as lambs among wolves." Luke x. 3.† "Marvel not" says John (1, iii. 13) "if the world hate you." "Beloved" says Peter (1, iv. 13) "think it not strange concerning the fiery trial that is to try you; as though some strange thing happened unto you." Paul affirmed of himself and his fellows, 1 Cor. xv. 19: "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable." To the disciples of Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, (Acts xiv. 22) he said "We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." To the Thessalonians, (1, iii. 4) he said "We told you before; that we should suffer

* Arminians, we believe, do not deny that God has an elect or chosen people, and that none but that elect people, will (during this dispensation) be actually saved. The great dispute, between them and Calvinists, is whether the faith and good works of the elect are the cause or the effect of election. The reader perceives that our point stops short of this dispute; it rests upon the conceded fact of election, or of an elect church, for the salvation of which this dispensation has been appointed and is prolonged. Whether men ever could or (if you please) ever would believe, if God did not first work in them to will and to do, is a question into which we do not enter. (Eph. 2; 4. 10.)

† Our Lord's intercessory prayer is very remarkable. In verse 14, he says "they are not of the world even as I am not of the world," which is repeated in verse 16. In verse 18 he compares their mission into the world to his own. In verse 15 he prays not that they should be taken out of the world, but kept from the evil, and this prayer extends to all who should afterwards believe on him. In verse 21 he prays for the perfection of the elect body and union to him (that is as millenarians understand it in their glorified state) that the world may believe &c. "For if verse 20 contains an enumeration of all believers to the end of time, (as certainly in the usual view of it, it seems to do) who are the world, who are to believe in consequence of their adherence to and union with the Redeemer?" (See Essays on the Millennium, by Rev. Mr. Woodward,—1 vol. of Literalist,—Essay I.) The hypothesis of the premillennial advent explains the difficulty.

tribulation." To Timothy, after describing his own sufferings, he declared "Yea and *all* that will live Godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." We cite no more; the reader may consult the places referred to in the margin.* Now from these two classes of texts, millenarians deduce the following particulars: First, that many more will reject the gospel than receive it. Secondly, that true believers will not only be few, but they will be oppressed and persecuted. Thirdly, that this will be the condition of the true church of Christ *until the end* of the dispensation. Let us now turn to some of the prophecies of the Old Testament which predict the glory of the church. The contrast will enable us better to appreciate the force of the argument. We find among these such as the following:†

"As I live saith the Lord, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord." Numb. xiv. 24. Hab. ii. 14. "*All kings* shall bow down before him, *all nations* shall serve him, *all nations* shall call him blessed." Ps. lxxii. 11, 17. "He shall judge among the nations and shall rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Is. ii. 4. "In his days shall the righteous flourish and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth." Ps. lxxii. 7. "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name one." Zech. xiv. 19. "From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name and a *pure* offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts." Mal. i. 11. "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb" &c. "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of

* Math. 10; 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 31, 36—21; 9, 50. Luke 10; 3—21; 12. Mark 10; 30. Math. 16; 21. Mark 8; 34, 35. John 15; 18, 21. 1 John 3; 13. John 17; 14—16; 1, 3, 20, 22, 33. Mark 10; 30. Acts 20; 23. 2 Cor. 4; 8, 11—7; 5. Gal. 4; 29. Eph. 6; 12, 13. Phil. 1, 29. Heb. 12; 6, 8. 1 Pet. 5; 8, 9. Rev. 2; 10—3; 19—7; 14. 2 Cor. 7; 5. 1 Pet. 1; 6. Heb. 10; 32, 34. 1 Pet. 4; 14. Rom. 5; 3, 5. 2 Cor. 4; 16, 18, 11. 1 Pet. 5; 10. Rev. 16; 5, 6—18; 19, 20, 21—19; 2. 1 Cor. 4; 9, 11, 13. "There will be trouble and wars continual" (says Jeremiah Burroughes, *Jerusalem's Glory* p. 124) "till this time. There will be no certainty nor settledness of things till Jerusalem come to be made as the praise of the earth. There will attend affliction to the people of God; yea and to others too, yea and there is a curse upon men's spirits which will not be taken off till this time come."—Undoubtedly these predictions have been more strikingly verified at some times than at others. The church has had periods of respite—breathing times allowed her—we enjoy such a time at present—Some ascribe it to the liberal spirit of the age. But who that believes the New Testament will trust to the spirit of the age as a protection? Look back but a century and we see persecutions, and could we look into futurity, we might see them very near.

† For promises to the Jewish nation, see Is. 54; 9, 10—59; 20, 31—60; 15, 18, 20—60; 7, 8—62; 4, 12—66; 19—36; 22. Jer. 32; 39, 40. Ezek. 34; 23, 29—37; 25, 27—39; 23, 29. Amos 9; 15. These prophecies and promises of spiritual and temporal blessings to the Jews, have as yet in no sense been fulfilled to them, and as millenarians believe they cannot be fulfilled to them during the present dispensation consistently with the New Testament Scriptures—(Luke 21; 24 Rom. 11; 25. 1 Thess. 2; 16, where *εἰς τέλος* translated *until the end* or *αἰῶνας*) Dr. Whitby's theory is, that after the fall of antichrist the Jews shall be converted to the Christian faith, and that the millennium will be the reign of the converted Jews and of the gentiles then flowing into them and uniting into one church with them. This he says, will be before the second coming of our Lord to judgment—and of course before the end of the present dispensation; the millennium being in fact a mere sequel to the present and past portion of it. See his *Treatise on the Millennium*, chap. 2. Those spiritualists who deny the actual restoration of the Jews cannot avail themselves of Dr. Whitby's hypothesis.

the Lord as the waters cover the sea." Is. xi. 6, 9.* "Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold as the light of seven days, in the day when the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people and healeth the stroke of their wound." Is. xxx. 26. See also Is. ii. 2, 4. Micah iv. 1, 7.† Ps. xlviii. 8, 10. Heb. x. 10, 12 &c. Ps. cxiii. 3.

Now these and many other such prophecies, are, according to the advocates of a spiritual millenium, descriptive of a condition of the earth, and of human society which may be expected during the New Testament economy. The millenarian on the other hand, contends that the interpretation which so applies these prophecies, makes them clash with the doctrines and statements of the New Testament. He argues thus: When all nations shall serve the Saviour and call him blessed, when all kings shall call him blessed, will not persecutions cease? Will the followers of Christ be few and feeble when the kingdom and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, and when from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, the name of the Lord shall be great among the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto his name, and a pure offering? How would a minister of the gospel in the midst of the adoring myriads of converted nations discourse from the precept of our Lord, "Strive to enter in at the strait gate, for wide is the gate and broad the way that leadeth to destruction and many there be that go in thereat, because strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto life and few there be that find it?" How would he discourse from this of Paul, "Ye see your calling brethren, how not many wise men, not many mighty, not many noble are called," when all kings shall bow down before the Lord? Or how from this; "In the world ye shall have tribulation," or this; "Marvel not if the world hate you," or this; "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution," or this; "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you" &c., when the righteous shall flourish and abundance of peace,—when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and there shall be *nothing to hurt* in all God's holy mountain? Or how from this of James, "Whence come wars and fightings," when nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more? The reader will easily pursue the contrast.

The millenarian for reasons like these, contends, that the advocates of the theory of a spiritual millenium before the end of the New Testament dispensation, contradict and in fact nullify by their interpretation of the Old Testament prophecies, large portions of the New Testament; not however in respect to their past or present application to this economy of the gospel, but in respect to their future

* This passage is by most interpreters understood as an emblematical or allegorical representation of the great change which shall be wrought upon persons of the most dissimilar dispositions and pursuits, and by nature and custom addicted to various kinds of wickedness. See Dr. Scott's Note upon the passage. We have seen that some on the other side of the question, think it not incredible that it may be fulfilled in the literal sense. Either way however, it predicts a wonderful change.

† Micah 4; 1, et seq. is commonly spiritualized—but what shall we do with the preceding context Micah 3; 12?

application. It is conceded on all hands that thus far these descriptions of the New Testament have been found true—but it will not be so according to the theory in question, hereafter.

There are two ways in which this argument may be replied to: first, it may be denied that the prophecies of the Old Testament, when rightly understood, predict a state of things corresponding with the literal import of their terms. They are expressed, it may be said, in the language of poetry, which when divested of figure and imagery, promises nothing more than what the statements of the New Testament authorize us to expect. But according to this view, the church has nothing better in prospect on earth, than it has already enjoyed. Certainly its prosperity can never rise above the struggling, afflicted condition, which the New Testament describes as its abiding portion in this world—a condition which, as we have seen, is one of mingled good and evil; in which the followers of the Lord are few, while their enemies are many—a condition of depression, persecution, and continual conflict. Such a millenium (as Mr. Mc-Neile observes,) we have already. But this is not such as the advocates of a spiritual millenium expect.

Or secondly; it may be denied that the representations of the New Testament in this behalf, will continue to be applicable to the condition of the church—in fact that a time of peace, prosperity, and power, is yet in reserve for it, before the end of the dispensation, when “the many” shall be on the Lord’s side, and the physical power as well as the wealth of the nations will be at the command of the church and will be used for her protection and the advancement of godliness.* But he is a bold interpreter, who takes this ground. It is an agreed point, that no addition to the volume of revelation is to be expected before the Lord comes: what Scriptures then, will serve

* It may be observed that the power and prosperity of the church is alleged by Romanists as a mark of the true church, and they say truly, that no church has ever possessed such power and wealth and wide spread influence as theirs; and we may add, no other church at present appears likely to attain such power. But millenarians say this is not a mark of the true church during this economy—it is the mark of a corrupted church. It is *great Babylon* which is the mother of harlots, and which comes in remembrance before God; Rev. 14; 8—16; 19—17; 5—18; 2, 10, 12. “Disputing once with a papist,” says Dr. Thomas Godwin, “He urged this upon me: ‘If the church of Rome be not the true church, and the church to which all churches shall submit, which hath had constant peace and prosperity, all riches, and glory, and honor, for this many hundred years, how hath this ever been fulfilled to your church, that all nations shall flow into it? That it is a mountain set above all mountains? That abundance of peace and prosperity is in it, which shall run down like a river? Whereas you (saith he) have been in persecution.’ ‘The truth is,” continues Dr. Godwin, “there is no answer for it but one—that the time is not yet come.”—Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians 1; 21. The remarks of Mr. Woodward upon this subject, (Essays on the Millenium, Essay ii. 1st Vol. Literalist, p. 12, et seq.) are worthy of consideration. By this we may see how essential it is to Romanists, to maintain that the present dispensation is the kingdom of heaven, or the kingdom of God come, and of course the final dispensation of God’s government on earth. Cornelius a Lapide contends (see his Commentary on 2 Thess. 2, 4.) that Isaiah 49; 23, “And kings shall be thy nursing fathers,” &c., “and lick up the dust of thy feet,” &c., predicted the homage which has since been paid to the bishops of Rome by kings. He adds, “An non amplius est lingere pulverem pedum quam pedes exosculari? Hic honor ergo Pontifici debetur tanquam Hierarchæ et summo sacrorum antistiti ac Christi vicario,” etc. Millenarians, however, contend that the place in Isaiah and all others of similar import refer to a future economy, which will not come till the papacy and all anti-Christian powers shall be destroyed. Would it not be worth the while to consider whether the common belief of Protestants, that the present dispensation is the kingdom of heaven, is not one of the errors of the Roman church—(an error which is the source of many other papal errors)—which was incautiously retained by the reformers, and thus has become the source of other errors, though of a different kind, among Protestants?

for doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness, when the New Testament shall, for the most part, be obsolete—its doctrines antiquated, its descriptions unsuitable to the condition of Christians, and its encouragements and warnings inapt? Are not the ordinances of preaching, of baptism and the Lord's supper, appointed to continue, till the Lord comes? Why not then the doctrines,* promises, and warnings? Will not Christians need to be guided and instructed by pastors? and if so, in what school will these pastors be taught? To what source shall they go for the knowledge which they are to communicate to others? Surely this point need not be laboured.

She millenarian contends, therefore, that the spiritualist is shut up to this alternative, *namely*: He must deny that the prophecies of the Old Testament promise better things to the church on earth, than those we now enjoy;—or he must admit the futurity of an economy to come, in which these prophecies will be more fully realized than they can be during this dispensation consistently with the New Testament; or, if he will insist, that they shall be so realized before the end of this dispensation; he must maintain also that the New Testament, in its doctrines and in its warnings, descriptions, and predictions of the condition of the church on earth, will, like the Jewish ceremonial law, be laid aside and become obsolete long before the end of the dispensation for which it was given.†

It is time, however, to call the reader's attention more particularly to the objections before stated against the views of millenarians. First, it is objected, that they make the prophecies of Scripture clash with its commands. The command is to preach the gospel to every creature. Hence a promise is inferred of Divine assistance requisite to its performance. This is not denied by millenarians. The further promise of success, however, is inferred from the command—a success proportioned to the degree in which we avail ourselves of that assistance,—that is to say, the promise is, that if the church will avail herself of the Divine assistance, as fully as she may, her success shall be complete; the whole world shall be evangelized through her means—that is, converted.‡ This is denied. Millenarians maintain,

* Matt. 23; 19, 20. "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, &c., teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo I am with you alway unto the end (του αἰῶνος) of the world," (dispensation, age.)

† There are many expressions in the Old Testament which cannot be understood literally: such for example as those which ascribe to God anger, repentance, or other human passions, or affections, or which describe him as a man having the different members of the human body—hands, feet, mouth, or as armed with a bow, a sword, a shield, &c. Literalists consider these in no other light than spiritualists do. But from such expressions some take occasion to interpret all descriptions in the Scriptures of the Messianic reign, *spiritually*, or as others express it, *allegorically*, or *anagogically*; because, as Messiah's reign is spiritual, any other than a spiritual allegorical or anagogical interpretation would, as they suppose, be repugnant to the nature of his kingdom. We enter not into this question. Our object at present is, simply to say, that the argument submitted above cannot be disposed of in that way. Those passages of the New Testament which describe the afflictions, persecutions, or depressed condition of Christians—the multitudes of the wicked; those which represent the followers of Christ as few—the mixed character of the visible church—the partial success of the preached word &c. admit of no other than a literal interpretation. As forms of expression, they spring not from the poverty of language, or the necessity men are under of representing unearthly things by earthly analogies; but they are plain representations of earthly things, which our senses can perfectly appreciate, and our language sufficiently express. One use of arguments of this kind, is to serve as a check upon the principles of spiritual exegesis. We carry them too far, if we allow them to make void the New Testament or any part of it.

‡ "No conclusion," says the Rev. John McFarlane, in his work on missions, entitled "The Jubilee of the World," Glasgow, 1842, p. 291, "seems more fair, than that it is the

as we have seen, that God has not appointed this dispensation for the conversion of the world, but for the gathering of an elect church out of it; and the order of the Divine procedure is to call many while he chooses few. But this doctrine does not make the prophecies of the Scripture clash with its commands. If there be any ground for a charge of this sort against millenarians, it is, that they make the doctrines of the New Testament clash with the prophecies of the Old Testament. But this also, is denied. They expect the fulfilment of these prophecies in their fullest and most glorious sense, but they expect it only in an economy to come.

Equally unfounded is the objection that the views of millenarians impeach the sincerity of the Divine character. The objector supposes that because our Lord commanded his disciples to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, he thereby virtually promised that all should believe and obey the gospel. This promise, it is alleged, the millenarians undertake to defeat, by means of an occult sense of obscure and difficult prophecies, as if, says the objector, the different parts of God's word were contradictory:—the open and plain, promising success, while the secret and obscure, predict a total failure. Millenarians deny, in the first place, as we have seen, that God has any where promised the success which the objector anticipates during this dispensation. They deny, too, that their own expectations in this respect are founded upon the occult meaning of any prophecy: they are founded rather upon the plain and oft-repeated doctrines of the New Testament. This has sufficiently been shown.

Nor does the doctrine, as the objector supposes, require the followers of Christ to labour not only without the hope of consequent usefulness, but even in the foresight of comparative failure. They have the assurance that the word they preach, shall not return void; it shall accomplish that which the Lord pleases—it shall infallibly prosper in that whereto he sent it. (Is. lv. 11.) Now if it be true, that God hath appointed this dispensation of the gospel among the gentiles, only for the purpose of gathering an elect church out of them; if it has seemed good to infinite wisdom, to leave the full ingathering of the world to a future economy; with what propriety can it be said, that the *statement of this fact* is disparaging to the efforts of the church and at variance with the Divine benignity? Surely the objector will concede that it is for God to appoint the end of the dispensations and ordinances which he establishes; and if his people have his assurance that he will bless their feeble efforts and crown them with success commensurate with the appointed end; to wish for more, is in fact to wish that God had appointed other, and as the objector presumptuously supposes, larger and more glorious ends to be accomplished through their means.* Such a wish, it need not be added,

will of Christ that his servants should preach the gospel to all nations, *for the purpose and in the hope of converting them all to the Christian faith.*" Again, page 301, "This dispensation is to enlarge itself by degrees into the universal blessedness predicted by the prophets." Again, page 302, "The light of the gospel now shining, shall heighten and expand into the noon-tide glory of the millennial day."

* See remarks in the Biblical Repository, April 1839, pp. 232 to 237, containing an extract from a sermon of the late Rev. Francis Goode, before the church Missionary Society entitled 'the better covenant'—a sermon which we believe gave rise to a controversy which afterwards appeared in the Christian Observer (London.) Mr. Goode, we believe, was a Millenarian, but the periodical referred to, it is supposed, would not favour his views in the general.

would not be prompted by the Spirit of Christ. The issue of God's purposes in this respect, will satisfy his soul. This was a joy that was set before him, when he endured the cross. The Holy Spirit refuses not to fulfil his office because of this limitation. The word has, in every age, been preached to multitudes whom the Spirit has not convinced, while there has been continual joy in heaven, in the presence of the angels of God over the comparatively few who have repented. And if Christ is satisfied; if the Holy Spirit is satisfied with the appointed end; if angels rejoice at its effects; shall it be said that the practical result of this doctrine is fruitless, because it furnishes us with no reason to believe that *all* men of *all* nations shall be brought into the true church of Christ during *this* economy? How few of those among whom the apostles and martyrs preached and laboured, truly believed? And who are we, that we should sit down in despair, if we are told that we shall go forth under no better auspices and with no better promises than apostles and martyrs, and reformers, and all faithful ministers of the word in every past age have had for their encouragement? Shall the church or any of the children of the church, as if sitting in the place of God, presume to declare what are the appropriate results of her or their obedience? Shall she say that God's purpose of election disparages or depreciates her efforts? If the Divine benignity has permitted many in times past to reject the gospel and die in their sins, why may it not permit the same result during all that remains of this dispensation? Can any argument be derived from the Divine benignity in respect to the future, which would not be equally applicable to the past? Upon this point, however, it is necessary to add a few words of explanation, and for this purpose we select a passage from the Lectures of the Rev. H. McNiele, relative to the Jewish nation.†

"Let us not be misunderstood. While we thus declare our conviction that the present dispensation is for an elect church only, we do not for a moment imagine that God's final purposes of mercy towards the world are to be limited to this election. Far otherwise: to suppose that because this dispensation is for the salvation of a remnant, therefore there will be no subsequent and wider salvation; would be as absurd as it would have been for an ancient Jew to suppose that because his dispensation was for a particular people, therefore no other people could have the true religion extended to them. No;

* We have seen an argument in favour of the doctrine of universal salvation stated thus: "Some at this day expect a millenium of three hundred and sixty-five thousand years, i. e. a thousand prophetic years. Yet many good persons at the present day, and for ages past, have said they could find nothing in the Bible to forbid the expectation that the day of judgment might be in their day. Now there is almost an infinite difference between these two, as to the extent of salvation. There is a much greater difference between those that have faith in such a millenium and those who have not, as to the number of the saved, than there is between the advocates of the salvation of all men and the former, at least as to those who have already lived on the earth." This argument has no application to the millenarian scheme we are considering; for that supposes that the Divine procedure will be the same throughout the whole dispensation. Perhaps it also has no application to the system upon which it is founded, although that supposes the elect will ultimately become the many, (in fact all,) notwithstanding what is said in the New Testament to the contrary. We shall presently see how millenarians view this doctrine more distinctly than has yet been stated. Dr. Scott thinks far more of the race may yet be saved than lost, Rev. 20; 4, 6, though he thinks this the final dispensation.

† Lecture III. in Vol. 2 of the Literalist, page 66. See also Noel's Prospects, &c. chaps. 9 and 10, in the 1st Vol. of the Literalist.

we joyfully maintain that the saving mercy of God in Christ Jesus will eventually extend over the length and breadth of the whole world, and be experienced in the circle of every family *then* on earth. We maintain that the death of Christ is a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and that eventually, salvation will prove co-extensive with redemption; that is, so far as respects the *then* population of the world; for we utterly reject the ensnaring heresy of the Universalists, which seems to be Satan's gilded bait to allure and destroy by unsanctified benevolence."* The difference, therefore, between interpreters of the spiritual and literal school, is not whether these ancient prophecies shall be fulfilled, but whether they shall be fulfilled in *this* or in a *future* economy; and the predicted enlargement, holiness, and peace of the church, and its future exemption from evil, are in the view of millenarians, an irrefragable argument in support of their fundamental doctrine, that the economy of the kingdom of God is yet to come. "If," says Mr. Brooks, "those who think the millennial state will not differ from the present dispensation in any thing but the universal prevalence of religion, would only candidly weigh the statements made by writers on prophecy, whose expositions in the general, they adopt—and consider to what their own views would necessarily lead them, were they but *realized* and carried out to their full extent, they would perceive that the millennial state cannot at all comport with various features of the present dispensation, and that it must, in several important particulars, constitute a *new dispensation*." Afterwards he says, "It is admitted that Satan will be bound during the millenium What then becomes of those numerous passages of Scripture which warn us against his subtlety and temptation and direct us to the armour we must use in order to contend with him? Moreover with the binding of Satan, there will necessarily cease all the persecution and annoyance which the saints suffer from those who are under his influence, and which more immediately constitutes them a *church militant*. . . . The millenium is the period of triumph and rejoicing of the church (on earth): whereas, the present dispensation is that of mourning. The church is the bride, who while the Bridegroom is absent, fasts and mourns. (Matt. ix. 15.) Again, the people of God are now described as a *little* flock, and the whole world is said to be lying in wickedness. But during the millenium, the

* Mr. Habershon, a millenarian writer of eminence on Chronological Prophecy, remarks in connexion with Dan. 9: 24, on the *finishing of the transgression*, that "wide and extensive as are the consequences of the fall, so equally wide and extensive are the consequences resulting from the atonement, as far as regards the curse entailed by inherent sin and pollution, irrespective of believing or disbelieving, and *when unaccompanied by actual sin*. Hence it would appear, none are finally condemned and lost irrespective of their own actions and their own sins, and hence the salvation of infants and idiots, who never had the power of sinning." Dissert. Vol. 1, page 56. Toplady another millenarian, who entertained high views of the doctrine of election, and was zealous and active in the defence of it, expresses his full conviction that all dying in infancy are saved through Christ. Another writer remarks, "that it appears to be a part of the economy of grace that a large proportion of mankind—those namely, dying in infancy should become inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem, without being any further involved in the effects of the fall than what arises from their connexion with Adam in his first transgression." These observations have respect to the present and past economy of God's government on earth over men. The economy or world to come, Heb. 2: 5. τῆν οἰκομίστην τῆς μελλούσας, will, as millenarians believe, be a new order of things—a dispensation of universal grace to be introduced by the second coming of the Lord.

earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord; all shall know God from the highest to the least; holiness and righteousness shall prevail every where; the flock of Christ will then be the multitude, not the remnant. None can be excited to murder, when the great destroyer is restrained; none can be unholy and profane when all is holiness to the Lord; none will be practically lawless and disobedient or have need for any to say to them, know the Lord. . . . All these statements will be unsuitable to that condition of the church, which set it forth as consisting of a mixture of good and evil; like tares and wheat, good fishes and bad fishes, wise and foolish virgins, &c. All things which offend and do iniquity will be gathered up; every tree not planted by our heavenly Father, will then be rooted up, and the entire aspect of the dispensation changed."

These remarks, we are aware, are little more than the repetition of what had been previously said. We give them, however, as showing how they may be applied to the question of a future economy, to which question we shall presently come. In the meantime, however, we pass to another objection. It is said that millenarians rely upon a future miracle for the conversion of the world, and that leads them to anticipate little or no advantage from the use of present means. Both parts of this proposition are erroneous. Millenarians, if we believe them, do, as we have seen, expect from the use of present means, under the administration of the Holy Spirit, the conversion of the elect church, which according to their views is all that God designs to accomplish during this dispensation, by any means the church can use. They believe, too, that the more faithfully, abundantly, and prayerfully Christians will engage in the execution of the great commission, the more they will hasten the day of the Lord's coming, and consequently the sooner will they receive their own crowns of righteousness. The apostacy of the church has long retarded, if we may so say, the coming of that day. But now a better era is beginning. The church if not now quite awake—slumbers not quite so profoundly in respect to this particular duty as it did for ages. Millenarians rejoice at the interest the church has shown of late in missions and in their success, not because they expect as their legitimate or appointed result, the conversion of the world; but because they promise the speedy fulfilment of the Lord's command, and the ingathering of the elect, an object of infinite moment to the world as well as to the church; for with this event will synchronize the ending of the times of the gentiles; the second personal, glorious coming of Christ with all his saints; the resurrection of the pious dead; the

* This opinion is not peculiar to millenarians. Thomas Watson objected for non-conformity. (1662) says, (Body of Divinity, 233.) "For the *quædam* or the time of the general judgment it is a secret kept from the angels, Matt. 24:36, but this is sure it cannot be far off. *When the elect are all converted, tunc Christus erit ad iudicium.*" Cœcumenius, as cited by Macknight on 2 Pet. 3:9, says, *Conveniant omni tempus differri, ut compleatur numerus salvandorum.* By the persons to be saved. Estius and Peza understand the elected to eternal life. Some understand the expression *και μεταξου: μεν εστι αυτων* in Luke 18: 7, in the same sense, so that it may be, or should be rendered some what in this way: "seeing he restrains his wrath," or is slow to execute his wrath, i. e. against the adversaries of his elect "for their" that is the elect's "sake," i. e. ut numerus electorum compleatur. . . . Diodati's rendering of this difficult place is "he: che: sia lento all' ira per carità loro." Should God reveal his wrath before the mystical body of the elect is completed, it would be, if we may so say, premature. Hence he restrains his wrath for the good of the aggregate or corporate body.

change of the pious living, and the glorification of both; the binding of Satan; the restoration of the Jewish nation, and the ushering in of the kingdom of God.

As to the other branch of this objection; millenarians say, the conversion of the whole world is reserved *not for a future miracle*, but *for a future economy*. Between this economy of the dispensation of the gospel among the gentiles, and the economy of the kingdom of God, or rather at the ending of the former, and as a part of it, there will occur a series of judgments, and signs, and mighty works of the Lord such as the world has never witnessed. Some of these have been just mentioned. Judgments will then descend upon those who have rejected and abused the gospel, and trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant an unholy thing, and have done despite unto the Spirit of grace. These, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ from heaven, will, according to the declaration of Paul, be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power.* These judgments, however, they believe will not involve the whole race, but only those nations who have for so many ages enjoyed the gospel, and by whom its oft repeated offers have been rejected. But whatever miracles of judgment or mercy may then be wrought, it is not to these, millenarians ascribe the conversion of the residue of men. To the same Almighty Being, who now effectually calls and sanctifies the elect, will still belong the office of creating anew the souls of men. "In consequence of the mighty change in the Divine administration, the Holy Spirit will be poured out anew, in power, to convert and regenerate the whole world. As his office now is to take of the things of Christ and shew them unto men, so will it be then; and as there will then be new manifestations of that Holy One, so the Holy Spirit will act with energies so wholly new as quickly to change the course of things here below, and place the church far above the world which now enslaves it."

We have given, in the last remark, the sentiments of a distinguished writter of the literal school. Our object has been to avoid entering into any theory touching the details or the efficient to be employed in that future economy; but it seemed necessary to advance the views just stated in order to meet the objection under consideration. Whatever the reader may think, therefore, of the theory of this writ-

* See Dr. Bloomfield (Critical Dig.) on 2 Thess. 1: 8, where he says that we must understand by "those that know not God and obey not the gospel," those that have had the means of knowing and have neglected them, and whose ignorance is voluntary, and those who after having embraced the gospel do not fulfil its injunctions." Millenarians suppose that the persons here meant are for the most part the inhabitants of what we call Christendom, or that part of it which lies within the geographical circuit of the fourth empire predicted by Daniel, and whose end is symbolically represented in Dan. 7: 11, 26; Rev. 19: 20. See Cuninghame's Pre-millennial Advent of Messiah. Pref. to the 2d ed. p. xxiii in 21 vol. of Literalist. [This Tract of Mr. Cuninghame was first published in the Christian Observer in answer to a communication to that periodical in July 1827, signed D. D.] From Dan. 7: 9-11, the Jewish church derived the idea that the judgment of the great day, (Ju 16 6) would be a judgment by fire, to which Paul refers in the place above cited. Ps. 50: 3, also refers to the same period. Dr. Whitty's objections are urged against the theory which supposes that the whole earth is to be destroyed by fire before the millenium, as stated by Dr. Burnet, which many millenarians do not believe.

† Woodward's Essays on the Millenium, published in the 1st vol. of the Literalist, Essay I., pp. 10, 11.

er, considered as a whole ; whether it be wrong or right, the expressions cited serve to show that this objection is unfounded.

Before we leave this part of the subject, it is proper to notice one other topic, which is closely connected with it. We have seen that the doctrine of election is a leading doctrine in the creed of orthodox millenarians. They contend that no one who receives the views of Calvin or of the reformers upon this subject, can consistently adopt the views of those who expect that the purpose of God touching the object of this dispensation will be altered or expanded so as to bring *all* within the saving influences of the gospel ; because that would alter entirely the order of things which the New Testament Scriptures contemplate as perpetual ; that is, to continue till the end of the dispensation and the coming of the Lord. But this is not the only change which the doctrine of a spiritual millenium has wrought in the Calvinistic system. In order to allow time for the conversion of the whole world, and the subsequent millennial period as a part of this dispensation, the day of the Lord's coming must be postponed to a very distant time. This theory leads to what millenarians deem a false interpretation of all those Scriptures which enjoin, or seem to enjoin, upon Christians in all ages the duty of watchfulness, for the personal, visible coming of Christ. This we have seen already. Millenarians, on the other hand, infer from this doctrine of election, the entire and absolute uncertainty of the time of the Lord's coming, (so far as men can know any thing upon the subject)—as its necessary consequence ; and this, they say, confirms their interpretation of the class of texts just referred to : for who can know the number of God's elect ? Who can say how many of them have already been gathered ? Who can know or say how many remain to be aggregated to their number, before the mystical body of Christ will be complete ? Who can say that the last of them is not already on earth among the living ? The world,* by which they mean, not the

* The reader may be interested with the following extract, which we have translated from a work in French, composed about the end of the last century, by Lambert, a Roman Catholic writer, and published at Paris in 1806. It contains, contrary to the doctrine of the church to which he belonged, a striking testimony in favour of millenarian views. The passage which follows explains the sense in which the word *world*, or (*αιων συντελεια αιωνος*) *end of the world*, is understood by some millenarians. See vol. 1, p. 97, 98 *Exposition des predictions*, etc. "In order that we may rightly understand what the Holy Scriptures announce concerning the destruction of the ungodly, and the punishments which are to fall upon apostate gentiles (among whom he includes Roman Catholic nations) we must distinguish three great judgments of God which are the consummation of three periods which the Scriptures call *worlds*. The first of these worlds commenced at the creation, and was ended by the deluge, which is the first universal judgment pronounced by the Creator against all flesh. Peter (II. 3; 6—2; 5,) calls this first world—the *world that then was*, or the *old world*. The second world commenced when Noah left the ark with his family to re-people the earth. It comprehends the time from Noah to Moses, before the law—from Moses and the giving of the law to the advent of the Lord Jesus Christ and that which shall elapse from thence till the reprobation of the gentiles, and the return of the Jewish people—[that is, the time which shall intervene between the first and second advent of our Lord.] This second period [or rather the last portion of it] is often called by the sacred writers, *the last times*, *the last days*. It was in reference to this corrupted world our Lord said to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of *this world*, John 18:36. In fact, it will not be until the *third world* or *the world to come*, as Paul calls it, that the kingdom of Messiah, so often spoken of in the Scriptures, will be established. This second world [which still continues] will be ended by a judgment, which is called by Malachi, *the great and terrible day of the Lord*. Then the Lord "will shake the heavens and the earth," or as it is immediately explained, "will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen." Haggai 2; 21, 22. In fine, the *third world* [which is yet future,] is that which the apostle calls *the world to come*, or *the habitable earth*

material globe or earth itself, but the present dispensation or order of things, is continued or preserved, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the elect, all of whom it is God's purpose shall come to repentance: God will not close the present world *prematurely*, or so as to cut off from life and hope any who have been given to Christ. Nor will he prolong it a day beyond the fulfilment of his purposes of election. Even Sodom could not be destroyed while Lot remained in it. The fountains of the great deep could not be broken up, and the windows of heaven could not be opened while Noah was out of the ark. In like manner God now restrains his wrath only for the sake of fulfilling his covenant of mercy in Christ. But how long will he restrain it? When shall the number of his chosen be complete? These are secret things which belong to God; and because they are secret, none has any Scriptural warrant to say the day of the Lord's coming is afar off; for aught we know it *may be* very near, although it *may not be* in our time.*

That such were the views of Calvin, and of all the reformers, and of all the chief doctors of the church, before Dr. Whitby's time, the millenarians allege may be abundantly proved not only from their writings, but from their more formal and solemn standards and confessions of faith. The reader will pardon us, if we dwell a little on this point. We regard it as important and interesting in several respects: First, as a consequence of (what we have called, to avoid circumlocution,) the doctrine of election, as we have just endeavored to show: Secondly; it shows that the reformers and the whole church previously to the eighteenth century, expected no millenium to come; they could not, while they understood the Scriptures as teaching that the day of judgment and the coming of Christ might occur at any time even in their own day. It furnishes also a reason for the opinion in which they generally concurred, that the millenium was past—an opinion which Roman Catholic theologians and some Protestants at the present day also entertain. In this particular, most Protestant interpreters, both of the spiritual and literal school, think they were

to come, Heb. 2; 5. Elsewhere, (as in Is. 65; 17, and 2 Pet. 3; 13.) the Scriptures call this third world, *the new heavens and the new earth*. This *last (or third) world*, will be ended by the general resurrection, and the last judgment, and the eternal separation of the righteous and the wicked. The first of these great judgments (viz. the deluge) is to us now, nothing more than a lesson for instruction. The last of these judgments is still very remote, and its remoteness is made a pretext or an occasion for impenitence and (carnal) security. But every thing indicates that the second of these judgments is advancing rapidly, and that it may burst, at a moment when least expected, upon the apostate gentiles, and enclose them, as in the net of a fowler." The author then proceeds to cite and explain several passages of Scripture, which he says refer to this intermediary judgment. Among others he cites Joel 2; 10, 30, 31—2 Thess. 1; 1-7—Ps. 10—50 and 97—Is. 30, 27-30—Is. 66; 12, 16—13; 5. 18—24; 1, 6, 16, 23—34; 1, 8—Math. 24; 29—Mark 13; 24—Jer. 25; 30. That these and the like predictions do not refer to the final judgment, he says is apparent; for though the judgment described is awful, yet generations of men are to succeed it. They speak of "the slain"—"bodies and blood extended on the earth and trodden under foot as dung"—"the treading down of the wicked under the soles of the feet." of "Israel being delivered," while "the nations are punished." &c. Jer. 25; 30—Zeph. 1; 14, 18;—Mal. 4, 3—Is. 2; 11. Such circumstances as these do not comport with the description of the final judgment, Rev. 20; 12, when the wicked shall *not be slain*, nor punished by waters, fires, floods, hail, or the waves of the sea; on the contrary, they shall be raised to life and punished with the eternal flames of hell. But to return to the idea above stated. The present dispensation of the gospel among the gentiles, are the last times of this world that now is. It is as it were, the lengthening of the times of the gentiles, in order to take out of them an elect church; in consequence of the fall of the Jewish church who had the first offer of the kingdom. And herein will be verified the saying of our Lord, "Many that are last shall be first," &c. * See Rev. 6; 10, 11.

in error; though they agree not in what the error consisted. In this one matter, however, which is of great practical moment, the reformed churches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries agreed with millenarians—we mean in the doctrine of the possible nearness of the advent of Christ, and the duty of Christians constantly to watch for it. This doctrine or belief is often confounded with the conclusions of some who, with over-much confidence, presume upon the correctness of the application of the chronological prophecies to certain events recorded in history, and on the ground thereof, undertake to compute our distance in time, from the end of the dispensation. Yet this is a matter quite distinct from the general doctrine of which we are speaking, into which we do not propose to enter. It is sufficient to say, that many millenarians do not believe such prophecies were designed to enable the church to fix *absolutely* the time in which they shall be fulfilled, but only to awaken a spirit of watchfulness (and this is an important use) as their fulfilment draws near. Others declare their want of confidence in any calculations of this sort which hitherto have been made.* But apart from any such precise calculations, the general doctrine as before stated, is often urged as a substantive ground of objection against the millenarian scheme. That it should be, by those who cordially enter into the prevailing expectations of the church, is not surprising. It seems unlikely, it is said by some objectors, “considering the shortness of the Christian dispensation up to the present time, compared with that which has gone before it.” It seems unlikely, “from viewing the condition of the world itself in regard to its developments.” It seems unlikely, “inasmuch as the moral plans of God, so far as developed in the Scriptures,† do not appear to be sufficiently accomplished to warrant the expectation of such an event.” In the view of others, the intrinsic improbability of the doctrine is so great, it amounts to a proof, that the system which comprises it, must be absurd, and its abettors fanatics or enthusiasts.

Those who thus severely judge, seem not to be aware of the history

* Jeremiah Burroughes, a member of the Westminster Assembly, who died in 1646, and is reckoned by Dr. Wilkins among the most eminent of the English Divines for practical divinity, expresses himself thus on this subject. “Put now if you ask me when shall these things be; when shall Jerusalem be made the praise of the whole earth? It is very hard to determine the particular time, but surely at the end of Antichrist’s reign it must be. And how long Antichrist shall reign, that we know certainly; only the difficulty is to reckon the very time of the beginning of his reign. . . . Antichrist shall reign for 1260 years, and we have such parallel Scriptures for this, that there is nothing more evident than it is, and generally, divines agree upon it.” Then after citing several texts he proceeds, “Now all the difficulty is about the beginning of the 1260 years. . . . I find generally those that make a computation of the reign of Antichrist, they pitch it upon two periods: either upon such a time as will be ended within a very few years, as Mr. Brightman and others. . . . And others in 1666. But there is another computation of those who think the reign of Antichrist did not begin so soon, and they conceive it will be a matter of 200 or more years before the beginning of these times. *But I think God hath not left it fully clear to determine about the time.* Only this; God, by his strange kind of working among us, doth seem as if he were nattering of the time as if it were near at hand.” *Jerusalem’s Glory Breaking Forth into the World*, pp. 89, 92 of second edition.

† The moral plans referred to, are the conversion of the world, the reign of righteousness, in short the realization of a spiritual millennium. The Scriptures which develop them, as the objector supposes, are such as the following: Gen. 3: 15—2: 14. Numb. 14: 21. Ps. 2: 8—72: 16. 17. Is. 2: 3, 4. Ps. 72: 7. Is. 53: 2—11; 13. Zach. 14: 9. Is. 11: 6. 9—27: 7—30: 26. Acts 2: 16, 17. Dan. 7: 27. The objection is the same, therefore, as one already considered, only stated in a more general form; and applied especially to the millenarian doctrine concerning the possible nearness of the end of the dispensation, and the duty of Christians to watch for it.

of this article of the millenarian's belief, nor that he can summon to its defence, such learned and sober-minded Christians as Calvin, Latimer, Knox, Sandys, Ridley, Bradford, Davenant, the divines of the Westminster Assembly, Cartwright, Piscator, Watson, Thomas Adams, the framers of the Saybrook Platform, W. Romaine, and many others of distinguished note in the church.

To maintain that this belief is fanatical or absurd, says the millenarian, is to maintain that all these honoured servants of God, whose labours still continue, through the Divine favour, to bless the churches, were fanatics; to maintain that it is improbable, on grounds like those suggested, is to assign human reasons for Scripture truths—a practice which has contributed more to secularize and pervert the gospel, and make it a thing of this world, than any other one cause. This did not the reformers and the godly ministers of the ages referred to. The estimation in which the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are now held by the church, is manifest from the fact that new editions of one and another of their works are constantly called for. This is virtually a confession that their writings are superior to those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.* But in vain shall we search in them for any interpretations of prophecy which will support the hypothesis of a spiritual millenium before the coming of Christ; and what is more to our present purpose, the earnestness, the solemnity, and the depth of piety by which they are characterised, and the warnings, the pungent appeals with which they abound, are perhaps to be ascribed more to their belief in the near approach of the judgment than to any other cause. They lived under the abiding influence of a judgment near at hand, which could not but influence greatly their practical estimate of this world's goods, and their plans for the disposal of them. "The real and pressing conviction," says Mr. Noel,† "of the return of the Lord Jesus Christ to erect a tribunal of abiding justice on earth, would go far to awe rebellion of heart into subjection, and to reverse the practical estimate of power, influence, distinction, wealth. . . . Even good men, . . . while they recognize a distant, stately, and indistinct notion of Providence, vehemently oppose a domination which would overawe their passions, and render painful the pursuits of ambition, pleasure, wealth." "Consider," says another writer, "what would be the conduct of a man who really believed his Lord might come before his death. . . . Examine the details of human employment, desire, and expectation, and put the question upon each particular; what would be the influence of this belief, upon such a man, in respect to it? Would he be greedy of wealth? Would he amass it by oppression or extortion? Would he hoard it? Would he entail his estates? Would he covet earthly distinctions? Would he over-estimate present ease? Would he be indifferent to the immediate conversion of his children or near relations? . . . Is a child trained in the way he should go, who reads in every thing about him the sentiment, "My Lord delayeth his coming?" . . . Even the operations of the church . . . are often founded on this principle: how often it is, that money is given with the direction to fund the principal, while the interest

* See Cuninghame on the Fulness of the Times, 163, 164.

† Prospects of the Christian Church, Chap. 8. Published in the Literalist, vol. 1.

only is to be expended in the promotion of some pious object. Do not such directions plainly say, my Lord will delay his coming for a long time yet to come?''*

We give these extracts to show the supposed practical bearing of this article of the millenarian's belief which is often stigmatized as fanatical; and also to show what millenarians believe was the influence of the same expectation upon the reformed churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Undoubtedly the most important doctrine in the millenarian scheme, in a practical point of view, is this of the uncertainty of the day of the Lord's coming, and its possible nearness to us at all times. The millenium, as we have seen, is not, according to their view, the inheritance of the elect church, and therefore is not the object of its hope; for before that era, the elect church will be gathered in their resurrection bodies to the Lord in glory. Nor is it an object of hope to the ungodly of Christendom, as if it were to break upon the world like the light of the morning, gently and gradually to cheer and to bless those who have resisted the less energetic influences of the Spirit at the present day. For between us and it, the Lord will come to judgment; and those of his enemies (to whom the gospel has been preached) who would not that he should reign over them, (which unwillingness they express as often as they reject the preached gospel,) he will, according to the parable, command the ministers of his justice, to bring and slay them before him.

We have dwelt longer upon this topic than we originally intended,

* It is impossible, and would be improper in a review, to enter at large into incidental topics; but as it is often inquired why it is not just as well to remind men of their own mortality, as to preach the coming of the Lord to judgment; it may not be improper to suggest some of the answers which millenarians make. First, then, they say; because we may expect, that God will bless such truths as he requires to be presented to the minds of men, when he would not bless motives of human suggestion. The question is, which motive do the inspired apostles most frequently hold up? for they are our guides. They almost always refer to the coming of the Lord to judgment—seldom if ever to death; as a motive to sway Christians. Paul in his epistles, refers to this event near thirty times, and all the other apostles several times. One reason for this may be, that for aught that was revealed, the Lord *might come* before death, according to the common course of nature, would overtake those whom they addressed. (2.) The common doctrine allows men ample scope for the execution of post-obit plans in respect to their families and properties. But the doctrine of the Lord's advent always near, (though it may not be impending) gathers and concentrates all of a man's interests and affections within a shorter space than he may hope to live, judging (as he always will) by the common course of nature. And if he really believes it, he will feel the intense urgency of the obligation to do all his duty with his might. It is not enough for him, that he is in the ark himself, if his loved ones are out of it. He never thinks of bequeathing the trust of a religious duty to others who are to come after him, which he can perform himself. As his Master commands him to watch at all times for his coming, the injunction implies the duty to be the executor of all his pious purposes. (3.) If this influence were felt by all Christians individually, it would give surprising power to the corporate action of the whole body. The Lord's treasury would be in the pockets of his people, (not in funded revenues,) and would be forth coming when and where and in whatever amount it should be wanted. The mental, moral, physical energies of the church; its men, women, and children, money, goods, hands, would be at prompt command. So it was in the age of the apostles, when the watch word of the church was *Maranatha, Dominus noster venit*, Acts 4; 34, 37. It was this which made the apostolic churches missionary in the true sense of the word. Men, and bodies of men, will act leisurely, when they know or believe they have a long time in which they may do what is on their hands. God, who has eternity for the execution of his plans, seems slack in the estimation of unthinking men, concerning his promise; but well may he act leisurely. It is not his will, however, to authorize slackness on our part, presuming that our dispensation has long cycles yet to run. He has dropped an impenetrable veil over all beyond the present moment. See Noel's Prospects for more on this subject.

† See the extract from McFarlane's Essay, in a note to a former page.

but we must not close it without some references, showing what was the belief of the church during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries concerning the time of the Lord's coming.

We have already referred to a passage in the Institutes of Calvin, in which he declares that "the Scripture uniformly commands us to look forward *with eager expectation* to the coming of Christ, and desires the crown of glory that awaits us till that period."* But the sentiments of Calvin may be learned with more particularity from his observations upon 1 Cor. xv. 51; 1 Thess. iv. 15; v. 1; 2 Thess. ii. 2.† By consulting these places, the reader will see that he understood the apostle as teaching that the day of the Lord's advent is to be expected at all times—that Christians are always to have their expectations awake, and to be kept in suspense, promising themselves no certain interval of time, but to be at all times prepared, and standing, as it were, upon watch, and continually expecting that day.

The Westminster Confession of Faith is not less explicit: in chap. 33, concerning the last judgment, this article occurs: "As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded that there shall be a day of judgment, both to deter all men from sin and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity: so will he have that day unknown to men; that they may shake off all carnal security, *and be always watchful*, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come, and may be ever prepared to say, Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly, amen."‡ The corresponding article in the Saybrook Platform is almost word for word, the same.

Now it cannot be said that the day of judgment spoken of in these articles, intends the day of a man's death, because virtually that is the day of judgment to him; for the title of the chapter, and the other articles of it, show that the great day of the Lord is meant, in which he will judge, not only men, but apostate angels. The expectation, therefore, which these articles inculcate, is that which millenarians cherish.

Pictet, in his *Theologia Christiana*, § inculcates the same doctrine. "The Lord's will is, that the last hour should be unknown, *that it may be always looked for*; so that while we are unable to foresee it,

* Institutes, Book iii. ch. 25, sec. vi.

† 1 Cor. 15: 51. "Quum autem dicit, nos immutabimur, in eorum numero se comprehendit, qui victuri sunt ad Christi adventum: quoniam jam erant postrema tempora, *expectandus sanctis fuit dies ille in singulis horis*. Quanquam ad Thessalonicenses, memorabile illud vaticinium edit, de futura dissipatione Ecclesie, antequam adveniat Christus; sed illud non obstat, quin tantum in rem presentem adducens Corinthios, se et illos adjungere eis potuerit qui tunc superstitio futuri erant."

‡ 1 Thess. 4: 15. Quod autem in prima persona loquens, se quasi unum facit ex eorum numero, qui usque ad diem extremum victuri sunt; eo vult, Thessalonicenses in *expectationem erigere*, adeoque *pios omnes tenere suspensos, ne sibi tempus aliquod pomittant*. Nam ut demus, ipsum ex peculiari revelatione scivisse venturum aliquanto serius Christum; hanc tamen Ecclesie communem doctrinam trapi oportuit, ut *fideles omnibus horis parati essent*.

1 Thess. 5: 1. Diem porro adventus sui nobis esse absconditum voluit Christus, ut *suspensus quasi in excubiis stamus*.

2 Thess. 2: 2. Interea sic vult Dominus (illam diem) a nobis *avidus expectari, ut certum spatium minime præsumamus*.

‡ In the Directory for the Public Worship of God, as adopted in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, under the heads, "Of Public Prayer before Sermon," and "Of Prayer after Sermon," ministers are directed to pray for "the fall of Antichrist and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord," and for "a watching for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." But these clauses are omitted in the Directory adopted by the Presbyterian church in the United States. These clauses in the Directory of the Church of Scotland, are in harmony with the article cited above, and proper to be observed by those who believe the article in the sense in which it was penned.

§ Lib. 12; cap. 3. Ignoratur tempus istud: nemo novit, ne filius quidem, Marc 13; 22, etc. Latet unus ut observentur omnes; horum ultimam Dominus ideo voluit incognitam; ut semper esset suspecta, ut dum illam providere non possumus, ad illam sine intermissione præparemur.

we may always be prepared for it." So does Piscator:* "The advent of the Lord to judgment, is to be looked for with perpetual vigilance, especially by the ministers of the word." Thomas Adams (cir. 1633) remarks, on 2 Pet. iii. 3, "The end in the apostles' time, was not far off; now, it must be very near. If that were the last day, this must be the last hour; or if that were the last hour, this is the last minute." . . . "From all this we may gather, that so deep are we fallen in the latter end of these last days, that for aught we know, before we depart from this place, we may look for the last fire to flash in our faces." John Howet says, "nor will the time of expectation be long, when I shall awake—when he shall appear. Put it to the longest term. It was said sixteen hundred years ago to be but a little while. Three times over, in the shutting up of the Bible, he tells us, "I come quickly." In 1755, we find W. Romaine expressing himself thus: "The marks and signs of his (Christ's) second advent are fulfilling daily. His coming can not be far off. If you compare the uncommon events which the Lord said were to be the forerunners of his coming to judgment, with what hath lately happened in the world, you must conclude that the time is at hand." He then proceeds to other remarks which are entirely incompatible with the prevailing expectations of the church.†

The same belief concerning the uncertainty of the continuance of the present dispensation, and the duty of Christians at all times to watch for the coming of Christ to judgment, obtained among the early Christian writers or fathers. Augustine compares this dispensation to the old age of a man. It has no determinate limits—it may be greatly prolonged beyond expectation, or it may be suddenly cut short. But certainly, if any have reason to watch carefully for the

* Comment on 1 Thess. 4; 14. *Quum dies adventus Domini nos lateat, semper parati simus ad excipiendum adventurum, sobrie scilicet viventes, vigilantes et orantes.* Vide Luc. 2; 34, 35, 36, item Luc. 12; 35–40. It. in Matth. 24; 42–44. Luc. 21; 25. *Obs. Quum vero hora adventus illius nos lateat, semper studere debemus pietati, ut possumus coram Domino consistere.* etc.

Luc. 18; 8 obs. *Quum potite fidei Christiana vava avis in terris . . . monemur hoc judicio, adventum Domini non procul abesse. Etsi enim multi fidem ore profiteatur, tamen plerique factis eam negant.*

Luc. 12; 35. *Adventus Domini ad judicium perpetuum cum vigilantia et officii cura expectandus est, ne incantus opprimat; idque imprimis ministerii verbi.*

† Works, vol. 1, page 263. Blessedness of the Righteous. (1668.) Howe was born 1630, he died in 1705. He was a cotemporary with Whithy, who was born in 1638, and died in 1725. In Howe's 2d Sermon on the prosperous state of the Christian Interest, (vol. 1, p. 567–8 of Works, preached some ten years after the passage above cited, though not published till 1725, which was five and twenty years after Whithy's Treatise on the millennium,) he gives the outline of a spiritual millennium, resembling the present theory, although he speaks cautiously, and in some places indistinctly.

‡ It may be said, however, that "these good men were mistaken, as the event has shown. The providence of God—or as some perhaps would say, a better system of exegesis—has made us wiser, and the church has long since dismissed all such unfounded apprehensions." Millenarians admit that the providence of God has made us wiser in respect to the past, but not as to the future. Could they have foreseen what we see in retrospect, they would not have had such views of the uncertainty of the future as they appear to have cherished, and this is all millenarians admit. A Christian commits no mistake, however, by obeying his Lord's express command. Duty is his, while the event is in the Lord's hand. But the argument, so far as it is founded upon mere lapse of time, is fallacious; for while every succeeding year appears to add to its strength, it really takes from it; unless we believe with the infidel, the Lord will never come. In fact, it will appear to be strongest,—and those according to it, will have most reason to say, "where is the promise of his coming, for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as from the beginning of the creation"—at the time when the judgments of the Lord's coming shall overwhelm those who thus reason. It is declared expressly, that that day shall come as a snare on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth. Even the church will be like the ten virgins, asleep. Is it impossible, then, that God should permit the whole church to fall away from this doctrine, as a means of fulfilling these predictions? Is it not singular that Dr. Whithy, a decided opposer of Calvinism, should indirectly, and perhaps without designing it, have succeeded in modifying—in fact in undermining that system in two so important particulars, as the doctrine of election, in respect to its future bearings and application, and the uncertain duration of the present dispensation?

end of life, those have, who have entered upon its last period. From the fathers, the same doctrine passed into the Roman Catholic church, as appears by authors who lived before as well as since the reformation. We have added in a note,* some further references on this

* **LATIMER**, in his sermon on the judgment. (1552.) and **BECON**, in his sermon on the second coming of Christ, (1567.) express the belief that the great day was near.

KNOX, in his "letter to the faithful in London," (1554) says, "Has he not," the Lord Jesus Christ, "in despite of Satan's malice carried up our flesh into heaven? And shall he not return? We know that he shall return and *that with expedition.*" &c.

RIDLEY, in his "Lamentation for the Change of Religion," (1554 or 5.) says, "The world without doubt—this I do believe, and therefore I say it—*draws towards an end.* . . . Let us with John, the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour, Christ, come Lord Jesus come."

BRADFORD says, "Letters from his Prison" (1551 or 5), "Covet not the things that are in this world, but long for the coming of the Lord Jesus. . . God will one day restore them (i. e. our bodies,) to us, like to the body of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, *whose coming is now at hand.* Let us look for it, and lift up our heads for our redemption draweth nigh" . . . "He," i. e. Jesus Christ our Lord, "now is not seen elsewhere [than in heaven] or otherwise than by faith; until he shall be seen as he is, to the salvation of those that look for his coming, *which I trust is not far off*; for if the day of the Lord drew near in the apostles' time, which is now above 1500 years past, *it cannot be, I trust, long hence, now. I trust our Redeemer's coming is at hand.*"

JOHN CARROLLS (martyr, 1556.) says, "If you will not here willingly suffer with Christ for the testimony of his everlasting truth, you shall suffer with the world now, for your own wickedness, and then you shall not reign with Christ in glory at his gracious coming, *unto which now I hope it is not very long.*"

ARCHBISHOP SANDYS, (who died 1588,) in his sermon, "End of all things at hand," remarks, "but as his coming is most certain, so the hour, day, month, year, is most uncertain." He then refers to Acts 1; 7. Math 24; 36. 1 Thess. 5; 2. "Now as we know not the day and the time, so let us be assured *this coming of the Lord is near.* . . . *That it is at hand,* it may be probably gathered out of the Scriptures. The signs mentioned by Christ in the gospel which should be the foreshowers of this terrible day, are almost already all fulfilled," &c.

BISHOP DAVENANT, on Col. (.627,) says, "He has decreed that the glory of Christians is to be expected on the second coming of Christ. . . . Now this day, if we believe the Scriptures, will come both quickly and suddenly."

JOHN MILTON's belief on this article may be learned from a passage near the end of his second book on the Reformation in England. "Thou the eternal and *shortly expected* King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world" &c. And if the Treatise on Christian Doctrine, not long since discovered and printed, be rightly ascribed to him, he believed in what is called the doctrine of the personal reign of Christ on earth. See chap. 32 Of Perfect Glorification including the Second Advent of Christ &c.

In a Catechism by **JOHN BOUGHTON**, (printed in 1600,) under the head "Of the Last and Final Judgment," we have the following *Qu* When shall this day be? *Ans.* The precise day, week, month and yeere neither man nor any of the angels can tell, &c. *Qu.* Why would God have this day unknown to us? *Ans.* To bridle our curiosity, to try and exercise our faith, hope, and patience—to fear us from carnal security—to *make us watch and prepare for his coming continually,* having our loins girt, our lamps trimmed with the oyl of faith and good works, not deferring and procrastinating our repentance." He then proceeds to treat of the signs of Christ's coming.

CARTWRIGHT, (a celebrated English Puritan, born 1535, died 1603.) Harmony on Math. 24; 42. Mark 13; 33. Luke 21; 34. has the following: "Magis ergo nos exsuscitat ad vigilandi studium quod dies Domini nobis cœlatur, quam si innotesceret." . . . "Cœvendum ergo, ne de Christi adventu tanquam de re *quæ in aliquot sæcula rejicitur,* cogitemus."

WILLIAM PERKINS, a distinguished Puritan divine who died in 1602, says, "Now the truth that may be avouched against all, is this, that no man can know, or set down, or conjecture the day, the week, the month, the year, or the age. (i. e. the 100 years as explained in the margin.) wherein the second coming of Christ and the last day of judgment shall be" He then refers to Math 24; 36. Acts 1; 7. 1 Thess. 5; 2. "Now we know that a man that keepeth his house, cannot conjecture or imagine when a thief will come, and therefore no man can set down the particular time or age, when Christ shall come to judgment." He then proceeds to remark upon the signs which will precede and attend it. "The first is, this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached through the whole world for a witness, Math. 24; 14, which he says must be understood, not that the gospel must be preached to the whole world at any one time, for that, I take it, was never yet seen, *neither shall be*; (of course this author did not expect a spiritual millennium before the coming of Christ;) but it shall be published distinctly and *successively at several times.* The other signs he mentions are the revealing of Antichrist, 2 Thess. 2; 3—the general departing of most men from the faith, 2 Thess. 2; 3—a general corruption of manners 2 Tim. 2; 3—terrible and grievous calamities, Math. 26; 6. 16—exceeding deadness of heart, Luke 17; 26—the calling of the Jews, Rom. 11; 25. He then adds, "These are the signs that *see*

subject, as well to Protestant writers as to those of the Roman church. It would be easy greatly to multiply them. These, however, may suffice to show what was the common doctrine of the church upon

before the coming of Christ; all which are almost past, and therefore *the end cannot be far off*. . . . "Furthermore the second coming of Christ is sudden, as the coming of a thief in the night. He will come when the world thinketh not of him, as a suare doth on the bird. *Eposition of the Creed.*

See also Martin Luther's Colloq. Mens. c. 34 and 38, cited also by Stackhouse, Complete body of Divinity.

Rev. J. Janeway said, "Of this I am confident, through infinite mercy that the very meditation of that day," viz. the day of judgment, "hath ever ravished my soul; and the thought of the certainty and *nearness of it* is more refreshing to me than the comforts of the whole world."

PETER KAVANEL, a French Protestant, who died about 1680, in his *Thesaurus ad voc. Judicium*, says, "Merito quidem vult, Deus diem judicii a nobis ignorari, ut illum in *singulos dies* expectantes, vigilemus et oremus assidue, ne nos imperatos opprimat."

PEGORIER, another French Protestant who lived near the beginning of the last century, in his "Système de la Religion Protestante," which is declared to be in conformity with the Confession of Faith of the Protestant Churches of France, by thirteen ministers, who approved the work, has the following question and answer in his chapter, "Du dernier jugement." *Qu. Quand se fera ce jugement? Re. "Le jour est bien déterminé dans le conseil de Dieu, mais personne ne le sait, comme le Seigneur nous le déclare, dans l'évangile. La sagesse de Dieu, avant voulu, nous le cacher pour nous tenir dans une vigilance continuelle."* Veillez dit il car vous ne savez a quelle heure le Seigneur viendra. C'est encore ici, qu'il faut rapporter la parabole des serviteurs, qui veillent et qui attendent leur maitre; et celle des vierges qui tiennent leur lampes allumées, afin que quand l'époux viendra elles soient en état de le recevoir.

In direct opposition to these views, are the instructions of the pulpit at the present day—of those pulpits even which are occupied by divines of the stricter sort of Calvinists. We have heard a minister of great eminence, and deserved influence, and of revered piety and great sobriety of judgment, assure his hearers "that the day of the Lord was not near—that they should not be troubled about it, for although the apostasy predicted by St. Paul had occurred, yet there were other prophecies which must be fulfilled before the coming of Christ and the day of judgment, viz. those relating to the conversion of the heathen." He then proceeded to express his views concerning the conversion of the nations according to the prevailing theory. It is in truth the *communis doctrina* of the church at the present day. We mention it as a singular fact in dogmatic history—a fact that can be established beyond controversy, that the most orthodox ministers of the present day do teach upon this point, directly the opposite of the doctrine of Calvin and the reformers, and their successors in the churches, till near the beginning of the 18th century.

We add a few references to Roman Catholic commentators.

Bernard Lamy, a learned priest of the oratory, who was born in 1640 and died 1715, in his *Harmony and Commentary*, chap. 14 of lib. 5, (on Matth. 24; 36. Mark 13; 31.) has the following: "De die autem illa et hora *adventus Domini ad judicium*, nemo scit, neque angeli eorum, ne que filius, nisi solus Deus. . . . Omnia ergo ejus (ss. Christi) cogitationi patebant, *sed e re erat Christianorum, ut pendula expectationis incerto, scito loquatur B. Hieronymus, semper crederent diem esse venturum, quem ignorarent, quando venturus esset,*" &c.

Nicolas de Lyra, (who flourished about A. D. 1320,) on Matth. 13; 32, at the words "Neque filius," remarks, "In eo enim sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ et scientiæ absconditi. Ideo absconditi, quia nobis scire non expedit; unde ait; non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta que pater posuit in sua potestate; in quo ostendit quod sciat, sed nosse apostolis non expedit, ut *semper incerti de adventu judicis sic quotidie vivant* quasi alia die judicandi. Scit ergo filius sibi, sed non nobis, *ut semper simus solliciti: Unde Videte vigilate,* etc.

On Matth. 24; 36, he says, Hic circa judicium ostendit incertitudinem quia per rationem naturalem homo non potest tempus illud certitudinaliter cognoscere, quia dependet ex simplici voluntate Dei. Similiter nec per revelationem cognoscit; quia si hoc revelasset aliquibus hoc fuisset factum apostolis qui fuerunt maxime illuminati tamen, ipsis de hoc querentibus respondit "non est vestrum nosse." etc. Act 1; 7, quod exponens Augustinus (lib. 18, de civit. Dei) dicit Omnium calculantium digitos resolvit ille, qui hoc dixit—*per digitos*, potentiam numerandi intelligit.

The reader may consult Stackhouse's Complete Body of Divinity, for the opinions of Lactantius, Tertullian, Chrysostem; also, Ger. Joh. Vossius, *Theses Theologicæ—de judicio extremo—de adventu Christi—de resurrectione carnis—de mundi fine*, where he will find numerous references to the fathers, and the scholastic theologians, showing their opinions on these topics, as well as his own. See, also, Mede's Works, 771. We add two further extracts:

Acta ultima generis humani, quæ incipit a Domini adventu, usque ad finem sæculi, quibus generationibus computatur, *incertum est*. Sicut etiam sanctus, quæ est ultima ætas hominis, non habet determinatum tempus, secundum mensuram aliarum, cum quando-

this subject, until near the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is true, that most of the reformers considered the millenium as past, and Baxter wrote his Treatise upon "The Glorious Kingdom of Christ Described," &c., on that supposition. It is also true, that the doctrine under consideration is equally inconsistent with the theory of a millenium past, as with a millenium to come before the end of this dispensation; because while that period is supposed to have been current, or approaching, it must have had the same effect upon the minds of Christians, (who were then alive, if they believed it,) that the expectation of a millenium yet to come, before the second advent of Christ, has upon Christians at the present day. Whereas this doctrine, if it be true, was designed to be a standing article of the faith and duty of the church in every age; and if the injunction of our Lord to watch for his coming, refers (as Calvin and the other authors cited consider it,) to the personal advent of Christ to judgment, it has imposed the corresponding duty upon every Christian, in every past age—it imposes it likewise upon us; and will continue obligatory upon all who may come after us, till the Lord shall come.* This is

que sola tantum teneat temporis quantum præcedentes ætates omnes simul tenuerunt. Augustin, lib. 83, quest. questione 58.

Dominus vult omnes sollicitos et paratos semper esse ad occurrendum Christo, et propter hoc etiam Apostolis de hoc quærentibus respondit (Acts 1; 7,) non vestrum est nosse tempora etc. Summæ of Thomas Aquinas. Supp. by Jerome de Medicis. Quest. 168 or 77. Art. 2.

* This doctrine of the uncertain continuance of the present dispensation, and the duty of Christians at all times to watch for its end, and the coming of the Lord has an important bearing upon the structure of the Old Testament prophecies. If these clearly foretold two advents of Messiah, separated from each other by a defined and revealed interval of any considerable duration, (say the eighteen centuries which we know have elapsed,) the doctrine and the duty inculcated in the New Testament upon Christians to watch for the second coming of Christ, would be incongruous with them. Hence, David Levi, a learned modern Jew, assuming from the common doctrine of the church at the present day, that such an interval is declared in the New Testament, to exist, urges this incongruity, as an argument against its truth. And if the New Testament really did represent the second coming of Christ as remote, it would be incongruous with those prophecies which represent the two advents as one, taking no notice of any interval between them. But according to the views stated, the New Testament withholdeth all information upon the time of the second advent, and on the ground of men's ignorance of the time, requires them to watch for it as possibly (for aught they know) near. Assuming the moment of the ascension, or even the death of Christ, at which the old economy ended, as the beginning of the interval, it is contracted as it were, to a mere point, so that in the regard of prophecy, the two advents approximate indefinitely; and the interval becomes like the intercalary day in our chronology, which we take no notice of in our general expressions of time. To illustrate; take an example from (Dan. 2.) the image and the stone which is represented as smiting it: We may say the instant when the stone first reaches the image, denotes the first advent; the crumbling of the image under its power, (which instantly would follow such an event in nature,) denotes the second advent, or the events which will befall the kingdoms represented by the image, at that time. The interval between the first moment of contact, and the fall of the image, would not be noticeable, perhaps too short for notation. Take another example from the same prophet; (9; 24.) He speaks of finishing the transgression (alluding perhaps to the effects of Adam's prevarication, upon his posterity and the world,) and making an end of sin, and bringing in everlasting righteousness and the glorious consummation of all things, in the kingdom of God, as depending alike on the termination of the seventy weeks. But this work, though begun, the Lord will not finish till he comes again. Now, we see not yet all things put under him—the image of gentile power still stands as firmly on its feet, apparently, as ever. Satan is at large, and the nations yield him their obedience. The prophet, therefore, in this place also, speaks out of view the interval of the two advents, and brings them, so to speak, in contact or continuity. Is. 49; 8, is another example of the same kind: the reducing of the earth to order, (τοὺς καταστροφὰς τῆς γῆς, see the LXX.) which is yet in great disorder,—or the restitution (ἀνωκεταστασις πάντων) of all things, as Peter expresses it, Acts 3; 19, 21, or to take the common version—the establishing of the earth, (which means the same thing) is spoken of in immediate connexion with the call of the gentiles. So in Is. 61; 1, the day of vengeance of our God (which refers to the judgments which

a strong reason with millenarians for believing that the millenium cannot form any part of the present dispensation. The hypothesis of the millenium past, (if erroneous) is in one respect, however, less pernicious in its present effects, than the hypothesis of a future spiritual millenium as a part of the present dispensation, if that also be erroneous. For those who believe the millenium past, are now, by their own theory in the position of watchfulness for the coming of Christ. This we have seen from the foregoing citations. But this theory, nevertheless, leads, as millenarians suppose, to erroneous opinions concerning the nature of the day of judgment, or rather of that series of events which shall ensue upon the coming of the Lord. They suppose (or most of them do) that the Lord, whenever he shall come, will come finally and suddenly to put an end to all human things, and to destroy the earth itself, after having translated his saints

will attend the Lord's second coming) is joined in one breath, with the acceptable year of the Lord. It is observable, that our Lord in citing this place (see Luke 4; 19) disjoins the day of vengeance, from the acceptable year, which came to the Jewish nation, during his personal ministry. He knew they would reject him; and he alludes to the present dispensation implicitly (in verses 25, 27.) where he intimates the call of the gentiles. Hence the separation of the acceptable year of the Jews, and the day of vengeance at his coming in glory. So Gen 49; 10, connects the gathering of the people with the coming of Shiloh; taking no notice of the interval between the first and second coming; although the event has shown since then, a dispersion of the Jewish people which still continues; to which the gathering foretold, refers. These places are a few out of many examples.

This doctrine also gives us the principle of a very common prolepsis in the New Testament, of which 1 Pet. 2; 9—John 12; 31—Heb. 12; 28—1 Cor. 15; 27, compared with Heb 2; 8—Col. 1; 13 are examples. The things spoken in these and the like passages, are said to be done, or have occurred, or to be, because—we mean this as one of the reasons—their consummation or fulfilment may be looked for (as some of the authors referred to express it) in *singulas horas*. It is worthy to be observed also, that Calvin (Instit book 3, chap. 25, sec 6.) makes use of this doctrine as a reason why we should not indulge in over curious inquiry, concerning the intermedate state. As if he had said because it may be indefinitely short, for aught that is revealed; the Scripture as it were, taking our minds across it, uniformly commands us to look forward with eager expectation to the coming of Christ, as an event which may—for aught that is revealed—spare us the necessity of being unclothed of our earthly tabernacles and entering into that state. It may seem fanciful (though it is a thought connected with this of Calvin) that this doctrine may supply one of the reasons why the death of believers is represented under the *image of sleep*. We know that in the case of some at the last the separation of the soul and body will not exceed in duration the usual period of rest in sleep. Others, the Lord may find, as he once did the daughter of Jairus, just departed; others, as the son of the widow of Nain; others, as Lazarus. Now as from the moment of our Lord's departure, his return has been, to be looked for, with eager expectation by all; and as none could know that the Lord would not come as shortly after his decease, as he came to these, the Holy Spirit in beautiful and perfect harmony with this doctrine concerning the Lord's coming, adopts the image of sleep to represent our intermediate state; probably in respect to the time of its continuance; certainly not to intimate a state of unconsciousness; for the souls of believers are happy in the presence of the Lord (2 Cor. 5; 6. 8—Phil 1; 23—Rev. 6; 10.) The apostle makes this doctrine a ground of comfort to bereaved Christians, 1 Thess. 4; 13-18. This doctrine, too, may supply a reason why the destruction of Jerusalem is connected with the second advent of Christ. Rosenmuller (as cited by Dr. Bloomfield, at Matth. 24; 43) remarks, that the apostles and primitive Christians were of the opinion that the Lord's advent at the destruction of Jerusalem—as he calls it—and his advent at the end of the world, would be separated by a very small interval—they knew not whether they would not take place at the same time. &c.

However this may be; across this uncertain interval, the rays of the ancient prophecies shoot, as rays of light pass an unrefracting medium—and pour all their rich glories on the world to come; (Heb. 2; 5.) mantling it with a brightness, so resplendent, that our faithless hearts will have it to be the vision of some distempered brain. Oh! how slow of heart are God's people to believe *all* that the prophets have written; as if our Lord were not good enough, or loving and faithful enough, or mighty enough, to execute *all* his word; or as if there were something in place or space, (irrespective of his own sovereign word and will,) that it should be a matter of moment to him, to select some *other* place or world in the universe which he has made and governs, to exhibit, in consummate perfection, the work of his redeeming love!

to a more glorious world,* and consigned the wicked of all ages to the place of eternal punishment; while millenarians believe, as we have seen, that he will come to raise the pious dead, to bind Satan, to punish apostate Christendom, to usher in the kingdom of God, and reign in righteousness over the whole earth.† This hypothesis leads too, as they suppose, to the further erroneous conclusion that the present dispensation is the kingdom of God. But on the other hand, the doctrine of a spiritual millenium yet to come, before the Lord's advent, has wrought changes, as millenarians believe, which are at present producing a pervading and practical influence upon the lives of Christians. It has effaced from the belief of the principal part of the Protestant church (however it may remain in their standards) the important doctrine of the brevity and uncertain continuance of the present dispensation, and by putting the church and the world upon schemes which necessarily postpone the coming of the Lord to a distant age, prepare both for that surprise with which the Scriptures often declare that day will overtake them. This very fact is, in their view, a striking sign of its near approach. To sum up these observations :

We gather from the last two topics the following particulars of the millenarian system.

(1.) The object of the present dispensation, or the New Testament economy is not to convert the whole world, but to take an elect church out of it.

(2.) For the execution of this purpose it always has been, and still is, the highest interest of Christians, as well as their solemn duty, in obedience to the Lord's command, to preach the gospel without delay among all nations.

(3.) The continuance of the dispensation is uncertain, and its end should at all times be looked for as near, as well because the Lord commands his followers to watch for his coming, as because they cannot know how soon the body of his elect will be completed.

(4.) The condition of the true spiritual church during this dispensation, has been thus far, that of warfare and suffering, while its numbers have been few, compared with the ungodly. Its condition will continue to be the same to the end of it; because the same Scriptures which so truly describe its past condition, will be found to apply to it with equal truth, in all future time, till the Lord shall come.

(5.) The visible church hitherto has been a mixed body, having

* It is observable that those divines in the 16th and 17th centuries who thought the millennium past, and were looking for the Lord's advent to judgment, referred many passages of Scripture to the state of the church in heaven, which at the present day both spiritualists and literalists refer to a future state of the church on earth. But to do this, they were obliged to spiritualize them, though into a very different sense from that which the exponents of a spiritual millenium before the coming of Christ, now put upon them. The theory of the future compelled them to do so, as it was quite evident they had not been fulfilled during any previous times.

† τὰ ἔθνη τῶν σωζομένων, in Rev. 21; 24, "the nations of them that are saved" millenarians suppose cannot mean the elect and glorified church. This is but one—the ἔθνη ἁγίων, referred to by 1 Peter 2; 9. and by Paul, Eph. 1; 14, as the purchased possession, both apostles having reference perhaps to Exod 19; 5. The nations (being many) of them that are saved, (from the judgments which will attend the second coming of the Lord) shall walk, &c. This matter, however, has respect to a future economy about which over-curious inquiries should not be indulged.

evil as well as good within it, and such will it continue to be till the Lord shall come.

(6.) The prophecies of the Old Testament, therefore, which describe the great enlargement of the church, so as to embrace all men of all nations—its great purity also, its continued prosperity and prevailing influence, cannot receive their fulfilment during the present dispensation, without nullifying, if not the whole, at least large portions of the New Testament Scriptures. They must have respect, therefore to an economy which shall not begin until the New Testament economy shall end. Those, then, who deny the futurity of such an economy, do, according to millenarians, in effect deny also the possibility of their fulfilment.

(7.) Finally; because the Scriptures cannot be broken, and even the heavens and the earth shall pass away while the word of the Lord shall remain, the inference is inevitable that there is an economy to come in which all that the prophets have written shall be literally and gloriously fulfilled. Such is the inference of millenarians from the preceding particulars, especially the fourth, fifth, and sixth, which are founded, as they say, not upon the occult meaning of any obscure prophecy of the Old Testament, but from the didactic and plainest portions of the New.

There are several other grounds of argument upon which millenarians rely to prove the futurity of the kingdom of God. To these we now pass, and the first which we shall mention, is the third of the preceding particulars, *viz.*, the brevity and uncertain continuance of the present dispensation. If there were no express declaration of Scripture concerning the continuance of the kingdom of God, it would be incredible, say they, that from its introduction, it should be liable to be closed at any moment, and that the subjects of the kingdom should be commanded, at all times, to watch for its end. What shall succeed it? Shall we say, another economy of the same kingdom on earth? Spiritualists do not expect this; on the contrary, they maintain, that the present is the final economy. But while they maintain this, they contend also, that it is not of such uncertain continuance as millenarians pretend. Assuming the fact, however, as proved, the millenarian proceeds to argue from the Scriptural marks or characteristics of the kingdom of God. In Dan. vii. 13, 14, 27, it is called an *everlasting* kingdom—an *everlasting* dominion, *which shall not pass away*—a kingdom that *shall not be destroyed*. In conformity with this prophet, the apostle Peter (II. i. 11,) describes it as the *everlasting* kingdom of our Lord. The angel, too, in announcing to Mary the incarnation and birth of Jesus, declared of him, “he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom *there shall be no end*.” (Luke i. 33.) Add to these, a passage from the Apocalypse, (xi. 15,) “The kingdoms of this world are become *the kingdom* of our Lord and of his Christ, *and he shall reign forever and ever*.” The expectations of the Jewish nation were in accordance with these representations. “We have heard out of the law,” said the people, “that Christ abideth forever.” John xii. 34. There is no difficulty, however, upon this point. No one disputes the perpetuity of the kingdom of God. How then can it be this dispensation? We have seen that spiritualists deny the doctrinal fact upon which this argu-

ment is founded. Leaving that, however, to the consideration of the reader upon the proofs already submitted, spiritualists answer further; that the kingdom of Christ and of God is spiritual; and that when once begun in the hearts of believers, (who are the true Israel,) it will be perpetual. The church or the company of the faithful, over which his kingdom is established, now subsists on earth in a state of imperfection, but hereafter, it will appear complete and perfect in the world of glory, when it will continue to subsist without end.

The millenarian replies that this argument is not to the purpose. A dispensation is an economy of God's government on earth; or, without attempting a precise definition, he describes it as an order of things appointed by God to continue during a certain time, for the accomplishment of certain ends. As the Levitical dispensation had its ordinances of Divine service, a worldly sanctuary and a ministry, so the present has its ministry, sacraments and institutions. As the former was appointed to continue till the first coming of Christ, so this, though its duration is not revealed, is appointed to continue until the second coming of Christ. In the present argument, however, it is to be regarded chiefly as *a portion of time*, and the question is whether, *so considered*, this dispensation is *the time* of the kingdom. Now the argument is, that the current dispensation cannot be the *time* of the kingdom, because it is liable to be cut short at any moment, and the order of things, or institutions appointed for it, are also liable to be displaced at all times, by another order which shall be perpetual, (Heb. xii. 28,) whereas, the dispensation of the kingdom of God is, by the covenant and promise of God, to be without end. This dispensation is indeed the period in which a work of grace is wrought in the hearts of all God's elect, but this work does not constitute *the dispensation itself*. The argument opposed cannot be true, because it would prove too much. The faith and obedience of the Old Testament saints, which were wrought by the same Spirit operating according to God's purpose of election, and producing faith in a Messiah to come, would with equal reason, prove the Levitical economy to be the kingdom of God. And why may not a similar argument be used to prove that the present economy as it respects the world at large, (and it is not limited as the Levitical was to a single nation,) is one of darkness not of light—a period of misrule and wickedness; not of order and holiness? Does not the whole world lie in wickedness? Does not Satan lead the nations captive at his will? Is he not called the God of this world—the prince of the power of the air—the spirit which now worketh in the children of disobedience? As the Levitical economy was by its institution limited to a particular people, so now the dispensation of grace (as it is sometimes called,) is, however widely the gospel may be published in effect, confined to the elect, while the rest of the world (both then and now) yield a willing obedience to the great destroyer. But the economy of the kingdom of God is *effectually* to embrace all nations; the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven is to be given to the people of the saints—incense is to be offered unto the name of God, and a pure offering in every place; and these are marks of the kingdom which also discriminate it from the reign of grace in the hearts of

God's elect, who are the few, as well as the enduring nature of that kingdom.*

But a strong reason with many for believing the present dispensation to be the kingdom of God, is found in the preaching of John the Baptist, and of our Lord at the commencement of their public ministry. Both enforced the duty of repentance by the fact that the kingdom of God was *then* at hand. The present dispensation was soon afterwards introduced. The event therefore has served, as it is supposed, to interpret infallibly the meaning of the expression, and apply it beyond the possibility of mistake, to the present dispensation of the gospel. Besides, there are several passages in the Evangelists which appear to declare plainly that the kingdom of God had come during our Lord's public ministry, (Matth. xii. 28—Luke x. 9, 11—xi. 20—xvii. 20.) Hence it is inferred this dispensation must be the kingdom of God.† All these places are, in the view of some millenarians, commonly misunderstood, and misapplied, as a little attention to the order of times, and some other passages will show. In fact, some millenarians maintain that there is no text in the gospels, which, when rightly understood, affirms historically or as a matter of fact, that the present dispensation is the kingdom of God. Their argument upon this topic, may be stated thus:

The kingdom of God was appointed to commence at, or at some time after the termination of the Levitical dispensation. It could not commence before, nor co-exist for any time with it. There is no difference, we believe, between them, and interpreters of the spiritual school upon this point. A distinguished theologian and critic‡ of our own day and country remarks, that "before the death of the Lord Jesus, the ancient covenant was in full authority. He himself, observed its ordinances, and so did his disciples. The kingdom of heaven, in the gospel sense of the phrase, could come only by and after the death of Christ." If it were necessary to fix precisely the time when the old economy ended, we should say it was when the Lord Jesus, as King of the Jews, on the cross, said "it is finished," and gave up his spirit to the Father. At that moment, the veil of the temple was rent—the inclosures of the tabernacle were disparted, and the old economy passed away.§ The law having failed, through the weakness of the flesh, to prepare its subjects for the kingdom of God, (they having crucified their king,) their relations were from that moment altered, and a wider dispensation of grace immediately commenced. The personal ministry of the Lord Jesus, therefore, fell within the Levitical economy. Accordingly, Paul says, "that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God to confirm the promises unto the fathers," Rom. xv. 8. With this limitation of his personal ministry on earth, agree his own declarations, "I am not sent save unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," Matth. xv. 24. For

* We might here say again that all the prophecies before mentioned which predict the glory, peace and universal spread of the church—its purity and holiness, furnish us with so many marks or characteristics of the kingdom; and if it be conceded that they will be hereafter fulfilled on earth, and if they cannot be fulfilled while the New Testament dispensation is in force without annulling large portions of the New Testament itself, it would seem to follow that the kingdom of God is future.

† See Whuby's note on Matth. 3; 2, "kingdom of heaven is at hand."

‡ Professor Stuart, *Bib. Repository*, Oct. 1842, p. 364.

§ *Jeremy Taylor's Life of Christ.*

the same reason, the ministry of his disciples, during his own personal ministry, was confined to their own nation. "Go ye not into the way of the gentiles; and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," Matth. x. 5, 6.* This fact must not be lost sight of, in the interpretation of those places in the gospels which affirm that the kingdom of God had come, or had come nigh to the Jewish nation. They cannot apply to this dispensation, for it was *then* future, and as such, the subject of prophecy, rather than of chronicle or history. When, for example, our Lord declared to the Pharisees, "the kingdom of God is within you," or "among you," or "has come upon you," he spoke as a minister of the circumcision, and at a time when the Levitical dispensation was in full force. Whatever else may have been our Lord's meaning, therefore, it cannot be supposed he intended to affirm that the *present* dispensation had commenced, and was among the Jews or had come to them. The fact is, although it is not always attended to, the Levitical economy itself, contemplated the preaching of the gospel to the Jewish nation. The gospel was in it, as its chief crowning blessing. It could not be offered to the gentiles (Rom. xi. 11,) till the Jews had rejected the kingdom and crucified their king. It was therefore a different dispensation of the gospel from that which we enjoy.

Dr. Duffield remarks (on page 161) that "the Gospel dispensation commenced with the personal ministry of Christ, and was fully introduced on the day of Pentecost." But in this he concedes more than some millenarians would, and perhaps more than he need. The Levitical economy subsisted during all the time the gospel was preached exclusively to the Jews; and the dispensation of the gospel during that time (if we admit the propriety of so denominating it,) cannot be considered the commencement of a *distinct* or *different* economy from the Levitical, and this proves that the commencement of the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom as come, or come nigh, does not by itself or of necessity prove that the dispensation in which it is preached, is the kingdom of God. In fact, as a history of the actings and doings of the Lord Jesus and his disciples, and of the treatment they received from the Jewish nation previously to the death of Christ, the gospels fall within the period allotted for the Levitical economy, and of course relate to times anterior to the commencement of the present dispensation.

—These observations suggest a different, and as it appears to some millenarians, a more satisfactory answer to the argument which applies to the present dispensation those passages in the gospels which represent the kingdom of God as having come, or as at hand. That there are such passages cannot be denied;† but there are other texts in the gospels which represent it as future. For example, our Lord, —notwithstanding he began his ministry by announcing the kingdom of heaven at hand—*notwithstanding* he told the Pharisees the kingdom of God had come to them, and was among them—after the close of his public ministry, in a discourse to his disciples, detailed a series

* See Whitby's Treatise on the Millenium, chap. II. sec. ii. 1, where the same facts are noticed, though he makes a different use of them.

† Matth. 12; 28—Luke 17; 21—11; 20.

of events, (which by the consent of all commentators extended at least to the destruction of Jerusalem) which must occur before the kingdom of God would come, (Luke xxi. 31, and preceding context.) Again, Joseph of Arimathea is described by Mark xv. 43, and Luke xxiii. 51, after the death of the Lord Jesus, as a good man and a just, who himself *waited for, or was expecting*, the kingdom of God.* How are these apparently conflicting statements to be reconciled? Dr. Duffield remarks that "all our Lord proclaimed on the subject of the kingdom was, that it was at hand—approaching—how near or how far off, he thought not proper to declare," page 176. The same explanation (of Matth. iv. 17; Mark i. 15,) is given by others. The spiritualist, as it strikes us, may well reply that our Lord affirmed more than this; and he may refer for his proof to the passages just cited. He may refer also to Luke x. 9, 11, to prove that the word (*ἔρχεται*) translated *at hand*, (in Matth. iii. 2; iv. 17; Mark i. 17) may have much the same force as (*ἔρχεται*) the word translated *come*, in Luke xi. 20 and Matth. xii. 28. We feel a difficulty, too, in receiving the explanation which is often, perhaps commonly, given by millenarians, of the expression (*ἔρχεται*) *at hand*. Relatively to the eternity of God, it is said, the interval of eighteen centuries since elapsed, is but a short time. This is true; but the same may be said of eighteen hundred centuries, or any other finite period. The allusion here, however, seems to be to the portion of time which had elapsed, since the promise of the kingdom was made to that people; or perhaps the allusion is to the seventy weeks of Daniel; or to some other period assigned by the ancient prophets, to intervene between their days, or some period assigned by them and the coming of the Messiah, as others suggest.† Relatively to such a period or interval, our Lord declared, "the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of heaven has come nigh." In Mark i. 15, where both expressions are used, the one is explanatory of the other. Waiving this criticism, however, we proceed to remark, that some of the literal school feel constrained to admit that our Lord plainly and repeatedly declared that the kingdom had come to that nation. Potentially it was within their reach. Nothing was wanting to ensure its immediate, outward and universal establishment but the acceptance of it by the nation, and of Jesus as their king, with the obedience of faith. This was indeed a great desideratum which could be supplied only by the Holy Spirit's influence, and that influence, a purchase of infinite price. Still the kingdom had come, and was offered, and it was owing to the blindness and obduracy of the nation that it was not established. It was therefore taken from them as our Lord declared it should be, (Matth. xxi. 43,) and the Levitical economy which contained within itself the privilege of the first offer of the kingdom expired, and the nation was destroyed and dispersed to be gathered no more, till the church elect, according to the foreknowledge of God through sanctification of the Spirit—the precious purchase of the Saviour's death—shall be

* See also, Luke 22; 18 where at the institution of the supper which was the same night the Lord was betrayed, and of course after his public ministry among the nation had ceased, he spoke of the kingdom of God as future.

† Bloomfield's Critical Digest on Mark I; 15.

completely gathered.* This elect church, according to the idea of Mede, is a nation to be subrogated into the place of the fallen Jewish nation,† and the present economy was, as it were, let in between the Levitical economy and the economy of the kingdom of God,‡ for the purpose of gathering this subrogated people. It is therefore as truly preparatory to the kingdom of God, as was the Levitical economy, which, being an economy of law, was insufficient, through the depravity of human nature, to fit men for the kingdom, and thereby proved to the universe, the necessity of a dispensation of grace, for the gathering and preparation of another elect people, for the kingdom—but the kingdom itself in the mean time remains in suspense, or if we may so say, in abeyance.

If these views are correct, we shall look in vain for any historical record in the gospels of the fact, that the present dispensation is the kingdom of God; first, because in point of time, they fall within the Levitical dispensation; and secondly, because the kingdom, which then had come to that people, was afterwards taken away, and the kingdom itself at the close of that dispensation, was spoken of as future. And as to the inferential argument, that the present dispensation *must* be the kingdom of God, because it was the only new dispensation which was then near, it fails, because it by no means follows from the fact, that it was taken from the Jewish nation, that it must have been *immediately* conferred upon some other nation; on the contrary there was a necessity that it should remain in suspense and unbested until that other nation or people should be prepared and made willing by the Holy Spirit, to receive it, that is to say, until this dispensation of grace, which has been appointed for the gathering of the elect church, shall have elapsed.§

* *Quis hoc mysterium valet penetrare cur Deus multitudinem gentium spreverit pene ab exordio mundi; a tempore scilicet, quo confusum est labium universæ terræ, et Judæos tantum sibi peculiarias fecerit qui per lineam Eber descenderunt; iterum que Gentes in suo adventu elegerit, et Judæos in finem mundi recipiendos abiecerit? Quis inquam tam subtilem dispositionem, divinam investigare sufficit? Renugius, (on Rom. 11; 26.) an author who flourished about the year A. D. 880, during the reign of Charles the Bold. It was a common opinion among the ancient commentators, that the Jews were cast off until the end of the world. Hence they understood the expression in Rom. 11; 15, "I live from the dead," literally. (See Stuart on the Romans 11; 15.) Millenarians also believe that the epoch of their restoration will synchronize with the first resurrection and the introduction of a new dispensation or the beginning of a new world. See Whitby's Discourse of the Calling of the Jews appended to his Commentary on Rom. xi.*

† Mede's Works, in folio, 634, book 3, chap. 12.

‡ Following out Mede's idea of a subrogation; as the elect church, which is to be gathered during these times of the gentiles, is to be subrogated in the place of the elect nation of the natural posterity of Jacob, because notwithstanding all their advantages (Rom. 3; 2-9; 4, 5) they failed to comply with the condition of obedience on which the promise of the kingdom of God made to them depended (Exod. 19; 5)—so this dispensation of grace is, as it were, subrogated in the place of the Levitical economy, which being an economy of law, failed through the sinful weakness of the flesh. The fall of the Jewish nation demonstrated to the universe—what indeed God foresaw and foretold from the beginning—the insufficiency of an economy of law to prepare men for the kingdom, yet his wisdom saw fit to appoint and make trial of such an economy in the first place. But when it failed in fact, and the nation instead of receiving their king crucified him, it was laid aside, indeed expired, or was put an end to, by the death of Christ the king, and an economy of grace put or subrogated in its place, during which through personal, not national election and the effectual call of the Holy Spirit, God will infallibly prepare a nation willing (Ps. 110; 3) to receive the kingdom, when the Lord shall come again. But could any of the race have been saved or any of the dead be raised if the Jewish nation had received Christ as their king? They could not so receive him (John 12; 37, 41)—Why then was the kingdom offered? Because it was promised.—But why did God promise it, he foreseeing that they could not receive it? Even so Father for so it seemed good in thy sight—But wherein then were the Jews guilty in rejecting it, if they could not receive it? Explain Acts 2; 23, and the reader will answer this question.

§ The parable in Matth. 22, which adumbrates the kingdom of heaven by a marriage festival, if effect be given to all its material circumstances leads to the same result. The prepared feast represents the kingdom—the call of the first invited guests, represents the preaching of the gospel to the Jewish nation. Their rejection of the invitation, brought upon them the wrath of the king (vs. 7) which represents the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jewish nation. The call of another company of guests, is the call of the gentiles, and the time which the servant

This view of the subject, millenarians contend is strongly confirmed by the fact, that in many places, not only in the gospels, but in the epistles, the kingdom of God is undoubtedly spoken of as future. The law and all the prophets, prophesied of the kingdom of God until John. He first announced it, not as a thing future, but as come;—in what sense and to whom we have just seen. The New Testament prophets, after the close of the gospel history, resume the thread of prophecy, which had been interrupted,* and whom the ancient seers foretold should come, they celebrate as yet to come again, in his kingdom. The inference therefore is, that the kingdom of God is yet future. Spiritualists admit, that the expression “kingdom of God,” must frequently be understood of the future state of glory and blessedness, although they contend as we have seen, that it often signifies also the gospel, or the gospel dispensation, or the church as it exists on earth, or the work of saving grace wrought in the souls of men.† This is in effect, an admission, that the kingdom is yet to come; in a sense in which it has not yet come: although, not an admission, that the kingdom is yet to come *on earth* in any other sense than that in which it has already come, which however, is the chief point in controversy. Millenarians deny this multifarious sense. From the admission of all interpreters, that the expression, as it occurs in many of the discourses of our Lord, and often in the writings of the apostles “is undoubtedly meant of that appointed glorious kingdom of Christ which is yet to come, they contend that it is so to be understood in all other places unless there be express vestiges, in the passages themselves, of a change in its sense” of which, they say, there are none. The force of the words, as they argue, is to be understood the same wherever they occur, although perhaps they may appear more obscure and seem to admit of a sort of various interpretation. But we are not to suppose, some different thing is signified, because we find in some context a resemblance and elegance in sentiment; for this may greatly mislead an interpreter.‡

Besides it would be singular not to say incredible that the same expression should be used to designate conditions so different as the present state of the church on earth, which is one of warfare and suffering, and its future state, which is one of glory and triumph; although, if there were texts which explicitly declare both states to be the kingdom, millenarians would never have made the point. But inasmuch as the one meaning is clear beyond controversy, and the other made out by inference only; they contend that the immense difference between these two conditions is a strong argument against the twofold application of the expression. We proceed to notice briefly some of these passages.

The apostle Paul declares in 1 Cor. xv. 50, that “flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.” This assertion, as the reader

may be supposed to have employed, in performing this service, represents the present dispensation. In the economy of human life, it would require but brief space to gather a new company, though the exact time necessary for the purpose, we should not be able precisely to know beforehand. Mean time the “prepared dinner” remains waiting for the incoming of the new company, and is not partaken of by any till the whole of this subrogated company is collected. See Mr. Greswell’s explanation of this parable, vol. 5, part 1, p. 102 for further particulars.

* 1 Maccab. 4: 46—9; 27—14: 41.

† See Whitby’s note on Matth. 3: 2, for the various senses in which, he supposes, the expression is used, and for a classification of the texts, according to his view of their meaning.

‡ See Koppe’s *Ecurus on the Kingdom of God.*—2 Thess. 2.

knows, occurs in an argument to prove the necessity of a resurrection, and his reasoning shews that he is speaking of the resurrection of the saints. "It" viz. the body, "is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption—it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory" &c. which can be affirmed only of the bodies of the saints. Millenarians say the apostle refers to the first resurrection, which will take place at the coming of the Lord Jesus in his kingdom, or at the coming of the kingdom of God. However this may be, all agree that the kingdom here spoken of is future.

In 2 Tim. iv. 1, the same apostle says, "I charge thee therefore, before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at *his appearing and kingdom.*"* "There can be no doubt" it is said, "that Paul here refers to a future personal advent of the Lord Jesus Christ, because he connects with it, the judgment of the living and the dead; nor can it be doubted, that the apostle also refers to a future kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ; for he connects that with his advent and his judgment of the living." Obviously too, he refers to a future kingdom in the 18th verse, where he expresses his confidence, that the Lord will deliver him from every evil work and preserve him unto his heavenly kingdom. Parallel to the first of these expressions is the representation in the parable of the nobleman, in Luke xix. 11, 27. The return of the nobleman (having received the kingdom) signifies, say the millenarians, the second advent of the Lord Jesus Christ; and the rewards which the nobleman bestows on his faithful servants, and the punishments he inflicts on his enemies, signify what Paul intends by the judgment, in this verse. This parable is diffusely explained by Mr. Greswell, in his Treatise on the Parables, at a place already referred to.

In 2 Pet. i. 11, the kingdom is spoken of as an object *to be attained* through faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness and charity. James calls it a kingdom *promised*, (ii. 5,) therefore it is not at present enjoyed. In 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. Gal. v. 21. Acts xiv. 22, it is plainly spoken of as future.

There are also many passages in the evangelists which plainly have respect to a future kingdom. We refer to them generally in the margin.† Some of them it is true, are understood by many interpreters, as applicable to the present dispensation, yet even these are obviously true in a higher sense of the future glorious kingdom of Christ. Thus in Matth. xi. 11, (and Luke vii. 28) it is said "among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist; notwithstanding, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he." Some persons find it difficult to believe that our Lord intended in this place to institute a comparison between John the Bap-

* *Apparitio Christi et regnum idem valent; nam tametsi nunc regnat in coelo et terra, nondum tamen constat clara regni manifestatio, quin potius et sub cruce latet obscurum, et violenter ab hostibus oppugnatur. Ergo tunc vere stabilitur ejus regnum, quum prostratis inimicis et omni adversaria potestate vel sublata vel in nihilum redacta suam majestatem proferet. Calvin in loc.* Millenarians do not adopt entirely this idea, though they may take something from it.

† Vol. 4, p. 419 to 514.

‡ Matth. 5; 3, 19, 20. Luke 11; 32. Matth. 6; 10, 13, 33—7; 21—8; 11, 12. Luke 13; 28, 29. Matth. 11; 11. Luke 7; 28. Matth. 13; 40, 41, 42—18; 1, 3, 4. Mark 10; 15. Luke 18; 17. Matth. 19; 12, 14. Mark 10, 14. Luke 18; 6. Matth. 19; 23, 24. Luke 18; 24, 25. Matth. 20; 21—21; 31. Mark 9; 47. Luke 6; 20—12; 31, 32—18; 29, 30—23; 42—9; 62—22; 29, 30. John 3; 3, 6—18, 36,

tist and the least of true believers in the present dispensation, or between that highly favoured servant of God and all faithful ministers, or even the inspired apostles themselves; as many commentators suppose.* Among those with whom John is compared, were Abraham, the father of the faithful, Moses, Samuel, David, Elijah, Elisha, Ezekiel, Daniel and a host of worthies, who "through faith, had subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong" &c., whose eminent faith and holiness are held up to us, as an example, and whose reward, as our encouragement. Can it be, that the humblest believer of the militant church of this dispensation, is not only greater than those, but greater than John who was a bright and shining light, yea, a prophet and more than a prophet? Has the humblest Christian now, clearer and more exalted views of the nature and glory of the gospel and of the kingdom of God than David (Acts ii. 30, 31) or Isaiah or Daniel had? Yet grant that it is so; if the reader is prepared to maintain that interpretation; still, it will not be denied, that the glorified saints in the future kingdom of God will far exceed in knowledge and in every other excellent quality or attribute the most highly favoured of the saints on earth.

There are other passages upon which not much light is thrown by the other Scriptures, which there is great difficulty in explaining by any thing that, so far as we know, has yet occurred;—certainly they cannot be alleged as clear proofs of the nature of this dispensation. Matthew, (xxvi. 29) Mark (xiv. 25) and Luke (xxii. 18) record a mysterious saying of our Lord at the institution of the supper: "I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the day, when I drink it new, in my Father's kingdom."† Another expression which it is difficult to explain (although the Romanists find no difficulty in it—in fact make great use of it, in their argument in favour of the supremacy of the Pope,) is that which relates to the keys of the kingdom of heaven, (in Matth. xvi. 19) "I will give thee" said our Lord to Peter, "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" &c.‡ Whatever may be the meaning precisely of these expressions, millenarians refer them to the still future kingdom of God. This at least, their views of the present dispensation, require them to do; at the same time, they confess their inability further to explain them. Certainly they cannot be made use of as proofs against them.

Besides these, there are other texts,§ in which the expression

* "Not the meanest Christian but the meanest evangelical prophet or preacher of the Christian doctrine is greater than he." Whitby.

† It is observable that while Matthew uses the phrase "in my Father's kingdom," Mark has it "in the kingdom of God," and Luke "until the kingdom of God shall come," showing that they are equivalent; and that all refer to a future kingdom. Many interpreters of the spiritual school suppose the celestial kingdom is meant—heaven itself; and that the word *wine* is used to adumbrate the felicity of that kingdom. 'Though the Saviour is said to have eaten and drunk with his disciples after his resurrection and before his ascension; (Acts 10; 41) yet it is not said that he drank wine.

‡ Matth. 11; 12 and Luke 16; 16 may also be referred to this category. Commentators find it difficult to explain them. It may be doubted whether they have rightly translated them. The word *βιύζετα*, which occurs in both places, is in one place translated *vim patitur*, "suffereth violence;" and in the other *vim facere*, "presseth;" why this? It is enough to say however, that it refers to a time within the Levitical economy; and if it did not, it is too obscure to be used as a proof of the nature of this dispensation.

§ Matth. 4; 23—9; 35—13; 32—24; 14. Mark 12; 34—15; 43. Luke 4; 23—8; 1—9; 11, 60. Acts 1; 3—8; 12—19; 2—20; 25—28; 23, 31. Heb. 1; 8.

“kingdom of God” is used in a general and indefinite way, from which no inference can be drawn, touching the nature of the present dispensation.

We pass now, to those passages usually relied upon by spiritualists to prove that the kingdom of God has come. Our Lord put forth several parables or similitudes of the kingdom of heaven, which do undoubtedly refer to and describe the condition of the gospel during this dispensation. As none deny this, the inference seems at first view inevitable, that the formula, “the kingdom of heaven,” must sometimes be understood of the present economy. These parables are, in fact, considered by many commentators, quite conclusive of the question; as much so, as the most positive and direct assertion of their identity. Millenarians do not object so much to this conclusion—although some think it wrong—as they do to that which is supposed to be its corollary, *namely* that the kingdom of God which is yet to come, is a kingdom only in heaven, and not a future dispensation of God’s government on earth. If the spiritualists would yield this point, the dispute between them and literalists would be little more than verbal. As the question stands, it is important. We are to consider then whether this inference from these parables is quite certain. Let us see what some writers of the literal school urge against it.

In some of these parables, the object obviously is not so much to type or shadow forth the kingdom, as to shew some virtue or quality, which men must possess or some change they must undergo, before they can enter it. In Matth. xviii. 23–35, we have an example of this sort. Peter had inquired how oft he should forgive an offending brother. Our Lord replied “until seventy times seven” and then added: “Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king which would take an account of his servants.” This parable then was spoken to enforce the duty of forgiveness. It illustrates a rule of judgment, by which the decisions of the great day will be regulated, and in this respect, it concurs with the petition in the Lord’s prayer, “forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.” Both are referred to the future judgment. (Matth. vi. 14—xviii. 35, 21, 22.) The proceeding of this king then, is called a similitude of the kingdom of heaven; not because it represents any quality or circumstance of the kingdom *as such*—but because it exhibits a principle by which the judge of all will act in the day of final account.

To the same class belong the parables of the hid treasure and the merchant man seeking goodly pearls. (Matth. xiii. 44, 46.) They teach, that all who would win Christ and gain an entrance into the kingdom of heaven, must be willing to give up all, for that object. The instruction they convey, is similar in this respect, to that contained in the history of the young man whom our Lord bade to sell all that he had and give to the poor. Matth. xix. 20–26. Like the parable just mentioned, they impressively illustrate a trait of character which men must possess, if they would enter the kingdom of heaven. But they teach nothing of the nature of the kingdom as such; nor of the time, manner or place when or where it shall be established. The parable of the sower, (Matth. xiii. Mark iv.) already mentioned for another purpose, may be added to these. So far from teaching that the kingdom has come, it sets forth the difficulties in the way of

its coming. It teaches, that the craft of Satan, afflictions, persecutions, the cares of this world, the deceitfulness of riches and the lusts of other things prevent those to whom the kingdom is offered, from receiving it, and so retard the completion of that elect nation or body upon which ultimately it will be conferred.

There is another class of parables often cited to the same purpose—the parable of the tares of the field—the draw net—the mustard seed and the like. But in respect to these (says Mr. Sirr*) we must be careful to search for the period at which the *action* of them is laid;—It is at the end of the (*αιῶνος*) world or rather dispensation. In the parable of the tares of the field, for example “the kingdom is not likened to the world, nor to the tares, nor yet to the sower, but to the gathered wheat—the righteous in their manifested glory as the sun, the well known symbol of supreme power.” So of the draw-net—it is not to the casting of the net, nor to the drawing of it, nor to those employed in the service, the kingdom is likened; but to the good fishes gathered into vessels. It cannot be doubted that these parables refer not to the whole of the current dispensation, but to the end of it; for our Lord himself so explains them. “So shall it be *in the end* of the (*αιῶνος*) dispensation.”

In the parable of the mustard seed, the likeness begins when the seed is grown and become a tree, and gives shelter and support to the birds of the air. It is the tree that represents *dominion*, (which idea is inseparable from the notion of a kingdom.) This may be proven by Dan. iv. 20, 22, to which perhaps, there is a tacit allusion. The seed is unlike the tree, and the kingdom cannot be like both the seed and the tree, without being incongruous or unlike itself. The casting of the seed and its germination represent things which occur in this dispensation, but when the seed has become a tree, it has been changed into another nature; in other words, this dispensation has passed away.

Leaving the parables for other texts, we find Luke xvii. 21 22 often cited to prove not only the spirituality of the kingdom of God, but that the kingdom has come. “The kingdom of God cometh not with observation,” therefore it is spiritual. “Behold the kingdom of God is within you,” therefore it is spiritual and also come.

Millenarians do not deny that the kingdom of God is spiritual, although all millenarians do not admit that our Lord, in this passage, intends to teach that truth. What is here said, is equally true of the glorious kingdom of God. “For as the lightning lighteneth out of one part under the heaven and shineth unto the other part of the heaven,” so shall also the kingdom of God come. None will have opportunity to notify another of its approach or say lo! here! or lo! there! It will surprise all by the suddenness with which it will break upon the world. This truth is in fact, connected with a point already discussed, touching the object of this dispensation, and the uncertainty of its continuance. It is prolonged as we have seen, merely to allow space for the gathering of the elect church. The work of converting men, is a work of the Spirit on the souls of men, which eludes human observation. It is elsewhere compared to the work of erecting a (spiritual) building, the progress of which, and its distance

* Letters on the First Resurrection, published in vol. 5 of the *Litralist*.

from completion, no one can observe, and as the kingdom will come immediately upon the completion of this spiritual edifice, it must for this reason also come not with observation, that is, it will not so come that its approach may be observed.

The other expression "Behold the kingdom of God is within you," has already been noticed. It was said to the Jews, during the Levitical dispensation. The kingdom of God had indeed come to that nation, and was potentially within it or among them. But it was afterwards taken from them. The passage affirms nothing of this dispensation of the gospel among the gentiles. Previous remarks sufficiently explain what is intended by this.

Again, Matth. xvi. 28 (and the parallel places in Mark ix. 1, Luke ix. 27) are often applied to the present dispensation. "There be some standing here, that shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." But those who so explain them, do not agree touching the event to which our Lord refers. Some refer their fulfilment to the day of Pentecost, others to the destruction of Jerusalem, the last of which events it is supposed only John survived. The word *times*, although of the plural number, it is said may be applied to *one* person. Millenarians, however, understand the passage of the transfiguration, to which they suppose Peter also alludes, (2, i. 16) and John in his gospel, (i. 14.) "This exhibition was an illustrious pattern of things to come in that glorious appearance and kingdom, when all shall be eye-witnesses of his majesty." The argument which applies these places, to the events before mentioned, rests upon conjecture. More than this certainly cannot be said of millenarian interpretation.

Another place relied upon for the same purpose, is Rom. xiv. 17; "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." This is eminently true of the future glorious kingdom of God. As expectants, therefore, of that kingdom, the Roman Christians were exhorted to put a light estimate upon meats and drinks—they should be willing to yield these smaller matters, out of charity for their weak brethren; especially those, who made it a matter of conscience, to put a difference between clean and unclean. True; there is nothing unclean in itself, but what of that? So far as yourself is concerned, you may act according to your knowledge. Yet, if by so doing you destroy a weak brother, for whom Christ died, you do not act charitably. Do it not: give up your meat; your wine also; rather than make a brother stumble. Act now, according to the estimate you will put on these things, when you shall enter that kingdom which is not meat and drink—where you will not be sustained by such aliments, but being incapable of death—having indestructible bodies—you will be filled not with meat or drink, but with righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Similar to this, is the explanation of the expression of the same apostle in 1 Cor. iv. 20: "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." The miracles wrought by the power of the Holy Spirit, whether by Christ or his apostles, were demonstrations of the power of the kingdom to come. Like the transfiguration, they were illustrious exhibitions in anticipation of the kingdom, and specimens or examples of the power of that kingdom which the apostles were com-

missioned to preach.* In 1 Thess. i. 5, Paul alludes to the power of the kingdom as shewn in miracles, and also in Rom. xv. 19, he speaks of the power of the Spirit, as shewn through signs and miracles.

Another place relied upon, is 1 Cor. xv. 24. It is supposed to prove, that at the end of this dispensation, Christ will deliver up the kingdom to the Father. Millenarians understand it differently. "But every man in his own order. Christ the first fruits, (*ἔπιπυτα*) afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming, (*ἔπιτα*) then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God even the Father." Now the event has shewn, say millenarians, that the interval marked by the word (*ἔπιπυτα*) afterwards, is more than eighteen centuries. The other word (*ἔπιτα*) then, is not necessarily significative of immediate succession. It may, without violence, mark an equal period, which, succeeding as it will, the first resurrection,† will suffice to let in the millennial and personal reign of Christ. The object of the apostle, say they, is to mark the order of succession, not to denote the interval of the events. The words are too indefinite for the latter purpose. The first of these words may as well denote an immediate succession as the last, although we know it does not. But we cannot enter at large into the argument on this point.‡ We pass to

* It has been said, that the miracles of Christ, are to be regarded as exhibitions upon a small scale of the common power of the kingdom, which the glorified saints will inherit or share in, with their glorious head. Hence their appropriateness to prove, the kingship of Jesus and the doctrine of the kingdom come, which he preached. They were scintillations or little sparks of the concealed glory of his power as king of that kingdom, which will break forth and shine with full effulgence in the kingdom come. It is a narrow view to suppose, they were arbitrary acts of power, performed at random and designed merely to convince the people, that he was a superior being. His miracles were altogether peculiar and unlike those wrought by the ancient prophets, John 15: 24. They may be called Messianic. He came as a king—he offered himself as a king—he was rejected by the nation in his character of king, and God so ordered it that he should be crucified as the king, and his miracles were evidences or rather proofs of his kingship, chiefly as they were evidences of the power of the kingdom which he preached. If this be so; it may explain why John the Baptist, although more than a prophet, wrought no miracle, while our Lord gave to his disciples for a time, power over all the power of the enemy. John was the forerunner of the king, and his ministry preceded in time, the actual coming of the kingdom to the Jewish nation. The apostles were servants and ambassadors of the king himself who had come, and by delegation from him, were put in possession of some of the powers of the kingdom. Those wretched men who compare the miracles of our Lord to the tricks of jugglers, have not the remotest idea of their connexion with that kingdom, which the forbearance of God (for the sake of gathering his elect) alone prevents, from breaking upon them in the full energies of its power and insufferable glory. And the argument against their credibility founded on human experience, is extremely futile upon this view: for it presupposes that men have not had as yet, any other such experiences of the powers of the world to come, or of the kingdom of God. We hope the reader will not think this mysticism.

† The final resurrection of all the dead is spoken of in Rev. 20: 5, 12, 15. The first resurrection is spoken of in verses 4, 6 and a thousand years are said to intervene. In this 15th chap. of 1 Cor. nothing is said about the resurrection of the wicked; because, as millenarians suppose, the apostle was speaking only of the first resurrection, in which the blessed and holy only will have part. Rev. 20: 6. This resurrection therefore cannot be at the end of the world, as the expression is commonly understood, because it belongs only to those referred to in Rev. 20: 6, and not to those referred to in the last part of that chapter, or the rest of the dead who lived not again till the thousand years (succeeding the first resurrection) were finished. Rev. 20: 5 and 15. Spiritualists on the other hand, consider the first resurrection to signify nothing more than the spirit of the martyrs, to be revived in generations yet unborn,—when the gospel shall have free course and be glorified, whereas the resurrection treated of in 1 Cor. 15; and Rev. 20: 11, 15, they understand literally, and to occur at the end of all earthly things. See Bishop Newton on the Prophecies; Dissert. 25. remarks on Rev. 20.

‡ See Cuninghame's Essay on the Premillennial Advent, appendix in 2 vol. of the Literalist. Spiritualists agree that the saints shall arise before the wicked. They cannot do otherwise, seeing the Scriptures expressly say "the dead in Christ shall rise first"—though they think the wicked shall be raised immediately afterward, so as to make in fact one resurrection—or one great act of raising all the dead, both the just and the unjust. Yet it is evident (from 1 Cor. 15: 23, 24—1 Thess. 4: 16—Rev. 20: 4, 5, 6) that there will be a distinction in order and some distinction also in time, more or less.

another text. Col. i. 13: "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son," or of the son of his love. We are therefore *in the kingdom*. Such is the inference: millenarians however suppose, this is said by way of anticipation. The apostle speaks as though that were actually done, which he knew the faithfulness, the power and the love of God would certainly, and for aught that is revealed, might very speedily do. He does not here mean to contradict what he said in Rom. viii. 24, 15, 23. We are saved by hope, we have not yet received actual adoption, but the spirit of adoption only. We are not yet manifested sons—we hope for and look for a kingdom, which we see not yet. Besides the first part of the verse contains a similar expression which explains this—"Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness." This has been fulfilled in the same sense in which we are translated into the kingdom. Yet Peter tells us, we are yet in a dark place (*αυχμησός* siccus etiam sordidus, squalidus, caliginosus *Schleusner*, *Leigh's Critica Sacra*) although we have a light shining in the sure word of prophecy, to which if we take heed, we do well. We also still suffer afflictions. The apostle who indited the sentiment we are considering, felt his afflictions most keenly. 1 Cor. iv. 9—iv. 13—xv. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 4. Neither does Col. iv. 11, prove the kingdom to have come; Paul and his fellow labourers were "fellow workers unto the" future glorious "kingdom of God," in labouring to prepare men, by the preaching of the gospel, for that future kingdom. They were thus, as Peter expresses it, (2 iii. 12) *hastening the kingdom*, by every success with which the Holy Spirit blessed their labours.

The next passage to be mentioned is 1 Thess. ii. 12: "That ye walk worthy of God who hath called you unto his kingdom and glory." This does not affirm that the Thessalonian Christians were then actually *in the kingdom*, (*εις την βασιλειαν*) any more than Matth. xxii. 3, affirms that those called (*εις τους γαμους*) to the wedding were actually convened and partaking of its festivities. Besides, the expression is an example of what the critics call *hendyadis*; and it means the same as *glorious kingdom*, in which certainly, they were not. It can scarcely be necessary to mention 2 Thess. i. 5, "that ye may be accounted worthy of the kingdom of God for which ye suffer." As the apostle refers in the context to the judgments which God will execute, at the last day, on the persecutors of those Christians; so he refers to a kingdom upon which they will then enter. "Afflictions were permitted to befall them, in order that they might be accounted worthy of, and so obtain" an inheritance in the glorious kingdom of God. Heb. xii. 28 is sometimes understood of the present dispensation; millenarians, however, apply it to the future kingdom. It is said by way of anticipation, "we receiving" or having received "a kingdom" in the sure purpose of God "which cannot be moved." This is a common form of speech; "being put into a state of salvation," says Dr. Bloomfield, "is often designated under the image of salvation itself." But Rev. i. 9 seems to be a more difficult place for millenarians to reconcile with their views, "I John who am your brother and companion in tribulation and *in the kingdom* and patience of Jesus Christ." From this passage it is, as we suppose, that some millenarians have derived the notion of "a kingdo-

of patience" which has come, in contradistinction from the "kingdom of power and glory," which is future. The apparent difficulty arises from the English translation; at any rate, the form of the expression in the original is so peculiar, that it cannot, in fairness, be used to defend the common opinion, if it cannot be otherwise proved. It may be paraphrased thus: "I John (who am your brother, and) who now live in fellowship with Jesus Christ in affliction, but hope to come hereafter through patience into fellowship with Jesus Christ in his kingdom, was in the isle" &c.* This sentiment is not uncommon. "If we suffer," says Paul to Timothy, (2, ii. 12) "we shall also reign with him." To the Colossians (i. 24) he wrote, "who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake." Again he says "the sufferings of Christ abound in us" &c. . . . "knowing that as ye are partakers of the sufferings so shall ye be also of the consolation." 2 Cor. i. 5, 7. Of himself he says "that I may know him and the power of his resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death." Phil. iii. 10. "But rejoice," says Peter (1, iv. 13) "inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also, with exceeding joy." The doctrine, in short, is that the whole mystical body of Christ, like its great and glorious head, is to pass through suffering to glory and to the kingdom; and perhaps this is what is meant by Paul, when he speaks of filling up what is behind of the sufferings of Christ; his meaning is certainly not, that the sufferings of individual Christians are meritorious and satisfactory as some pretend. But waiving this matter; the passage under consideration thus explained, while it coincides in doctrine with other texts, does not affirm that John and those to whom he wrote, were *actually in the kingdom*. They were in fellowship with Christ and with each other in suffering, but expectants of a fellowship with him in the kingdom for which it was their duty patiently to wait. The exhortation of Paul (2 Thess. iii. 5) was apposite to their condition, as it is to ours and has been to that of all since Paul wrote it. "The Lord direct your hearts into the *patient waiting for Christ*," that when he shall appear "you may be partakers of the glory that shall be revealed." 1 Pet. v. 1.

The before mentioned passages, or most of them, are reviewed by Koppe in his *Excursus* (appended to his notes on the Epistles to the Thessalonians) on the formulas "Kingdom of Heaven," "Kingdom of God." He contends for the interpretation which millenarians adopt. We believe we have noticed (though briefly) all the passages which are supposed to bear upon the question; certainly enough to show the manner in which the argument is conducted by those who adopt the literal or millenarian system, and this perhaps would be enough. Summarily stated then, the positions which millenarians undertake to establish under this head of argument, are the following:

* See Eichhorn cited by Schieusner, *Lex. N. T. ad voc. Συγκαινωνός* "qui jam cum J. C. in calamitatum consortio vivo, olim autem per patientiam in felicitatis cum J. C. consortio venturum me esse spero." John and the persons to whom he wrote were, no doubt fellow sufferers in affliction, but that is not the idea, as some suppose, which is here expressed. The fellowship here intended has respect to Christ and so the pastors and professors of the Church of Geneva, appear to have understood it "Moi Jean, qui suis votre frere, et qui ai part a l'affliction, au regne et a la patience de Jesus Christ," &c. *Beausobre and Lefant* in effect combine both ideas, "Moi Jean, qui suis votre frere et qui participe avec vous aux afflictions de Jesus Christ aussi bien qu'a son regne et a sa patience," &c.

(1) It is no where said in the New Testament, historically or as a matter of fact, that *this dispensation* is the kingdom of God, nor is any thing there said either of the kingdom of God or of this dispensation, from which it must be *necessarily* inferred that they are identical or in any sense the same.

(2) The historical statements of the fact of the "kingdom come," or of the "kingdom at hand," contained in the gospel histories, relate to the Levitical economy and are affirmed as of a time, which fell within it. They relate not to this dispensation or to the time of it.

(3) Our Lord himself, both in parables and in plain language, (notwithstanding he preached to the Jewish nation, the kingdom as come) often represented it as future. This he did prophetically; knowing full well, that the kingdom, though come and offered to the Jews, would be rejected by them and taken from them.

(4) After the close of the Levitical economy, and before the opening of the history contained in the Acts of the Apostles, it is spoken of as future.

(5) The apostles after the day of Pentecost, speak of the kingdom as future.

(6) It is sometimes spoken of both in the gospels and other parts of the New Testament, in a general and indefinite way, and no inference can be drawn from such places considered by themselves; their meaning must be ascertained by other places where the form of expression is determinate of the sense.

(7) All those passages upon which interpreters of the spiritual school, rely to prove that the present dispensation or the church or the state of the gospel on earth, is the kingdom of heaven, can be referred without violence or even the least harshness, to the future glorious kingdom of Christ; whereas those on which millenarians especially rely, to prove the futurity of the kingdom of God, do not admit of any other application.

We say not that millenarians are right in these positions. Our opinion is of slight moment to the reader, however important it may be to ourselves; we hope however to be allowed one suggestion relative to the point in this scale of inquiries at which, other arguments previously suggested, may be considered with advantage. If the reader should be unable to yield his assent to the conclusion which millenarians derive from the *first five* of the foregoing particulars, viz: that the kingdom of heaven, as an economy of God's government *on earth* is a future dispensation;—and if also, he should be inclined to assent to that interpretation of the texts before referred to the sixth and seventh propositions, or in fact of any others, which applies them to the present dispensation; then, as a cautious inquirer after important truth, it will become him to explain to the satisfaction of his own mind and conscience how the prophecies of the Old Testament, predictive of the future enlargement, power and glory of the church on earth, can be fulfilled during the present dispensation, consistently with the New Testament Scriptures;—especially let him consider whether there is any other hypothesis, theory, system (call it as he please) but that of the kingdom yet to come on earth, consistent with the integrity and plain truth of both testaments, even if understood **in no higher sense than that commonly received by the expectants**

of a spiritual millenium before the Lord's advent. If the reader is a Calvinist, (or if he holds to the doctrine of election) let him consider whether the prevailing expectations of such a millenium (should they be realized) would not annul, or make obsolete that doctrine, long before the end of the New Testament economy; and if he also believes that this dispensation is appointed only for the salvation of the elect church, it will fall in his way to answer the question, how he can certainly know that the dispensation will be prolonged a thousand years and more, without knowing not only the extent of God's purposes of election—but how far they have been accomplished, and also with what energies, and expedition the Almighty Spirit will accomplish what remains of his glorious work. If he sees no difficulty here, then he may pass to another inquiry, how it has come to pass, that apostles, martyrs, reformers, (or to say all in one word,) all the godly, learned, discreet Christians of the first sixteen centuries of our era, believed and taught, as the common doctrine of the New Testament, the uncertain continuance and even possible brevity of the present dispensation, and that it is the duty of all believers to watch for its end and the coming of the Lord, as an event which *might*, for aught they know, personally concern them. If he doubts the fact whether they so believed and taught; the citations before made, may suffice to put him upon a more extended inquiry. The inquiry, no doubt, would be profitable to him if he has never made it. If the reader glories to be no Calvinist, we will drop names for things, and merely suggest it to him to consider such parables as the sower—the tares of the field; and such places as describe true believers, as few, feeble, afflicted, persecuted, oppressed; and decide how these comport with the expected fulfilment of the ancient prophecies, before the period, for which the New Testament was written, shall expire. These, and other like questions which may be put, it seems to us, may fairly come in for consideration at the point indicated—perhaps they may turn the scale of his judgment if it be not far from equipoise between opposite interpretations. But of this the reader will consider.

In the course of investigation, which is suggested by the preceding observations, it has been our object to avoid, as far as could be, theories of prophetic interpretation. From this source spring difficulties which the advocates of the opposing systems seem not likely to solve, to their mutual satisfaction. Many of their arguments turn upon the nature, design and peculiar style* of prophecy. To this head especially belongs the discussion of typical and symbolical language. It seems to be taken for granted by many, that the subject must be entered through that door; as though the prophetic Scriptures formed a distinct structure from the rest, having but that one entrance. It strikes us, that this is a great mistake. The entire contents of God's word, is one connected system. Prophecy contains doctrine, and doctrine contains prophecy. Paul's epistle to the Romans for example, contains the doctrinal results of a large portion of

* See *Presbyterian Review*, January 1836, Article iii. vol. 7, page 587, (Edinburgh) for some excellent remarks on the style of Prophecy. We may add that in this periodical, which appears to be well sustained—certainly is conducted with ability—there are several interesting articles upon the millenarian question. See the same volume, pp. 248-498, *Reviews of Burgh on Prophecy*—and *Horæ Hebraicæ*, by Lord Mandeville.

the prophetical Scriptures, and the use, the apostle makes of them, in that epistle, supplies a guide for their exposition. A similar remark may be made of other didactic portions of the volume. If then, we may enter by this way upon the study of the prophets, is it not expedient to do so? as we shall thereby encounter at the outset such difficulties only, as are incident to every dogmatical discussion. We shall, it is true, find such tropes and figures of speech, as historians and didactic writers commonly and we might say of necessity, use; but these are difficulties of less moment. Besides an important use of an investigation thus conducted is, that its result may supply a test of the opposing systems of interpretation:—how, the preceding observations tend to shew. Not that we undervalue a direct discussion of those principles. We think it of much use, as we have already said; but the doctrinal parts of the Scriptures, particularly of the New Testament, should be first considered in their bearing upon this (if first attempted) more difficult matter.

We now dismiss our author and his subject, craving the reader's indulgence in conclusion, to a few desultory observations. The great length of this article compels us to pass, without notice, many topics both interesting and important. It has been our object only to open a little, some of the chief points of the system in question, and to shew in some degree, their connection with doctrines, which all orthodox Christians deem important; and some of their bearings on the destinies of the world and the hopes of men. Our expectations will be realized if we have succeeded in removing misapprehensions of the system and disposing the reader (if hitherto disinclined) to give it an impartial examination. If beyond this, we have in any degree prepared the way, by one humble effort, for the more learned and discreet labours of others, it is success, abundant,—perhaps beyond our reasonable hopes. It seemed not improbable, that, in the multitude of demands upon the time and efforts of God's people in this busy age, some perhaps, without much thought, had classed this subject among the purely speculative or unprofitable ones, which even a conscientious regard to the value of their time and the more important uses to which it may be applied, compelled them to pass by; and that such would esteem it a good service, to disabuse them of the impression, if erroneous. To such, we hope this imperfect sketch, of a few branches of a wide and far reaching subject may not be unacceptable. Other persons perhaps, by occasion of the vagueness of the term "millenarianism," have taken the impression, that it is nothing more or less, than the ancient heresy of Cerinthus (of which Mahomet made so much) in a modern form;—or, that it is, the fanaticism of the anabaptists, or of the fifth monarchy men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries revived, or if not, something akin to Mormonism or some other folly ancient or modern. The preceding observations will show that such impressions, if they exist, are quite erroneous; and more than this, they may also show that the system makes a justifiable demand upon those who reject it, for full and direct answers to the arguments upon which it rests.

If the reader be one, with whom an argument from authority could have weight, we may say further, that a system which could command the assent of "the most of the chief Divines of the Westmin-

ster Assembly"*—of such men as Joseph Mede, Dr. Gill, Bishop Newton, A. Toplady, and Robert Hall, to name no others, may claim a more ceremonious, if not a more gentle treatment, than a notoriously condemned heresy. It is to be feared however, that some who, out of zeal for what they supposed to be the faith once delivered to the saints, are already openly committed against the whole subject, as a heresy, a fanaticism, or a folly; understand in fact, neither the system itself, nor the grounds on which it rests. Dogmaticism, or denunciation from such, though not perhaps a thing greatly to be feared, is on their part neither discreet nor perhaps quite safe. The judgment of a matter which is formed after an examination of it only, is entitled to respect, except in matters of intuition, which this certainly is not. Many difficulties lie in the way of an intuitive comprehension of it. Most men have educational prepossessions against it, of which they find it hard to divest themselves;—a harder task than most, who have not tried it, suppose it to be. These should prevent their reliance upon an intuitive judgment. Besides, men are extremely reluctant to unlearn what they have been taught or have acquired by laborious study, and begin anew. The supposition that such a work is needful, they are apt to think both indecent and arrogant. They feel impatient, when their opinions long since maturely considered and firmly settled, are attacked; and impatience is apt to beget intemperate zeal, which betrays its presence by sarcasm or expressions of pity or contempt. It is useless however to enlarge upon what every one knows. A spirit, (rather we would say an infirmity) so natural, should awaken our jealousy.

No man is infallible. Large bodies of men professing to hold the truth have in times past erred greatly from the faith, although many, perhaps most of them, were at the time unconscious of it. What has happened in olden times may happen now; and what has befallen many, may befall a few. Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall:—a caution necessary to be observed by all, at all times, till the Lord shall come. It will be no consolation at last to learn that our errors, be they few, or many, were common, or reputable, or were the elaborations of powerful and cultivated minds acting through a beautifully harmonious system of Hermeneutics. No amount of learned labour, if erroneous in its conception and results, is too large a sacrifice,—however difficult it may be to make it—for

* Robert Baillie, principal of the University of Glasgow, a decided opponent of millenarianism, in his *Journal and Letters* written when this Assembly was held, says, in a letter to Mr. William Spang, dated September 5th, 1645, that "the most of the chief divines here, (meaning in the Assembly) not only Independents but others, such as Twisse, Marshall, Palmer and many more, are express Chiliasts." See vol. 2, p. 156, Letter 117, Edinburgh, 1775. Dr. Twisse's sentiments appear in his correspondence with Joseph Mede, for which see Mede's Works. Considering this fact, it is not at all probable, that there is any thing in the Confession of Faith or the Chatechism of that Assembly, which, when understood in the sense of the Assembly, will be found in conflict with millenarianism. In those parts where we should suppose the subject would be touched upon, may be observed that cautious, guarded statement, which we should expect, as the product of conflicting minds. Dr. Duffield furnishes us with a long list of names of distinguished note, who have embraced the important parts of the system, see *Dissertations*, pp. 251 to 259. See also, Brook's *Elements of Prophetical Interpretation*, chap. 3, published in vol. iii. of the *Literalist*. Some references have been made in the preceding pages to the sentiments of Sterry, Caryll, Godwin, Burroughs, also members of the Westminster Assembly. More minute information upon this point may be found in Anderson's reply to the author of "Millenarianism Indefensible."

the smallest portion of the everlasting truth of God. Yet if after all, men must differ about Divine truth, let it be in a spirit of brotherly kindness and after mutual, full, patient and earnest search for it, as for hidden treasure.

May we add without offence, another motive for an investigation of the subject? We perceive indications that possibly, it may come up for judicial consideration in some of our ecclesiastical bodies—perhaps it may in many or all of them. In one of those bodies, if we are rightly informed, a resolution of censure was offered by a Reverend member, although not acted upon, at least not definitively. Another such body refused to receive into their fellowship on account of millenarian sentiments, a member of a sister body otherwise confessed to be in good standing, who had been dismissed and commended to them for the purpose. We hope the mention of these instances in this connexion, will not be thought to imply a censure; certainly we intend none. Our object is simply to show a ground for the apprehension just expressed. If other cases should occur, calling for definitive action, it is to be hoped the Holy Spirit will guide 'all who may be called to take part in it, into such conclusions as he will approve. None however will be so unreasonable as to expect Divine or extraordinary light, who neglects, from whatever cause, to use that which is common to all. On occasions of this sort, and even in cases which we have been accustomed to consider plain, we should (so it strikes us) forbear to act until *we are sure* we have the best light, and all the light, which a careful and prayerful use of the means within our reach will cast upon it. Our author has supplied a valuable help towards a just comprehension of the subject. At page 163 he has referred to many authors,* (now easily accessible to American Christians) which may be consulted with advantage. We say not, that the perusal of any, or all of them would produce conviction in the minds of those whose opinions have been formed upon the subject; but we venture the remark that few can carefully read them without benefit. Possibly they may lead some to abandon a preconceived opinion; or if not, to abandon some of the reasons by which they have been accustomed to maintain it; and it may be, supply them with other reasons for settled opinions which they may suppose better. At all events, those who will carefully and candidly read those works, will learn distinctly what are the chief points of that thing, which some call "orthodox millenarianism" or "literalism," (a word which, with some we perceive, is coming in vogue) and their opposition to it, if they should deem it a thing to be opposed, will be more intelligent, and their assaults upon it more skilfully directed—*ὡς οὐκ ἀίρα διαστροφῆς.*

* Such as Bickersteth's Practical Guide to the Prophecies—Brook's Essays on the Advent and Kingdom of Christ—McNeile's Lectures on the Second Advent of Christ—his Lectures on the Prophecies relative to the Jewish Nation—Noel's Brief Inquiry into the Prospects of the Christian Church—Apology for Millennial Doctrine, by Anderson—Political Destiny of the Earth, by Wm. Cuninghame, Esquire, and his Essay on the Pre-Millennial Advent of Christ—Elements of Prophetic Interpretation, by J. W. Brooks.—Nature of the First Resurrection, by Hawtrej—Letters on the First Resurrection, by Sirt—Destinies of the British Empire, by Thorp—Chronological Prophecies, by Habershon—The Coming and Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, by Rev. John Cox—Millenarian's Answer of the Hope that is in him, by the same author, &c. Republished in the Literalist, 5 vols. 8vo., by Orrin Rogers, Philadelphia.

Finally; millenarians are accustomed to consider and to present their views to others in connexion with the developements of God's purposes in acts of His Providence. We have seen, they consider the injunction of our Lord, to watch for his second personal glorious coming, as a standing article of duty, obligatory upon all his followers, at all times, till he shall actually so come. This, they maintain, is no new-fangled notion of a heated imagination, derived from the indiscreet study of chronological prophecies, but a duty imposed by the plain words of the Lord. They believe it and teach it, in the same sense and for the same reasons that Calvin and all the reformers, the Christian fathers, martyrs and apostles believed and taught it.—It is a duty which, as we have seen, they think may be inferred from the great purpose for which the present dispensation was appointed. It is not therefore, properly speaking, a millenarian opinion, or something distinguishing them from the great body of Orthodox Christians of past ages, though distinctive it may be, at present. But further; although the Lord has concealed the actual time of his coming, yet he has not left his church without sufficient knowledge of the signs which shall precede it; nor has he informed the church when, nor at what intervals, with what rapidity, they shall occur. Hence the necessity of *always watching* for them; being acts of his providence, affecting in part, the aspect of human society, they look out with intentness, and as they think, with sobriety for the first upheavings of these events which betoken the near approach of the kingdom. To these—not to any scale of prophetic chronology—the Lord especially directs them to look. (Luke xxi. 31.) Whether they are right is this, depends upon the decision of the main question. An important practical lesson then, which addresses itself (as Piscator remarks) particularly to the ministers of the word, depends on the decision. This then is a further reason for investigation. Often it is said, the world is on the eve of a great crisis; not by religious men only, much less by religious men of a peculiar cast of mind; but by men of the world, who have no peculiar views of prophecy, nor even any very distinct views of religious doctrine. We enter not into particulars. We profess to offer no views of our own. Take a passage however from Croly, (who is not a millenarian) touching this matter, and the duty of ministers as connected with it.

“The preacher is bound to tell you, that a trial of fearful gloom is hastening over the whole Protestant world. It may be the Divine will to avert the hour. But to all human appearance, it is inevitable—and this no passing struggle—no casual dimness of the day, but the steady, sweeping, resistless coming of night. We may feel it, already in the chill that has reached some hearts—we may hear it in the growing stir of those voices, which hail it, as the coming of *their* hour; the spoiler's hour:—we may see it, in the sport of those strange meteors, which, springing from the darkness and fog of the human morass, already gleam with such lurid rays. We may well ask ourselves—if they can thus glare, creeping along the edge of the horizon, what will they be when “the hour and power of darkness” is all their own; when they shall shoot above our heads, and unfolding all their trains lord it in fire, through the storm?”

"Reflect" says Dr. Bogie (1839) another anti-millenarian, "what mighty changes occurred in Europe in less than thirty years—what rapid revolutions have taken place within the last six years; changes which no one, ten years ago, could have imagined, he would live to see; the next generation will behold more wonderful things and may see the commencement of the thousand years." (Crisis, p. 309.) Dr. Walsh, writing of the Ottoman empire, says "The signs of the times are fearfully portentous. The Sultan seems to read their meaning The empire is fast falling to pieces" &c. Dr. Harris and Mr. Hamilton, authors of prize essays on Missions both seem to admit the sixth vial is pouring out its last dregs; which most commentators apply to the Ottoman Power; and according to the apocalyptic representation, that vial will be followed without interval by another of more widely spread influence. But it is not our purpose in these citations, to enter upon matters of prophetic exposition.

*If then, there be any thing in these forebodings of those accustomed to consider God's providences, either as political events there-

* Men of every age have been prone to consider their own times as peculiar, obviously because their knowledge of their own times (imperfect as it may have been) was better than their knowledge of preceding ages. Hence the necessity of extreme caution and sobriety in judging of these matters. Most of the authors cited in a note to a former page, appear to have thought that almost all the signs which must precede the Lord's coming, had been fulfilled in their day; and millenarians must concede, that some of them were more confident than the facts of the case warranted. It is pertinent then to inquire whether there is any thing peculiar in our times? Are not those who are so forward to sound the alarm, to be accounted poor historians or superficial observers? Have men fallen away farther from the faith than ever before? 2 Thess. 2; 3. Is the corruption of morals greater than ever? 2 Tim. 3; 1-5. Is faith more uncommon? Luke 18; 8. Is Antichrist more fully revealed? 2 Thess. 2; 3. Has the gospel been more fully preached to the nations? Matth. 24; 14. Are men now more worldly than ever—more, as they were in Noah's day? Matth. 24; 37, 39. Is the parable of the ten virgins more suitable to the state of the visible church than ever before? Matth. 25; 1-10. Are men now more prone than ever to ask, where is the promise of his coming? 2 Pet. 3; 4. The answer to some of these questions involves a greater knowledge of the past than perhaps any one possesses, and this should prevent every one from an over-confident judgment. Yet for all that; if they are given as signs, they should be observed. But the uncertainty which rests upon these matters, considered separately, gives, as some millenarians suppose, a peculiar value to the chronological prophecies, which they think were not designed to be understood till they should become needful to the church. Assuming the correctness of the year-day system, as it is called, (although some millenarians do not adopt it,) these chronological periods, they say, are upon every calculation nearly run out—that is, within an age, more or less; and a nearer approximation than this, some suppose, is not attainable with certainty, owing to the imperfection of history and chronology. Their use, then, they think, is to give a note of warning, as the end draws near, and thus serve to counteract the influence which the erroneous or hasty judgment of pious men of former ages, would otherwise necessarily have upon those who should live near the time of the end. Others consider the condition of the Ottoman power, (a) as a peculiar and very striking characteristic of this age: but to make this out, they endeavour to show that the sixth trumpet (or the second woe trumpet,) and the sixth vial (Rev. 9; 13-16; 12,) have respect to that power. For this application they allege the authority of many divines, such as Bishop Newton, Dr. Keith, Jurieu, Piscator, Mede, Scott, Henry, President Edwards, &c. Walsley, the Roman Catholic commentator, is of the same opinion. The Rev. Charles

(a) A writer upon the subject of the political state of Europe, under date of Dec'r, 1842, remarks "The most deplorable anarchy prevails in Turkey. The European powers thought to strengthen the Ottoman empire by an armed interference, in their internal quarrels, but they have only added fuel to the flame. Turkey is in the agonies of dissolution, and will soon be a mere corpse. One of the provinces under her protection, *Serbia*, has been lately revolutionized and its reigning prince dethroned. The government of Constantinople acquiesces, because it is too feeble to oppose the revolution. In *Syria* the same anarchy. The Druses and Christians of Mt. Lebanon are a prey to continual wars and obey no superior authority. No law, no safety, no security for property in this unhappy country. What does the Sultan do? He promises to act against the rebels, but he does not. Is it not a sign that the last hour is come for the followers of Mahomet!" See also a Sermon by the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, preached before the Protestant Association, Nov. 5th, 1842, entitled "The Divine Warning to the church at this time" &c., and a review of it in the Christian Observer, Lond. No. for Jan'y 7, 1843.

ly, or as the quick and stately steppings of the King of kings, towards the consummation of his work; is it wise for the watchmen to slumber with the slumbering world; as though they were infallibly sure these things have no connexion with the things foretold? Should they be so confident of their theories of the future, as to refuse all revision of the grounds on which they rest? But we pause; our object here as elsewhere, is merely to indicate a matter for consideration:—not to alarm, nor even to apologise for any scheme or system, but to shew some reasons why a subject, by some deemed of great practical moment, should be seriously considered by others not less wise or discreet—perhaps much more so upon other subjects—but who for some cause, may have thought too lightly or too little of this.

Buck (in his *Theological Dictionary*, article Mahomet) more than thirty years ago applied Rev. 9; 15, to the Mahomedan empire, and on the ground of it hazarded the opinion that it would come to its end in 1844, that is, in 391 years from the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. in 1453. Assuming, then, the correctness of this application of those passages, (which, however, is denied by some,) they proceed to say, that the extinction of this power will soon, if not immediately, be followed by the restoration of the Jews to their own land; and that event, they say, is connected in the Scriptures with the end of the times of the gentiles, (Luke 21; 24—Rom. 11; 25.) and the second coming of our Lord, and consequently with the ushering in of a new dispensation. This great fact, then, connected with the probable expiry of the chronological periods before long, and both added to those general signs which Christians of former ages thought they discovered in their own times, together with the great length of the present dispersion of the Jews—or as they call it, their captivity—are reasons, in the view of millenarians, for greater watchfulness—a duty, which we have seen, they think incumbent upon all at all times—although it *may turn out*, that the present generation will pass off and be succeeded by another and yet another, before the second coming of the Lord.—We have thought it right to add this note, to show more distinctly the bearings of the topic with which the extracts from Croly and others are connected.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

MAY, 1843.

No. 5.

FIFTH LETTER TO THE RULING ELDERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

It has been said more than once, my beloved brethren, in the course of this correspondence, that the present matter of dispute is intimately connected, in many respects, with the great movement which resulted in the final deliverance of our church from the corruptions of Pelagianism and the errors of Congregationalism in 1837 and 1838. In the *main principle* at issue, the controversy is identical. On the one hand, a strict adherence to the Word of God and the Constitution of the church, is contended for; on the other, a certain looseness of construction is pleaded for; and the simple adherence to the plain and obvious sense of our fundamental bonds—now as then, is denied to be obligatory, or is declared to be consistent with practices and principles immediately subversive of our entire system of church order. Now as then, the advocates of pure Presbyterianism, are openly denounced; and, having been called Antinomians for a faithful adherence to the doctrines of our standards, we are now called levellers, agitators, and I know not how many ill names besides, for a faithful adherence to its polity.

The nature and origin of ecclesiastical power ought not to be a matter of dispute with us; and I have taken it for granted, is not. I have supposed all our church officers of every grade fully admit, that the whole power we possess is 1, purely spiritual; 2, purely ministerial and declarative; and 3, conferred by God himself, in his Word. From these principles must flow others, in regard to our church standards, equally plain and important: to wit, 1, That those standards do by no means create, but merely declare powers that exist independently of them; 2, that church courts and officers are not created by those standards, but contrarywise have created them; 3, that being in fact, as far as they go, the bond of our outward covenanted union, we are solemnly bound to observe them with fidelity; 4, that where they are silent, the church courts are not powerless, but are remitted to the Word of God, the sole authoritative and the original charter of our ecclesiastical existence; 5, that God and not the church creates and defines the powers of all ecclesiastical courts and officers. Again, such truths being obvious, how much more evident is it—1, That if the standards themselves could never justify, what the Scriptures do not—much less could any obscurity in them defeat the plain Word of God; 2, that if error could not be justified by the silent connivance of the standards, much less can it be by a connivance of the church under the positive prohibition of the standards; 3, that if silence on the part of the standards and uni-

versal practice by the church could not unitedly establish a principle that is false or a practice that is unscriptural, much less is a partial defection from the plain letter of the standards and the clear Word of God, entitled to the least weight as authority.

If these things be admitted—and what Presbyterian will deny them as abstract truths—how plain are our duties and rights in the present matter? Let any one seek in the Scriptures or the Constitution of our church for authority to ordain and to depose ministers; and what does he find? That the *Presbytery* must do both. Let him further seek to know who compose this Presbytery; and it is just as plain that Ministers and Elders, or, in other words, preaching and ruling Elders,—or, in other words, Presbyters, compose it. Let him ask the Congregationalist, upon what ground he asserts the absolute independence of every particular congregation, and see if Presbyterianism can stand one moment without a Presbytery composed in part of Ruling Elders. Then let him ask the Prelatist how he sustains his notions of the three orders in the ministry—and see how Presbyterianism is driven to the wall the moment we deny a plurality of Presbyters, and they all equal *by order* in every congregation, and in every church court. What is the parity we contend for against the Prelatist, if not a parity of all Presbyters as *by order*: and are not Ruling Elders Presbyters? What is the ecclesiastical power we contend for against the Congregationalist, if not the power of the church session instead of that of the brotherhood; the power of all the churches over each; of many particular churches represented in one body, called a Presbytery, a Synod, an Assembly? And can this be, but that the Ruling Elder is, *by order*, a Presbyter? But if this be, who shall oust him of the jurisdiction inherent in him? How can it be done, without, to that extent, endangering the whole system? How shall it be defended, when the letter of God's Word and of the Constitution of the church, and the absolute force of the reason of the thing, all conspire against it?

But it is more than in the main principle, that the close connection between the present and our past difficulties, exists. The truth is, that so far as the question of church order was concerned in the controversies which resulted in the division of the Presbyterian church, the turning point of the dispute was the office of the Ruling Elder. And, it is moreover true, that the real conflict was joined, and the issues which settled every thing ultimately taken in the General Assembly of 1831, upon the question of *committee men*, sent up as *Ruling Elders*, under the *Plan of Union* of 1801. And I must be allowed to say, that the New School party had full as great a show of reason when they made void the law in favour of Congregationalism, as the brethren who now make it void in favour of a kind of Semi-Prelacy, can possibly make out. For the former had a practice nearly unquestioned for thirty years, and backed by an almost unquestioned construction of a positive treaty, for the same length of time; whereas the latter have nothing whatever but a partial practice which, under our present organization, cannot possibly go back above twelve years beyond the *Plan of Union*—since our Constitution was adopted only in 1788—and when then adopted, was, as has been shown at large, so modelled as expressly to assert the principles

for which we contend. It is worthy of much consideration, that the generation of men who in 1801 could adopt a treaty which, as we all admit, most materially and evidently trenched upon the vital principles of Presbyterianism, and which the church has formally repudiated and denounced as utterly unconstitutional and evil in its operation; and that following generation which from 1801 to 1831 lived on without any serious effort to restore the church to its true foundations or to purge it of evils constantly increasing; can hardly be considered perfect models in their expositions of Presbyterian polity, their establishment of Presbyterian practice, their devotion to Presbyterian interests, or their interpretation of Presbyterian law. They were doubtless good men and meant well: but our church has had occasion to know that they committed some terrible mistakes.

The point now asserted is interesting as a matter of history and important as an illustration, if not as an argument: I will therefore prove it.

In the printed *Minutes of the General Assembly* for 1831, p. 158, the standing committee on Commissions (who were at that time *Ezra Stiles Ely, D. D.* stated clerk, and *John McDowell, D. D.* permanent clerk) reported "*a commission from Grand River for a member of a Standing Committee, instead of a Ruling Elder.*"—"Mr. Jacob Green, Mr. Patton and Mr. A. Platt were appointed a Committee of Elections," &c.—The same afternoon (viz: May 19, 1831) this committee reported that,—“With respect to the case of the Standing Committee man from Grand River Presbytery, they decline expressing any opinion as to the constitutional question as to the right of such to a seat in the Assembly.”—Who, at this day, is not amazed at such a report? And when we look back, and then around us, why need we have any apprehensions for the future? The record proceeds thus: “The Assembly proceeded to consider the case of the person denominated “standing committee” in the Commission: and after considerable discussion, *it was resolved that the member be received, and enrolled among the list of members.*” The next item naturally succeeds this extraordinary vote: “The Assembly proceeded to the election of a Moderator, when the *Rev. Nathan S. S. Beman, D. D.* was elected.” This was the culminating point of New School influence in the Presbyterian church. Dr. Beman was the only New School Moderator that party was ever able to elect; and his elevation followed instantler, the formal abrogation of one of the most important elemental principles of our polity, while it signalized the woful extent of the church's departure from its doctrinal standards. That day was the first I ever sat in the General Assembly; and never shall I forget the impression then made upon me. From that hour, the total ruin or the thorough reformation of the church seemed to me altogether inevitable: and, from that hour to the present, I have not ceased, through good report and evil report, to pray and to labour for the complete reform of that beloved church, and its true and entire establishment upon the basis of God's Word, and its own venerable standards; with what favour of God and what obloquy from many who say they are his children, judge ye, my brethren.

I shall not turn aside to recount the struggle of parties in this important Assembly, upon the various matters which afterwards entered so largely into the events of many following years: my present business is with the question of the Ruling Elder. On pp. 185-8 of the Minutes already quoted, will be found the *Protest*, which I now republish, of sixty-seven members of the Assembly against the act of the body, admitting the committee man to a seat, as a member of it. And on pp. 195-6 the answer of the Assembly to this Protest—which I also republish. These papers present clearly and in broad contrast the principle of a strict and true adherence to covenanted formularies, with that loose and generalising method which has wrought such evil in our church, and which, it is to be feared, is by no means extinct amongst us. For, it appears to me, that the paper in which the Assembly vindicates its act, admitting unordained laymen to the rights of Ruling Elders, is to the full, as sound and as logical as any thing that has yet appeared denying to Ruling Elders their own rights; nor am I able to see that there is any very material difference between the practical evils likely to result in the two cases. And in both, the ultimate error is the same, to wit, a false and inadequate view of the office itself. I must take upon myself the responsibility of the authorship of the Protest: and if you will but compare the signatures to it, with the list of members of that Assembly, you will see much reason to conclude that the principles involved work deeper than many are inclined to suppose.

The following PROTEST was read and ordered to be entered on the minutes, viz.

At the Session of the General Assembly held in Philadelphia in the year 1831, Mr. Clement Tuttle from the Presbytery of Grand River, was certified to the said General Assembly as a Committee man, in one of the churches under the care of said Presbytery, formed according to the plan of accommodation, recommended in the articles of agreement, bearing date in the year 1801, between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church and the General Association of Connecticut; and was allowed to take his seat, to deliberate and vote, as a regular member of this body. Against which decision, and against the right of the said Clement Tuttle to a seat in said body, we protest.

In the 12th chap. and 2d section of the form of Church Government, it is enacted, "the General Assembly shall consist of an equal delegation of Bishops and Elders from each Presbytery." Who the persons are that are recognized as Bishops within the body of the Presbyterian church is distinctly shown in chap. 4. of the Form of Government. Nor is there the least reason for supposing nor has any one intimated, that this *committee man* holds his seat here by virtue of the pastoral office.

In chap. 5th of the Form of Government, Ruling Elders are defined to be "the representatives of the people chosen by them to exercise government and discipline in conjunction with the Pastors."

In the 13th chap. of the Form of Government, the manner of electing and ordaining Ruling Elders is prescribed: wherein, it is rendered necessary that the candidate should specifically receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of our church, that he should approve of its government and discipline, that he should accept the office and promise faithfully to preform all its duties, and that he should promise to study the peace, unity and purity of the church.

It is furthermore stated in the 6th section of said chapter, that the office of Ruling Elder is perpetual; and he who holds it can neither lay it aside at pleasure, nor be divested of it but by deposition.

The nature of some of the duties which the ruling elders take upon themselves at their ordination, is particularly set forth in chap. 9th of the form of Church Government, from which it appears that the duties there mentioned, cannot be performed except by a church officer coming up completely to the Presbyterian idea of a Ruling Elder.

All the foregoing qualifications must concur in an individual (if he be not a pastor or bishop,) before he is capable of being *voted for as a commissioner* to General Assembly. All these concurring, he may be voted for, and if elected, must, before his name is enrolled as a member of this body, produce a commission here, under the hand of the moderator and clerk of his presbytery, asserting upon the face of it, that he is a ruling elder in a particular congregation. See chap. xxii, sec. 2. Form of Government.

Now there is nothing even conducing to prove that the said Clement Tuttle was ever elected or ordained as a Ruling Elder in the Presbyterian church; that he has ever formally and publicly adopted its Confession of Faith, and approved its Discipline and Form of Government;—that he has been elected by any Presbytery a Commissioner to this Assembly in the character of a Ruling Elder; nor that he bears any commission, certifying any such fact: but on the contrary, the commission he produces, shows clearly that he is not a Ruling Elder but a ‘Committee man,’ and that the church to which he belongs can be only in part, and for any thing that appears, in very small part, a Presbyterian church.

Wherefore we do solemnly protest against the decision of the General Assembly, allowing the said Clement Tuttle to take his seat in this body as a Ruling Elder by virtue of his said commission as a ‘Committee man,’ because that decision is contrary to the plain letter of our church constitution. And we do protest against the right of the said Clement Tuttle to take a seat in this General Assembly as a Ruling Elder, by virtue of a commission certifying that he holds another name and office, because the neglect and disrepute into which such practices must bring the office of Ruling Elder are in a high degree fatal to the Presbyterian church.

The articles of agreement alluded to in the beginning of this paper are supposed to give this individual, and all others similarly situated, a seat in this Assembly. That agreement is one altogether anomalous to our Form of Government, and, so far as it does extend, is in derogation of it.

The plainest rules of common sense tell us, that the principles of such instruments shall not be extended beyond the cases to which they are applied in terms, and must be strictly limited by the details contained within themselves.

The rule is, that a body of men when making such an agreement, shall not be called on to embrace in a codicil of exceptions, every point to which a given rule would apply, and except it by saying—this is not granted away; but on the other hand, having plainly set down what *was meant*—it is very clear that what is not set down, is *not meant*. It is the only rule of sense or safety. This being so, those articles can never cover this case, because they expressly stipulate the church Session and Presbytery, as the church courts to which these “Committee men” may have access in the character of Ruling Elders, and mention no others. As the grant was in derogation of the rights of the eldership, and adverse to the nature of our church Government, it is manifestly just such a grant as if valid at all, could only be so within the strict import of its own terms. We do not feel called on to discuss the fact, whether those articles thus interpreted are constitutional or not. If, however, they are so construed as to place members here who are by our constitution, forbidden to be here, or as in any degree to affect the principles of the organization of this house as clearly defined in our books, then it is manifest that the articles must be considered utterly null and void.

The constitution cannot be obligatory, and yet something else, which is against and adverse to the constitution, be obligatory also, unless a sense

can be found in which the same proposition is both false and true at the same moment, and at every successive moment.

If any one will fix with precision, the time when the principles of our Government shall grow into disesteem, there will no longer remain any difficulty in designating the period, when every other peculiarity of our church will be viewed with equal aversion.

The preservation of the true principles of Presbyterian polity affords the best external security for the preservation of the true principles of Presbyterian doctrine.

We do therefore consider ourselves to be discharging a high and solemn duty when we thus point to a vital principle in our system of Government, wrested from its original design, and thus enter our protest against an unconstitutional act arising therefrom.

R. J. Breckinridge, J. T. Edgar, Samuel Boyd, John Kennedy, Wm. C. Anderson, Maxwell M'Dowell, Alex. McCandless, John Hutchison, Saml. D. Blythe, John M'Arthur, William Scott, Samuel Steel, A. H. Campbell, James Buchanan, William Latta, E. P. Swift, Mathew L. Bevan, J. Gray, Alex. Williamson, John Moody, John J. M'Cormick, Alex. Boyd, Joshua T. Russell, Ashbel Green, James Ralston, Thomas Love, John L. Belleville, Samuel Murphey, James V. Henry, Ananias Platt, John M'Dowell, John M'Elhenney, William Nassau, John D. Ewing, Peter Hassinger, Thomas M'Keen, Thomas Barr, Samuel Swan, Watson Hughes, Jacob Green, Henry M'Keen, James Elliott, Robert White, John Coulter, Alex. M'Iver, Jacob R. Casner, John H. Grier, Robert Clark, David Humphrey, R. M'Cartee, Ezra Fisk, Hugh Auchincloss, Jer. Chamberlain, John Wither- spoon, G. W. Musgrave, John M'Mullin, William Nesbit, Samuel, Martin, Benjamin M'Dowell, W. D. Snodgrass, James Thomson, Thomas Paxton, William Willie, J. D. Paxton, C. H. Mustard, John L. Montgomery, Samuel K. Talmage.

May. 30th, 1831.

Mr. Lathrope, Mr. Patton, and Mr. Calvert were appointed a committee on the part of the Assembly, to answer the above protest.

The committee appointed to answer the protest against the admission of Mr. Clement Tuttle, a committee man, as a member of this Assembly, brought in a report which was adopted, and is as follows, viz.

The Committee appointed to prepare a reply to the Protest of R. J. Breckinridge and other members of this Assembly, against the decision of the Assembly, allowing Clement Tuttle, a Commissioner from the Presbytery of Grand River, a seat in this Assembly "and against the right of the said Clement Tuttle to a seat in said body" respectfully report the following, viz—

1st. That while it is not denied that there is an appearance of departure from the *letter* of the Constitution, in admitting to a seat in the General Assembly, "a Lay Commissioner delegated by another name than Ruling Elder" yet it is believed that the *spirit* of the Constitution is *not* violated; because the definition of "Ruling Elder" which is correctly recited by the Protestants from the form of Gov. Chap. 5, describes exactly the character of the standing Committee contemplated in the Articles of Agreement to which the Protestants refer. The deficiency in this case is therefore apparently rather in the *name* than in the *nature* of the delegation from Presbytery to the Assembly.

2nd. To have refused a seat in this house to a Commissioner regularly delegated by his Presbytery on the ground of the "Articles of Agreement" above named, would have been to violate a solemn Compact or Treaty formed in the year 1801, between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, and the General Association of Connecticut; as that instrument has been construed and acted on by the Assembly during the last 10

years. To refuse such Commissioners a seat, would also be to wrest from this Presbytery a constitutional right to a representation in the Assembly, inasmuch as the practice of the Assembly for the last 10 years afforded a full warrant to Presbyteries to expect that a representative of this character would be received as a member.

3d. The conventional Agreement or Treaty above referred to, expressly provides (see Digest, pp. 298 and 299) that Laymen of the character there contemplated, shall be admitted to the Presbyteries on an equality with Elders. If therefore there is in connection with this subject an infraction of the Constitution, it is in *the Treaty itself, and the only proper remedy for the supposed evil would be found in a regular proceeding to amend or annul the said treaty.* For while agreeably to the terms of the treaty, Laymen of this description are admitted as Elders, to the Presbyteries, the source of original power, it must be competent to the Presbyteries to delegate them in the same relation to the Assembly, possessing only limited powers, and these, delegated by the Presbyteries. Again, the apparent departure from the *letter* of the Constitution, is no greater in the admission of such *Laymen* to the Assembly than in the parallel *clerical* delegation from Presbyteries, of Presidents of Colleges, Theological Professors and others—when no apprehension is expressed that the *spirit* of that instrument is violated. The justice of this last position the Committee think will appear to any person who will substitute the name of a Minister without Pastoral charge in place of “Clement Tuttle” and the term “Bishop” in place of “Ruling Elder” in most instances where they occur in the protest to which this is a reply, and who will remember as he reads, that the term Bishop is synonymous with *Pastor* throughout our Form of Government.

DANL. W. LATHROP, }
WILLIAM PATTON, } *Committee of Assembly.*
SAML. W. CALVERT. }

There were quite a number of persons in the Assembly of 1831, who were not fully prepared to go with either party upon this, any more than upon other great questions; and amongst these were some of the most distinguished men in the body. They were opposed to admitting the Committee man; they would not sign the Protest against it; they did not fully approve the answer of the Assembly to the Protest: so a third course was shaped—which by the help of the signers of the Protest received the vote of the majority of the body. It was, as you will see, utterly insufficient, and yet infirm as it was, it drew forth a Protest from the ultra new school portion of the Assembly. I proceed to give the facts from the record.

The committee of Bills and Overtures consisted of Dr. Richards, Mr. Swift, Mr. Yale, Mr. Witherspoon, Mr. Patton, Mr. D. Thurston, and Mr. F. L. Robbins, *Ministers*, and Mr. Tracy, Mr. W. Anderson, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Tunis, *Elders.* (p. 159.) On the fifth day of the sessions they reported Overture 12. (p. 174;) on the seventh day “Overture No. 12, viz: on the right of members of Standing Committees to be members of the General Assembly, was taken up, read, and laid on the table.” (p. 175.) On the fourteenth business day “Overture No. 12, viz: &c.—was taken up and was discussed at some length.” (p. 190.)—It is worth observing that the Protest had been laid on the table of the Assembly the day before; and the signers of it deeming “Overture No. 12” entirely insufficient; and the friends of that Overture having allowed it to sleep on the table as long as the more decided orthodox did not by their movements,

oblige the moderate party to define its position. On the fifteenth day, we have the following minute, (pp. 190-1.)

The consideration of Overture No. 12, viz. on the right of members of standing committees to be members of the General Assembly was resumed. After considerable discussion, the Overture was adopted, and is as follows, viz.

Resolved, That in the opinion of the General Assembly, the appointment by some Presbyteries, as has occurred in a few cases, of members of standing committees to be members of General Assembly, is inexpedient, and of questionable constitutionality, and therefore ought not in future to be made.

The Yeas and Nays on this resolution were taken, and required to be recorded, and are as follow, viz.

YEAS—Elisha Yale, Rufus R. Denning, Ananias Platt, Samuel Robertson, Ezra Fisk, Jonathan Dickerson, Jacob Green, Gardiner Spring, James V. Henry, Robert McCarree, William Vermilye, William D. Snodgrass, John McDowell, George S. Woodhull, Jacob R. Castner, Thomas McKeen, Ashbel Green, Joshua T. Russell, William Latta, Alexander Boyd, John McMullin, William Nassau, Henry McKeen, Matthew L. Bevan, Samuel Martin, Robert White, Thomas Love, Cornelius H. Mustard, George W. Musgrave, Maxwell McDowell, John Mines, David McConaughy, John Moodey, James Buchanan, John Hutchison, John Kennedy, John Peebles, John B. Patterson, John H. Grier, Wm. Montgomery, John Coulter, Peter Hassinger, David Derrickson, Wm. Nesbitt, Alex. McCandless, John McArthur, Thomas Hunt, William C. Anderson, Wm. Wylie, Francis Herron, Elisha P. Swift, Alan D. Campbell, Samuel Swan, Watson Hughes, Thomas Barr, Samuel D. Blythe, John L. Belville, Samuel J. Miller, Alexander Williamson, John Matthews, James Thompson, William Scott, Thomas Caldwell, John D. Paxton, John T. Edgar, Robert J. Breckinridge, David H. Riddle, Jesse H. Turner, John Mellhenny, John D. Ewing, Thomas Paxton, Alexander McIver, Jeremiah Chaimberlain, John L. Montgomery, James Elliott, David Humphrey, Samuel K. Talmage, Elizur L. Newton, Thomas Napier, Isaac Hadden, Samuel G. Lowry.—Yeas 81.

NAYS—Calvin Cutler, Moses Chase, Horatio Foote, William P. Platt, John B. Shaw, Solon Massey, Albert North, John M. Babbitt, Samuel W. Brace, Eliakim Phelps, Chauncey Eddy, Silas Hubbard, John Colt, David Acre, John Hood, Miles P. Squier, Erastus J. Gillet, Stephen Austine, Sheldon C. D. Raymond, William Patton, Absalom Peters, William A. Tomlinson, Asa Hillyer, John Ford, William Jessup, John Fassit, Joseph A. Pepon, Alvan Nash, Joseph Treat, Loren Robbins, Everton Judson, Moors Farwell, Chester Birge, Daniel W. Lathrope, John McCrea, Jacob Little, John Spaulding, Joseph B. Miles, David Root, Thomas Cole, Thomas A. Spilman, Cyrus L. Watson, Thomas R. Durfee, Abraham T. Skillman, Samuel Y. Garrison, Charles Philips, Sumner Mandeville, Thomas Brown, Frederick A. Ross, Stephen Thomas, Samuel W. Calvert, Alfred Wright, Elipha White, John Rennie, John L. Sloan.—Nays 54

The Protest says that if any articles of the *Plan of Union* "are so construed as to place members here, who are by our Constitution forbidden to be here, or as in any degree to affect the principles of the organization of this house as clearly defined in our books, then it is manifest that the articles must be considered utterly null and void." The Overture says, "That in the opinion of the General Assembly the appointment *** of members of Standing Committees to be members of General Assembly is *** of questionable constitutionality." Never were papers more characteristic of the bodies they

represented. If you will note the difference between the 67 signers of the Protest and the 81 affirmative votes on the Overture, it will afford a clew to many things in the movements of ecclesiastical parties from that day to this.

Against the act adopting this Overture, 31 members of the Assembly filed a protest on the sixteenth business day of its session. I republish it also; and you will see that while it mixes up the question of your rights, and the very nature of your office with the mass of difficulties which from that moment till 1838, kept our whole church in ceaseless commotion; it also makes as fair a plea why we should virtually abolish your office by allowing laymen to discharge its duties, as those brethren have ever been able to produce, who would make the same office nugatory by establishing it upon principles which allow it to be shorn of every function against which the spirit of ecclesiasticism and semi-Prelacy may at any time direct its attacks. The Protest will be found on pp. 192-4, and is as follows.

The following protest was read and ordered to be entered on the minutes. **PROTEST** of some of the Minority of the General Assembly, against a resolution of the Assembly, tending to restrict Presbyteries in the exercise of their right to send a member of a Standing Committee, to the General Assembly.

It appears, from the Digest, page 292, that in 1790, only two years after its constitution, the General Assembly adopted measures to form "a plan of union and correspondence with the General Association of Connecticut." This "Union" appears to have been formed upon the principle of tolerance which has always characterized the Presbyterian Church; and it was consummated in 1794 by the appointment of delegates to the two bodies respectively, to whom was given the right of deliberating and voting.

In 1801 this plan of union was still further extended, (see Digest, page 297) and "a plan of union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements" was agreed upon; which was also called "a plan of government for the churches in the new settlements." This plan consisted of a number of regulations of a most liberal character, in which Presbyterians and Congregationalists were harmoniously united in the same Church. The churches founded upon this mixed plan, were allowed to exercise discipline by a *Standing Committee*, which was virtually but another name for Eldership. And in one of the articles of agreement it was provided, that should the said "Standing Committee of any church, depute one of themselves to attend the Presbytery, he may have *the same right to sit and act in the Presbytery, as a Ruling Elder of the Presbyterian Church.*" When we consider the nature of this agreement, its principles and objects; that it granted reciprocal rights and privileges, we cannot for a moment doubt, that it was intended to give to such member of a Standing Committee, *all the Presbyterial rights of every other lay member of Presbytery.* What in common language would be understood as the Presbyterial rights of a Ruling Elder, but "to sit and act" in Presbytery? This phrase would be considered as including *all Presbyterial rights unless some exception was made, and one of these rights is eligibility to the General Assembly.* This would be evidently according to the very spirit of the compact. And whatever other view might be taken of it; this, and this alone, is the plain, natural, common sense construction of the terms of the agreement.

The principle which admits a member of a Standing Committee to a seat in the Presbytery, in its extension of course admits to the General Assembly. And the infraction of the constitution is no greater in the one case than in the other; for the constitution in its *letter* admits *Elders* only, either to Presbytery or Assembly.

This plan of union was deemed of so great importance, that it was ordered to be printed, and copies delivered to the missionaries who might be sent by the Assembly among the people concerned. (See Digest, page 299.) In pursuance of this plan very many churches have been formed, and which have always been returned and represented to the Assembly as Presbyterian churches, and have thus been constituted an integral part "of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," and have from time to time been represented in the General Assembly, by Standing Committee men, in place of Elders.

The compact in question appears by the Digest to have been a *conventional agreement*, or treaty made by two parties, independent of each other, for mutual benefit, and a desire to advance unitedly the cause of religion. When one of the parties becomes dissatisfied, in what mode shall it obtain redress? Certainly not by breaking the treaty, without notice to the other; but by a proposition for an alteration. And this course the Assembly did pursue three years ago in a parallel case before alluded to, by proposing to the General Association of Connecticut, that the right of Delegates to *vote* should be withdrawn, which was acceded to by that body. And such in the opinion of the Protestants, should have been the course in the present case.

We also further protest against said resolution, because it was adopted after the Assembly had been in session more than two weeks, and when nearly one-third of the members had returned home, and those chiefly residing at a distance, and most interested in this question; and also because this Assembly on the first day of its session, when full, did by a large majority decide this question by admitting a member of a Standing Committee to a seat in this House: and the Protestants have therefore, as they think, good reason to believe, that had the question been taken at an earlier day of the session, there would have been a majority against it.

Wm. A. Tomlinson, D. C. Lansing, E. White, S. A. Pepon, C. Eddy, Samuel Y. Garrison, Horatio Foote, Charles Philips, H. B. Pierpont, E. Judson, John Rennie, David Root, Thomas R. Durfee, Samuel W. Brace, Eratus J. Gillet, Alvan Nash, Frederick A. Ross, Loren Robins, Daniel W. Lathrop, Thomas Brown, Sumner Mandeville, Silas Hubbard, Asa Hillyer, Theron Baldwin, Chester Birge, John M'Crea, Jacob Little, Moses Chass, Jacob Treat, J. M. Babbit, Thomas Cole.

Philadelphia, June, 3d, 1831.

Consider for a moment the facts, principles and results now exhibited. Is it not very evident that from 1801 till 1831 the Constitution of the church, our bond of Covenanted Union was most clearly and vitally impeached in regard to the scriptural office of Ruling Elder; and that by a formal treaty made by the General Assembly and connived at by the whole church during those thirty years? Is it not equally clear that the practice under this treaty,—tolerated during this long period—is wholly subversive of the scriptural foundations of that office established by God himself? And is it not supremely ridiculous to expect men whose fundamental principle it ought to be to obey faithfully God's enactments and to keep truly the articles of our church bonds; to be satisfied with arguments whose main force lies in the practices of these very thirty years, and the opinions of the men who did and tolerated such things? What was that good Mr. "Calvin" doing during this period—the last twenty-three years of which were coincident with that length of his ministry of "thirty-five years?" He is so jealous for the honour and propriety of your office that only a very little while, and the mere re-

port of a private conversation is required to enable him to see the danger which must arise if we put your order *too high*: surely, therefore, twenty-three years of ministerial life ought to have been quite sufficient for him to discover that the Assembly had virtually *put down* your office in 1801.—Will he tell us what he did during these long years of defection to restore it? and thereby establish his title to use such a lordly and self-complacent speech, touching safety from old counsellors, and danger from those who have been less than “fifteen years” in the ministry? As for me, I have been but little over ten years a minister, and was only about three years a Ruling Elder; and, therefore, by his argument, I should not, for some years to come, be allowed to testify against any error in the church; and should, perhaps, repent for every thing I have striven to do in that regard, as one and the other, for these thirteen years last past. I doubt not it would be edifying, if “*Calvin*” would tell us just what part he took in the troubles and trials of these same thirteen years.

But again: Is it not obvious that the principle which was asserted in 1831, and voted by the illustrious Assembly of 1837, and carried out by the equally faithful one of 1838, in regard to this very Plan of Union of 1801, and by consequence in regard to this very matter of the office of Ruling Elder, is identical with that still asserted by us, to wit: a plain and faithful adherence to the simple and obvious sense of Scripture and the Constitution of the church—in utter disregard of all contrary practice, or even pretended law?—And still further, is it not manifest that your office is equally subverted, whether you be denied the right to perform its duties, or whether those duties be laid upon others? Or, in other words, what is the difference in principle or in effect, whether your office be degraded and stripped of its functions by Committeemen or by Ministers?

But why put such cases? Who are able to hinder you? Do you suppose our Ministers would give up their clear rights and duties, if the two-thirds or the three-fourths of you wished to hinder them from their performance? Surely they would not; they ought not. Then wherefore should you? The deep and general conviction of the great body of our Ruling Elders, as far as I can learn, is that they are in an office which, by God’s institution, is the office of a *Presbyter*, ordained expressly to rule in the church of Christ. Then perform your duty and the question is ended. Who can hinder you?

With constant prayers for God’s favour towards his blood-bought church—I am, for Jesus’s sake, your servant in the Gospel,

R. J. B.

CONTROVERSY WITH THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAINS OF THE "ARCH-BISHOP OF BALTIMORE."—NO. VII. OF THE PROTESTANTS.—1. THE BISHOP'S OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE POPE OF ROME.—2 A FORM OF PAPAL EXCOMMUNICATION.—3. JESUIT'S OATH OF SECRECY.

I. The Communion of the Bishop of Rome appears to us to be in reality far more a *state* than a *church*; and that Prelate, beyond comparison more a *prince* than a *pastor*. As our divine Lord has told us, very plainly and very often, that his kingdom is not of this world; it seems to us a very strong objection to the claim of the Bishop of Rome that he is Christ's vicar, that his kingdom is so entirely of this world.

This objection to Rome is increased to a fearful degree when we remember the *extent* and the *character* of the kingdom which the Pope asserts, and which all his followers not only aim at establishing—but are sworn to promote. *Bellarmino*, their great theologian, teaches that even Heretics and Apostates are subject to the church, (*Lib. iii. Cap. 4, De Ecclesia Militante*;) a doctrine confirmed by their *Trent Catechism* (pp. 78 and 80 Paris Edition of 1831;) and fully asserted by their authorized notes on their Rheims version of the New Testament, (See Comment on *Matt. xiii. 29*.)

We say *all* their members are sworn to promote this kingdom. The reader on turning to our first number will find the *Creed* of the Church of Rome; and towards its close, that each person repeating it not only *promises, but vows and swears* to maintain that faith, of of which "*true obedience to the Roman Bishop*" is an essential and explicitly a *sworn* part. If any one doubts this, let him consult the Bull *Injunctum nobis* of *Pius IV.*, published at the end of the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*.

What that "*true obedience*" doth import, and how far and to what objects the papal authority in the Pope's own sense doth extend, is explicitly signified in the oath which all Bishops at their consecration and all Metropolitans at their installment are required to take; which is set forth in the *Pontificale Romanum* of *Clement VIII.*,—and translated by *Isaac Barrow*, in his "*Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*"—as follows, viz:—

THE BISHOP'S OATH.

"I, N., Elect of the Church of N., from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord N. Pope N., and to his successors canonically coming in. I will neither advise, consent, nor do any thing that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands any-wise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any, to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman Papacy and the *Royalties of St. Peter*, saving my order, against all men. The legate of the Apostolic See, going and coming, I will honorably treat and help in his necessities. The rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his aforesaid suc-

cessors, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said Lord, and the said Roman Church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can, will signify it to our said Lord, or to some other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Apostolic decrees, ordinances or disposals, reservations, provisions and mandates I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. *Heretics, Schismatics, and Rebels to our said Lord or his aforesaid Successors, I will to my power persecute and oppose.* I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a Canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years; and give an account to our Lord and his aforesaid successors, of all my pastoral office, of all things any-wise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the Apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocess; or in default of one of the clergy [of the diocess] by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the foresaid messenger to the Cardinal Proponent of the Holy Roman church, in the congregation of the sacred council.—The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor any-wise alienate, not even with the consent of the chapter of my church, without consulting the Roman Pontiff, and if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God."

It is to be observed that the original form of this horrible oath, as it stands in the *Gregorian Decretals, Lib. II. tit. 24, cap. 4*, comes short of this in several particulars; showing that the pretensions of Rome, increase instead of diminishing. For example, the words "*royalties of St. Peter,*" (*regalia sancti Petri*) in the present form, stood in the old one "*rules of the Holy Fathers*" (*regulas sanctorum patrum*;) a shrewd change!

Again, it must be obvious that this oath reduces all who take it, to a condition of the most abject servility and degrading dependence on the Pope of Rome. And in countries situated like America, where the civil government leaves the matter of religion to the consciences of men and the regulation of the churches, so that the Pope has no check upon him, this oath makes American Bishops more his slaves than others, and American Papists most of all dependent upon him.

And above all, as a matter of public concernment, it is manifest that this oath puts every man who takes it in a condition in which it is impossible for him to be a good citizen of any country; and where he is obliged to be the vassal of a foreign potentate. If there was not another objection to the Roman religion—the fact that a foreign Prince appoints its bishops directly, and through them all its official persons, and obliges them to forswear their country and bind their souls, in this criminal, disloyal and disgraceful manner; this, we confidently assert, is enough to bring down upon it the indignation of every true patriot, every good citizen, and every considerate man. That commonwealth must always be in danger, in which such a religion gains a footing; and that in which such ecclesiastics exert a controlling influence, is already enslaved.

II. It may be said, this allegiance is only *spiritual*. We reply, *first*, that if this were true, the danger is not at all diminished, since all history proves that religious servitude is the most absolute, the most degrading, and the most dangerous of all; *secondly*, that this *spiritual* authority necessarily involves *temporal* domination; and *thirdly*, that the objection is in itself false in fact, since the very words of the oath, and the whole current of papal doctrine make the ecclesiastics the exclusive subjects of the Pope of Rome.

But let us admit the objection, and see how these same vassals of the pretended vicar of the meek and lowly Jesus exert the *purely spiritual* power residing in them by virtue of the authority conferred on them by "*our Lord N. Pope N.*"—as their oath of allegiance runs. Take, for example, the power of *Excommunication*. We give an *American sample*, issued a few years ago in Philadelphia, by *Bishop Conwell* against *Priest Hogan*, both of whom are still living; on which very account, and because the facts are still in a state to be investigated, we prefer to use this sample rather than twenty others in our reach.

FORM OF PAPAL EXCOMMUNICATION.

"By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the undefiled Virgin Mary, mother and patroness of our Saviour, and of all celestial virtues, Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Powers, Cherubims, and Seraphims, and all the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, and of all the Apostles and Evangelists, of the Holy Innocents, who in the sight of the Holy Lamb are found worthy to sing the new song, of the Holy Martyrs and Holy Confessors: and of all the Holy Virgins, and of all saints, together with the Holy Elect of God—may he, William Hogan, be damned. We excommunicate and anathematise him, from the threshold of the Holy church of God Almighty; we sequester him, that he may be tormented, disposed, and be delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord, "depart from us, we desire none of thy ways;" as a fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him be put out for evermore, unless it shall repent him, and he make satisfaction. Amen!

May the Father who created man, curse him! May the Son, who suffered for us, curse him! May the Holy Ghost, who was given to

us in baptism, curse him! May the Holy Cross which Christ for our salvation, triumphing over his enemies, ascended, curse him!

May the Holy and eternal Virgin Mary, mother of God, curse him! May St. Michael, the Advocate of Holy Souls, curse him! May all the angels, principalities, and powers, and all heavenly armies, curse him!

May St. John the Precursor, and St. John the Baptist, and St. Peter, and St. Paul, and St. Andrew, and all other of Christ's Apostles together, curse him! and may the rest of the Disciples and Evangelists, who by their preaching converted the universal world, and the holy and wonderful company of Martyrs and Confessors, who by their holy works are found pleasing to God Almighty, curse him! May the holy choir of the Holy Virgins, who for the honour of Christ have despised the things of the world, damn him! May all the saints from the beginning of the world to everlasting ages, who are found to be beloved of God, curse him!

May he be damned wherever he be, whether in the house or the stable, the garden or the field, or the highway, or in the path, or in the woods, or in the water, or in the church;—may he be cursed in living and dying!

May he be cursed in eating and drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, and sleeping, in slumbering, and in sitting, in lying, in working, in resting, in * * and * * and bloodletting!

May he be cursed in all the faculties of his body!

May he be cursed inwardly and outwardly; may he be cursed in his brains and his vertex, in his temples, in his forehead, in his ears, in his eye-brows, in his cheeks, in his jaw-bones, in his nostrils, in his teeth and grinders, in his lips, in his throat, in his shoulders, in his arms, in his fingers!

May he be damned in his mouth, in his breast, in his heart and apertances, down to the very stomach!

May he be cursed in his reins and his groins; in his thighs, in his genitals and his hips, and in his knees, his legs, and his feet, and toenails!

May he be cursed in all his joints, and articulation of the members; from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet, may there be no soundness in him!

May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, curse him! And may heaven, with all the powers which move therein, rise up against him and curse and damn him; unless he repent and make satisfaction! Amen! So be it. Be it so. Amen!"

Let it be admitted that the whole authority to pronounce this detestable blasphemy is *spiritual*, and that all the issues, effects, and intents of it are *exclusively spiritual*; still, what a perfectly diabolical spirit is that which prompts such doings? and what kind of a religion is that into which such things largely enter?

But the truth is, that the moment this or any similar sentence is pronounced upon a man by any adequate papal authority: that instant, in all papal countries, the most direful *temporal* effects forthwith ensue. If he was a king before, he becomes an outlaw after it; and instead of obeying him, his subjects may depose and kill him. All the ties of blood and friendship are unloosed by the frightful

stroke of *anathema*; and the Pope or his representative has only to say of any man—*let him be accursed*, and he is thereby put out of the pale of civilized and social life, as well as beyond the reach of Christian charity. The history of Europe for many centuries, is crowded with private tragedies and public devastations, springing from this horrid fountain of blood; and the most formal definitions of papal doctrine for ages together, conspire to assert and to vindicate these enormous and fatal pretensions of that hierarchy, which God has emphatically described as "*drunk with the blood of the Saints and of the martyrs of Jesus.*"

If Rome was only a *State* instead of a *Church*—even if she was a pure, free, enlightened and prosperous State—still her *religious* pretensions are at an end. But when, instead of being a *pure Church*, she exhibits herself as a *most cruel and corrupt State*, her spiritual pretensions become as ridiculous in themselves as the circumstances in which they are made make them revolting.

III. We add one more document, more dangerous if possible, and hardly less detestable than the preceding. It is published on the authority of the very learned and candid ARCHBISHOP USHER, who drew it from undoubted records in Paris, and on whose authority it has been often and extensively re-printed. We draw it from the 2d vol. p. 256 of the *Protestant*, by MCGAVIN.

JESUIT'S OATH OF SECRECY.

I, A. B., now in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed Michael the archangel, the blessed St. John Baptist, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and the saints and sacred host of heaven, and to you my ghostly father, do declare from my heart, without mental reservation, that his holiness Pope Urban is Christ's vicar general, and is the true and only head of the catholic or universal church throughout the earth; and that by the virtue of the keys of binding and loosing given to his holiness by my Saviour Jesus Christ, *he hath power to depose heretical kings, princes, states, commonwealths and governments, all being illegal, without his sacred confirmation, and that they may be safely destroyed: therefore, to the utmost of my power, I shall and will defend this doctrine, and his holiness's rights and customs against all usurpers of the heretical (or Protestant) authority whatsoever: especially against the now pretended authority and church of England, and all adherents, in regard that they and she be usurpal and heretical, opposing the sacred mother church of Rome.* I DO RENOUNCE AND DISOWN ANY ALLEGIANCE AS DUE TO ANY HERETICAL KING, PRINCE, OR STATE, NAMED PROTESTANT, OR OBEDIENCE TO ANY OF THEIR INFERIOR MAGISTRATES OR OFFICERS. I DO FURTHER DECLARE, THAT THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, OF THE CALVINISTS, HUGUENOTS, AND OF OTHER OF THE NAME OF PROTESTANTS, TO BE DAMNABLE, AND THEY THEMSELVES ARE DAMNED, AND TO BE DAMNED THAT WILL NOT FORSAKE THE SAME. I do further declare, that I will help, assist, and advise all, or any of his holiness's agents, in any place, wherever I shall be, *in England, Scotland, and in Ireland, or in any other territory or kingdom, I shall come to; and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants' doctrine, and to des-*

troy all their pretended powers regal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare, that notwithstanding I am dispensed to assume any religion heretical for the propagating of the mother church's interest, to keep secret and private all her agents' councils from time to time, as they intrust me, and not to divulge directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance, whatsoever; but to execute all that shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered unto me, by you my ghostly father, or by any of this sacred convent. All which I, A. B., do swear by the blessed Trinity, and blessed sacrament, which I now am to receive, to perform, and on my part to keep inviolably: And do call all the heavenly and glorious host of heaven to witness these my real intentions, to keep this my oath. In testimony hereof, I take this most holy and blessed sacrament of the eucharist; and witness the same further with my hand and seal in the face of this holy convent this — day of — An. Dom. &c."

Now let the reader ponder this oath; let him reflect that a very large part of all the Roman priests and bishops of America are Jesuits, and that the present archbishop has publicly and repeatedly given his sanction to that atrocious fraternity; and he can hardly fail to see the whole subject in a light unspeakably important to our country and to the world, and infinitely dishonoring to the Roman church.

The principles asserted in this oath are utterly subversive of human society. The power ascribed to the pope makes him truly, what his sect have sometimes called him, *a God on earth*; and the duties confessed on the part of those bound by the oath, make them conspirators against the peace, the dignity, and the very existence of States.

We earnestly and solemnly exhort our country to rouse herself up to the contemplation of these horrible principles, which are daily strengthening themselves in her bosom, and which must produce disaster in proportion as they spread.

We call upon every free and thinking man to resist the spread of a tyranny which, in the name of spiritual authority, is preparing convulsions, and perhaps chains, for our descendants; a tyranny, asserted by a foreign despot, and propagated by foreign gold; a tyranny, as insupportable as it is degrading, and which our love of character, as well as our love of liberty and of God, calls loudly on us all to chase back into the darkness from which it has of late ventured forth anew, to pollute and frighten the blessed light of day.

THE ELECTING LOVE OF GOD.

THERE was a young Roman, born and educated in the eternal city; in spirit, in feeling, in character—altogether Italian; by long descent, by careful training, by confirmed habit, a papist. A Roman citizen, in Rome itself—and utterly a papist.—Who could venture to cherish the least hope that this young man would ever come to the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus? How could he? The Bible is suppressed in Rome. Books teaching the truth are forbidden.

True Christians are cast forth as vile; and the race is extinct there. A terrible superstition has supplanted religion; the whole force of society is organized to extirpate the grace of God; and the utmost capacity of man taxed to render righteousness impossible. Satan's seat is there. How shall man learn the way of life amidst such outer darkness? Weak reason says, he cannot. Unbelief responds he cannot. Satan smiles with complacency—for he thinks, surely my dominion is safe—when reason and faith both concede that I have baffled them.

But this young Roman was more than a papist. He was also a priest. A subject of the pope—a native of Rome—a papist—a priest—an official of Antichrist in the very seat of his dominion! Who ever heard of such a thing as a papal priest converted to Christ in the city of Rome? The minister of a superstition which begins by stultifying reason, which is built up by deadening the conscience—which is completed by overwhelming the soul with spiritual darkness: how can he be saved? In a city upon where light—if it should chance to enter—could lead only to prison, to ignominy, to death; where the way to honour, promotion, fame, riches, is by sin; where the rack is the sure end of faith,—the vicariate of God himself the possible reward of constancy in vice: how can such a man, in such a place, under such circumstances—find the way to Calvary? He cannot; none have done it: it is fanaticism to expect it. So unbelief and human reason—say again: and again, Satan smiles.

There was a young American—who had been from childhood blessed with the means of grace. From the first moment his stammering lips could read—the Bible was put into his hands. From the very dawn of reason and conscience, he had heard Christians speak of the dying love of Jesus. He could not remember a time when he had not heard the gospel faithfully preached. But still he remained an enemy of the meek and lowly one. He had passed through the confiding and tender age when the dew of youth is upon the heart; but he had not given his heart to the crucified one. The years of opening manhood were added to the abyss of the past; and still Jesus was not precious to him. The settled and strong spirit of middle life began to gather over him, and the calm and severe age of thought began to supplant the age of intense passion, as that had supplanted the age of emotion: but still he was without God and without hope. He will die in his sins: he will never be found amongst the blood-bought host. His friends who loved the Saviour, said so; and they wept as the thought settled in their souls.

But he was more than merely destitute of a saving knowledge of God and his Christ. He had been all his life the subject of Divine compassion. He never even doubted,—great sinner as he was—the entire truth of the religion of Jesus. At his worst estate—no mortal ever received with more perfect simplicity—the cardinal doctrines of revealed truth, as entirely beyond question. From the earliest dawn of his mental powers—he had never ceased to be the subject,—as he believed even then—of the convicting work of the Divine Spirit. In the wildest sway of his passions, and the greatest reach of his terrible departure from God, the restraining spirit never utterly forsook him. A voice was still at his heart—this is the way

—walk ye in it: yet he walked not in it. A power still came over his spirit, which was as distinct as if it had said audibly, son, give me thy heart; yet he gave it not. A settled conviction was ever upon him—that he must repent or perish: yet he repented not. A deep, fixed, abiding certainty, like an indwelling instinct, settled as a perpetual spell upon him,—that God had appointed him to a work which he was refusing at the hazard of his soul: and yet he refused still. Then he cannot but be lost: he has trifled with God's Spirit: he has done it long—madly—impiously: he does it even yet. God will surely give him over: it is a miracle of grace he has not done it long ago. So mourned his friends who fought beneath the banner stained with blood: and so perhaps the angels wept.

Years rolled away. They were not idle years, nor yet without strange results. In one of our large cities, on a week day evening, a few hundred persons were gathered in a place fitted up for public assemblies. The great mass of the crowded population were thinking their own thoughts, pursuing their own works, struggling in their own strength against sharp trials, rejoicing in their own short-lived joys. Why were these gathered here? It was a house of prayer, and they met there to hear the words of eternal life. One stood up to speak unto them. "I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins: return unto me; for I have redeemed thee." These thrilling words of Isaiah, were his theme. He seemed a man about the middle of life. His accent was peculiar and decidedly foreign: and at first he was apparently somewhat embarrassed. But he warmed with his discourse. He set before the people their sins, and applied the beautiful imagery of the prophet with striking effect—to show their terrible amount and consequences. He then held forth the work of redeeming love, with an earnestness, a tenderness, a fulness, and a distinctness—that stirred the heart by turns, with utter loathing of itself, and bursting fulness of confiding love for Christ. And then he pressed the exhortation to return to Jesus, by appeals so simple, so personal, so touching, that only hearts of stone could remain unmoved. It was true preaching of him crucified.

When he ceased to speak, another, who seemed to be the stated teacher of the people, rose up, and in a few words explained the position and objects of the stranger who had preached to them; and commended him as a dear follower of the Lamb, to their Christian love.

Are not God's dealings wonderful? These men are the same already first described! To mortal eyes how much more likely that they should have met in eternal wo—rather than as humble followers and ministers of the Lord Jesus, drawn together from the opposite ends of the earth, and from the extreme verge of hope?—Oh! who shall doubt the electing love of God? Who will question the all-sufficiency of Christ?—Who can deny the long-suffering of Immanuel? Oh! let us adore that God whose name is called Wonderful, and who doeth great things past finding out.

Reader, as thy soul liveth, all these words are words of truth and soberness: all these things are simple and literal verities, even as they are here recounted to thee. And they are told thee, that thou

mayest know assuredly that Jesus of Nazareth is the way, the truth, and the life, and that he is able to save, *to the uttermost*, all that come to God by him.

THE LATTER DAY GLORY OF MESSIAH'S KINGDOM.—NO. III.

IN our last No., we endeavoured to show from God's prophetic word, that we are therein taught to look for, and hope for, a *glorious dispensation of universal light, love, and holiness*, connected with this earth, during which our blessed Lord shall sway a universal sceptre in a way he has never yet reigned, while *sin*, and *Satan* shall be totally vanquished, and banished from earth. Now so far as we are acquainted with the views of believers on this subject, all are ready to admit that we are taught in *the word*, to expect such a period, although there is some diversity of opinion respecting the *universality of holiness* connected with this period, and the order of time in which it shall take place. The question now before us is, did Christ and his inspired apostles teach, *that the Gospel was designed to convert the world*, or to become *universally triumphant* during the present dispensation? To prevent the misunderstanding of this question, we shall make two or three plain scriptural statements before we proceed farther.

And 1st. We receive in all its length and breadth, what God has declared by his holy prophet, that his *word* shall not return unto him void, but that it shall accomplish that which *he please*, and shall prosper in the thing whereunto he sent it. Is. lv. 10. 2d. Christ has clearly taught by the *ancient prophets*, his universal reign on earth; but not during the present dispensation. 3d. We lay it down as a scriptural truth not to be denied, that the *word* and *spirit* of Christ were *sufficiently efficacious* in the primitive ages of Christianity, for the conversion, and sanctification of every *individual* of those generations, as they were for the salvation of those who were made partakers of them, and saved. Or in other words, that the infinite resources of the *almighty Redeemer* were amply sufficient to have gained a *universal conquest over sin and hell*, to have established a *universal kingdom*, at that period in which he should have reigned universal monarch in the *triumphs of holiness* to the present day. Now if any should ask *why* the blessed Messiah has never as yet assumed his reign of *universal holiness on earth*, and for ever excluded *sin* and *Satan* from this now guilty and polluted globe? We answer in the language of our Lord, Matt. xi. 26, Even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. Undeniable facts prove that up to the present time the kingdoms of this world have not become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, according to the obvious meaning of this prophecy. Now the question is, did our Lord and his inspired apostles teach that the gospel was *designed to convert the world*? so that during the present dispensation, the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ, and his *universal reign of holiness* for a thousand years thus be ushered in? We hold that the negative of this question is true, according to *the word of God*.

In the first place, when our Lord commissioned his apostles to go and preach the gospel to *every creature*, it was in full view of the following awful truths, *He* had plainly taught them. "Many are called but few are chosen—these things are hid from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes—straight is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth to life, and *few there be that find it*"—that altho' they should be employed instrumentally in sowing extensively the *good seed* of the kingdom, *three parts out of four* would produce no fruit to life eternal—that he sent them forth as sheep in the midst of wolves—that they should be hated of *all nations* for his name sake, and in the world they should have tribulation! Now surely no one will assert that these prophetic truths were only designed to be applicable to the apostles, and primitive teachers of Christianity, and to the kingdom in the first stages of its development. Such cannot be the fact, for sorrowful experience hath taught the ministers of Christ, and his real disciples that these sayings of our Lord have been *true* in every age, and are so even at the present time. Nor does our Lord or his inspired apostles give the least intimation that they will cease to be so, to the *end of the world, or present dispensation!* Had it been his wise and holy purpose to have set up his *kingdom universally* on earth during the gospel dispensation, surely he would have revealed it to his beloved disciples. All things which he had heard of his Father, he was prepared to make known unto them, and yet on this most heart-cheering and deeply interesting subject, he is silent! Not indeed silent; for *the great prophet* teaches the very reverse of the common opinion, that the earth shall be filled with *holiness*, and *the glory of the Lord* during the present dispensation. Thus he ever declared the *deadly opposition* the world would evince to his cause and people, at the same time assuring his followers that he who was a friend of the world was an enemy of God, that if any man loved the world the love of the Father was not in him. And he solemnly enjoins it upon them *not to love the world*, because *all* that is in the world is the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. Nor does he intimate that a period would arrive when instead of the lust of the flesh, and of the eye, and the pride of life, the world should be full of holiness, and of course an object that every holy man would be bound to love! We cannot therefore conceive it possible that when our Lord uttered the truths above quoted, he had before his omniscient mind a period of at least a thousand years connected with the present dispensation, in which his gospel should be universally triumphant, and his knowledge cover the earth as the waters cover the great deep.

Secondly. Our Lord very plainly taught his followers that at the *end of the world, or present dispensation, he would come*, but does he tell them he shall find the world when he comes on the eve of a *golden age*, as to morals and gracious attainments? Far from it, he assures them in language which cannot be misunderstood that as the world was in the days of Noah and Lot, so shall it be in the days of the Son of Man, when *he shall come, at the end of the world!* And in view of this solemn event, he asks with emphasis, "When the Son of Man *cometh*, shall he find faith on the earth?" But,

Thirdly, Satan that great adversary of God and man, is declared by the inspired writers to be *the god of this world*, as holding wide and

powerful dominion during the present dispensation, and certain it is, that a vast majority of the human race are at this moment under his dominion! Nor is there any intimation given by our Lord or his apostles, that this *usurper* will yield his dominion until bound by the angel of the everlasting covenant, at his *second coming*. Now if the moral state of the world is to be as our Lord says it will be, to *the end*, and if Satan's dominion over our guilty race is not to be destroyed until the *mystery* of God shall be finished at the end of the present dispensation; I cannot discover any grounds for the belief that our great Master designed that the triumphs of his gospel, should be *universal* during this *mysterious dispensation*.

Fourthly. Under the dominion and control of Satan, are the *two great apostacies from primitive Christianity*, which have been permitted for ages to wear out the patience of the saints, to intoxicate themselves with the blood of the martyrs, and to deluge this guilty earth with darkness, and crime. These gigantic powers though at times wounded by the revolutions of empires have as frequently had their deadly wounds healed, so that in the middle of the xix. century we actually find millions of the human family either enveloped in the smoke of the pit, or wearing *the mark of the beast* in their foreheads and in their hands. Now is there any scripture evidence that these *gigantic apostate powers* shall be reclaimed, and converted to Christ by his *word and Spirit!* Not a particle, for we are expressly told that the beast and the false prophet shall retain their present hostile character and disposition toward Christ and his cause, until he comes to feast all the fowls of heaven with *their flesh*, and to cast their immortal souls into the lake of fire. Certain it is then that the gospel will not become universally triumphant until all antichristian powers are destroyed; and according to the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel, and the inspired apostles Paul and John, this event will not take place until about the close of the present dispensation. We cannot find scriptural evidence for the belief that this earth shall be filled with *holiness* until *He* shall come whose right it is to reign, and in a new and glorious dispensation, give the kingdom under the whole heaven to the saints of the most high God.

Fifthly. It is very evident from many of our Lord's discourses and parables, that he intended to be understood as giving a prophetic view of the state of his visible kingdom, during the whole period of the present dispensation. Now can any student of the New Testament believe and declare, that our Lord in any of his discourses or parables has clearly taught *that a majority* of those who should from age to age compose his visible kingdom, would be real Christians, or that *universal holiness* should at any period during the present dispensation, be the glory of his kingdom? Let us sit at the feet of our great Master, and learn what he has taught on this subject.

In the parable of the sower, recorded Matt. xiii. and expounded by himself, we have a *plain prophetic* view of the success with which his blessed gospel should meet in this sin-ruined world, *during the present dispensation*. *Facts* prove the truth of this prophecy up to the present moment! In the same chapter, we have two other instructive parables with the exposition of the Divine teacher clearly setting forth the state of his visible kingdom, during the same period. Now

who can seriously consider this parable of the tares of the field, and that of the *net*, with the infallible exposition of each, given by our Lord, and then for a moment believe that there shall yet be a period of *universal triumph* and *holiness* in the visible church during the present dispensation? When it is positively declared by the Divine expositor of his own Word, that the tares (the children of *the wicked one*,) shall remain in his visible kingdom *to the end of the world!* And that the bad fish shall not be cast out of the *gospel net* until he shall send forth his angels to perform this work at *the end of the world!* Or who can believe that our Lord would have compared his kingdom under the present dispensation, to *five wise* and *five foolish virgins*, and represented both as slumbering to the very moment of the bridegroom's approach, if previous to this period he had had before his divine mind a *long period* of universal light, love, and holiness, connected with his visible kingdom. *Melancholy facts* prove, that up to the present time, these parables have been, and now are, an exact picture of the state of the visible Church. And we have no scriptural grounds for the belief that any *material* and *universal* change for the better shall take place, until the mystery of God shall be finished. We therefore conclude that there is no foundation in God's word for the belief that the triumphs of *gospel holiness* shall be universal during the present dispensation.

To the above views an objection or two, thought to be formidable, have been suggested. First, if we are not to believe as very frequently taught by the orators of the age, that the triumphs of the gospel are to be universal, and the world under the present dispensation converted to Christ, and filled with his glory; then we are deprived of a most important stimulant to benevolent and pious enterprises. Secondly, that the views presented above, are not only calculated to cut the nerves of Christian exertion for the world's conversion to God, but also to cast injurious reflections upon the gospel and spirit of Christ.

To these objections we answer: The ministers and followers of Christ have the same command to preach the gospel to every creature, and only the same that the apostles had; we have the same promise also which they had, "Lo! I am with you always to the end of the world, amen."

The primitive disciples implicitly obeyed the command of their Master, and trusting his gracious aid, went forth to their work, having fully before their minds all that he had said, as their prophet, concerning the deadly opposition with which they should meet from a world lying in wickedness, and the partial success that should attend their labours. Now should the ministers and followers of Christ desire more weighty considerations to stimulate them to obey the same command which the primitive disciples obeyed in the face of the most cruel persecution even unto death? Surely not. Their Divine Master gave them *the solemn command*, stayed them with exceeding great and precious promises of *glory*, *honour* and *immortality* at his return to earth, and sent them forth as lambs in the midst of wolves, with all his discourses, and parables before their minds, describing to the life, the moral state of the world and the spiritual state of his visible kingdom to the end of the world! They asked no assurance of the universal triumph of their cause during the present dispensation; neither should

we. But certain we are, had the spirit of Jesus in his ancient prophets revealed a *millenium* connected with earth, and his visible kingdom under the present dispensation, he would have quoted such prophecies, and placed them immediately before the minds of his disciples when about to leave them in a world so completely under the dominion of the wicked one; or if such truths had been more than they were at that time able to bear, most assuredly he would have revealed this glorious event to them, after the descent of the Holy Spirit. But instead of this, we learn from the inspired Word that the Holy Spirit not only bears the same testimony as to the state of the world, and the visible church, as the Lord Jesus had borne, but also reveals to us the working of *that mystery of iniquity* which was eventually to "exalt itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." Describing also in prophetic visions this gigantic apostacy from primitive Christianity, as wearing out the patience of the saints, and as *drunk* with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, until the mystery of God shall be finished, at the close of the present dispensation! Then as the disciples of Jesus in the primitive ages of Christianity faithfully laboured in their day, (in obedience to the command of their risen, and ascended Lord) to preach the gospel to every creature, not only without the assurance that every creature would receive it, and embrace the offers of life; but in view of the repeated declarations of their divine Master, that the majority would neglect or despise both it and them; and as we have no scriptural grounds to expect greater encouragement in our labours than they had in theirs; the command of Christ with his *gracious promise*, should ever be considered by us as amply sufficient to stimulate to the greatest possible exertion within our power, to preach the gospel to every creature.

Before closing the present number, I would take the liberty of suggesting a query for the consideration of the candid reader. Is it not to be feared, that the *pious zeal* of believers which has led them so roundly to assert that the gospel was designed by its *great Author*, to *convert the world and fill it with holiness*, at some given period during the present dispensation, has at least had a tendency to confuse the minds of *thinking unbelievers*, and probably in some degree to confirm them in infidelity? The intelligent unbeliever hears it solemnly declared by Christians and Christian ministers of various denominations, that the Lord Jesus *designed* that his gospel in its purity should conquer earth, and bring all the kingdoms and dominions of earth under its divine and holy influence. With such declarations in view, supposed to be founded on the words of Christ and his inspired apostles, he reads the history of past ages, and clearly discovers that no such event has yet taken place, or any thing resembling it. But that the world up to the present age has been literally a world lying in wickedness, or the wicked one! And *now* near the middle of the *xix.* century, as he looks around on the moral state of the world and on that of the visible church in all its forms and denominations, if possessed of any degree of moral discernment, he comes to the conclusion that there is yet little evidence that the benevolent design of the author of our holy religion will shortly be accomplished. Here his mind becomes confused and filled with doubts. But now let this man be told a truth his mind has never yet contemplated, that there is no evidence from the teachings.

of Jesus or his inspired apostles, that the world will be converted to Christ under the present dispensation! or that our Lord *ever designed* that the gospel should at any given period between his *first and second advents* be the means of filling the earth with his glory, (although his word has in every age passed, accomplished that which he pleased and has prospered in the thing whereunto he sent,) and this view of truth, at once changes the whole aspect of the subject, and rolls a mountain from before the mind of the unbeliever? The Lord give us the spirit of children, to sit at his feet at all times, and learn of him who is meek and lowly in heart.

Dayton, Ohio.

JAMES C. BARNES.

ECONOMY OF MEN AND MEANS IN RELIGIOUS CHARITIES; THE DUTY AND METHOD THEREOF. FRENCH EVANGELICAL SOCIETY AND PRESBYTERIAN BOARDS.

IN the *Presbyterian* newspaper of April 8, the following statements occur in a letter dated "January 1843"—from the foreign correspondent of the Editor. Speaking of the *Evangelical Society of France*, it is said, quoting the words of the Society itself in a circular, dated September 15, 1842, that since its origin, the "Society has expended 617,163 francs. The funds confided to us, have been, as far as possible, directly applied to the diffusion of the gospel. The amount of our expenses in the Office of the Board, for nine years, has risen to only 3,855 francs."

We have been deeply impressed with this statement. If we understand it—and it seems perfectly clear—it amounts to this, that out of the entire amount of funds committed to this Society, during nine years, the part that did not go to the *direct* object for which it was contributed, amounted to no more than one part out of one hundred and sixty. The expenses of collection and disbursement were only a little over one-half of one per cent.; less than 55 cents in the hundred dollars.

This money, as we know, was collected in small sums from the Christians of France, who are generally poor, and from many Christians in other lands. It was also disbursed for various objects, generally in small sums, and in localities scattered over France. So that much care and labour were needful in keeping the accounts; much time must have been expended in managing the correspondence; much supervision exercised over the details of a large and varied work; much thought and watchfulness employed in regard to the whole business; and this for a period of nine years; for the Society was formed in 1833, and the summary covers its whole existence. Yet the servants of God in France found a way to do all this, at an expense of about one-half of one per cent. on the whole amount confided to them; so that out of every dollar given, one hundred and fifty-nine parts went as the donor expected it would go when he gave it.

We are not able to state what is the average rate of the cost of management of public charities in America; and no doubt this rate

varies considerably, being very much dependent on the magnitude of the gross amount of the charity. In the larger operations the rate ought to be, and we presume is, smaller in proportion. We have, for some years, paid some attention to this subject, and our general impression is, that none of our Societies consume less than ten or twelve per cent. of the funds given them, in the expenses of collection, disbursement, and general management: and that with most of them the rate is much higher. The boards of our own church present a rate varying from fifteen to above thirty per cent; so that out of every hundred dollars given to one of our public charities, from fifteen to thirty dollars never go to the object intended by the donor, but are consumed in the expenses of management. What in France costs the hundred and sixtieth part, in America costs from the tenth to the third part! What in France is done for one-half of one per cent. here costs from ten to above thirty per cent!

Can any man read such a statement and not see that we are wasting needlessly, and of course unwisely, if not sinfully, a very large portion of our means? Can such results be carefully weighed, and the conclusion be avoided, that we are doing wrong, and ought to mend our ways?

With us, the expenses of management are divided into two general classes; those of collection and those of disbursement. Now it appears to us, that in regard to both, great reductions and savings can be, and eventually must be made; should have been made long ago, and not having been done, should be done immediately. At the hazard of being abused, as we have been again and again before, for the same thing, we will venture, in the fear of God, and with a sincere desire to promote the efficiency of our public efforts to serve him, to suggest a few things which, if rightly considered, ought to bring us nearer to the wise economy of our French brethren.

We think a great deal of money has been wasted on agents who were not necessary, and who did little or nothing that would not have been as well done without them. These agents have sometimes been most injudiciously selected, and have been and continue to be paid out of all proportion to the funds they collect, as well as to the average salaries of the bulk of the pastors of the church, and still more of the missionaries of it. The principal officers of our Boards receive from ten to twenty times as much, as is allowed to our domestic missionaries; from twenty to thirty times as much as is allowed to our beneficiaries; from three to four times as much as is allowed to our foreign missionaries; and twice or three times as much as our pastors receive on an average. And so in proportion is the pay of the subordinate officers and agents. A mode of proceeding, which gives in pay and allowances, from eight to twelve hundred dollars a year to a man as an agent, and but one or two hundred dollars a year to the very same man, as a missionary, if he should become one—seems to us essentially evil. And it is but a partial answer to say—that the whole time of the former is required, and only part of the support of the latter is contributed: for if the missionary's whole support is four or five hundred dollars, it is considered so far sufficient, that in such cases, nothing more is allowed. And as to saying that a superior class of men is required for agents,

secretaries, &c. and must be paid accordingly ; we are content to let the church make the comparison.

Again ; it seems to us, that a great deal of work that is paid for, ought to be done without pay ; and that, as a general rule, more men are employed, than might easily do the work which is actually necessary. And the statement of the French Society fully illustrates our reasoning in both particulars. To whatever extent these defects go, to that extent there is expense that is utterly a waste. That much might be done for good in both particulars, beyond what has been done, is our deep conviction. It is difficult to go into details, on such points, without taking up much space, and without giving pain. We, the more readily forbear, as we have not failed, over and over,—we regret to say without much benefit to the cause we love—to open our mind on these points, in our proper place, and to those especially concerned.

Our idea is, that there is need of very little special, paid agency, in collecting money from the people of God ; and that no amount of such agency will permanently and steadily, augment the sum which the church will regularly give : two most important facts, which the whole experience of the past, as it appears to us, establishes, but which many are slow to believe. On the other hand, it is our idea, that a very moderate degree of self-denial and effort are required, to have Pastors, Elders, Deacons, and private Christians, in the several central points fixed on, superintend without charge, the wise and faithful disbursement of the monies brought together at those several points ; and, therefore, that very little expense of any kind, is really needful in the department of disbursement. Moreover, God has appointed, in the very constitution of his church, the best possible arrangements, both to gather the whole amount that may be gathered, and to expend it in the best way ; and it is the bounden and official duty of us all, in our lot, to do the part required of each, in this work. And we are well convinced, that just so far as the church settles down in the conviction that her duty is discharged, when she gives up a portion of her members for any particular work, and pays them for doing it ; so far she renders it certain, that what is done, will be increased in cost of men and means, and diminished in extent, in fervour, and in efficiency.

Our special interest in this matter, is not on account of the waste of money and strength—though this is considerable—so much as on account of the great, and to us, most evident and important truths, which lie at the bottom of the subject. A machine which is constituted on principles which are essentially incorrect, cannot work permanently to the advantage of him who sets it up. This is the posture of our ecclesiastical corporations. A machine, perfect in itself, and perfectly fitted to the end designed—cannot, without ruinous waste, be worked to another intent, or in a false direction. This is the posture, we confidently believe, of the Presbyterian church. We obstinately attempt to make exquisite machinery work out of gear. And it does it ; and does it wonderfully, considering all things : for its power and compass are such, that it will do much and bear much, beside its clear end and purpose. But oh ! if we who hold in our hands, this glorious workmanship, could only comprehend its real force, we

would soon see things that would fill our hearts with joy, and our eyes with tears, as we beheld what God would do for us. Never, we are convinced—never has this system been fully brought out, in its heaven-appointed force. And faithless should we be to God, to his church, and to a world in ruins, if we feared or failed to testify to this precious, though alas! it be almost an unknown truth—that there remains yet to be developed, a glorious force in the working out of the great problem of concerted religious effort. Oh! may God speed the day, when our church will know her high calling, and accomplish her exalted destiny. Our eyes may never see it. But our children shall know, that we saw afar, what they will at last perform; that in our day we ceased not to cry aloud to a generation that would not hear; to weep over defections we could not remedy; to deplore jealousies, and envyings, and self-seeking, which distrusted truth itself, if it did not glorify them.

Still, let us stand by the cause of our Master and of his church. Perhaps no age has seen things just as they should be: perhaps none ever will, till the Master comes and gathers all to himself. Let those who see most clearly what it is needful should be done, strive the most earnestly to do what they can. Precisely the moment not to hold back, is then when the trial and the danger are the sorest. And the agents too, of this church, are working for her and for her Lord; and, for their work sake, as for their own, should be effectually helped. While we testify for what is indeed best, let us do the best the times will permit; so shall we prove that we desire change, not for its own sake, but for the sake of doing better and more effectually, that which, because it is not better done now, causes our present grief.

[For the Spirit of the xix. Century.]

RULING ELDERS.—THEIR CONDITION AS IT IS, AND AS IT SHOULD BE.

I noticed in "The Presbyterian," the reply of its editor to the part of the fourth letter to Ruling Elders, charging him with inconsistency, in denying, by his vote, their right as members of Presbytery, to act as part of that body in the laying on of hands in ordination, to the gospel ministry; when, in a tract written by him, and specially published for the instruction of the churches he had explicitly asserted the equality in the various judicatories of *Preaching* and *Ruling Elders*.

Often have I been struck with what has appeared to me singular impracticalness in the reasoning of clergymen;—incongruity between conclusion and premises. Dr. Engles is a writer of no common ability; very clear-headed: and yet he cannot discover discrepancy between the position of equality of Elders (preaching and ruling) in the judicatories, and the position of such inferiority of one to the other, and such marked distinction and grade of their respective offices, as to render it utterly inadmissible, that the latter, in regular membership of Presbytery, shall have any part in the rite, by which that judicatory designates the former "to their high duties."

There can be no more palpable badge of inferiority, than is exhibited in a body consisting of two orders, when upon investing an individual with one of them, it is required that all belonging to the other take their place in the back ground. The idea is, that the touch of the retiring members would be profanation.

But let us hear the reply of Dr. Engles. "When, in a general sense, we acknowledge the equality between Ruling and Preaching Elders, we do it, as the Editor of "The Spirit of the sixteenth Century" does it, with qualifications. We have no idea, that the equality amounts to an identity. There is an essential difference between the offices, or else our system is an absurdity. Ruling Elders have no right to preach, or administer the sacraments; that is a point of wide difference; and as we believe, these latter are higher exercises of office than any pertaining to the Ruling Elder, we qualify what we in general call their "equality" by this difference.* * * * "We accord to the Ruling Elder all due honor; we wish they would become more prominent in the church; but we do not, for various reasons which we are not now called to express, believe that either the Bible, the constitution of our church, or custom, has included among their rights, that of solemnly imposing hands in the designation of one to the high duties of preaching the gospel."—This exposition is explicit and plain. It asserts, that the office of preaching Elder and the office of ruling Elder are distinct; that "there is an essential difference between the offices;" that the office of preaching Elder is the higher office;—so peculiarly above that of ruling Elder, that although the investiture of it is the act of the Presbytery of which he is a constituent part, yet so gross would be the impropriety of his joining in this act, that to avoid it, the Presbytery, for the purpose of this investiture, by the extraordinary exigency of the case, is transformed in organization, divesting him, in that particular, of all right of membership, and making him a mere bystander.

Ruling Elders have a strong dislike to meddle with this subject. The language of their feelings is, if the clergy think, our presence will disparage them, we will fall back, and let them stand by themselves without our unwelcome company. They shrink from claiming a right to be present, when they understand their presence will be offensive. For myself, I have thought, the clergy were taking a very undignified care of their own dignity, in their solicitude equally impolitic and unchristian, to separate themselves, in this matter, from their constitutional associates; yet my feelings would scarcely allow me to vindicate, in my own personal case, a claim of this character. But I see so much evil to the church, arising from the principle which has been acted upon in this matter, that upon serious reflection, I am convinced, Ruling Elders are bound to forego their own sentiments of delicacy, and ascertain and fulfil the responsibility of their office, in relation to it. It is not a question for their personal feelings; the injury is directly not to them, but to the ministry, impairing the means of salvation.

All attentive observers of our church action, have remarked the inefficiency of the Ruling Eldership. In very few churches do they answer the end of their institution. Dr. Engles says, "We wish they would become more prominent." He may not have followed

his own system so far as to see, that this their want of prominence, is the result of cautious guarding against their prominence, proceeding from the same motive which manifests itself in the measure he so fully approves. Ministers and Elders convened, do not form a body in which there is the desire of mutual instruction by the interchange of free and independent thought and reasoning, and confidence in the result, because of the conclusion of the majority upon careful deliberation. The purpose of the minister is to make every thing subservient to his own prominence—to be seen as the only regulating, directing mind—his opinions implicitly received and echoed.—This case has occurred. A minister was about to be settled in a church. A very respectable member of it informed one of the elders, that the minister had disclosed to him, that he had felt a great objection to coming into the church, because of this elder's influence. The elder objected to, in consequence, took no active part in the church during the incumbency of this minister. He was a man of education, at least equal to the minister's, of far more worldly experience, of no inconsiderable religious study, and by no means obtrusive.—In consequence of such a disposition on the part of ministers, it is very rare that ruling elders take any effective part in the churches; and the most important influence, that of an intelligent, active laity, is lost. The Minister seeks Elders, not that they may have fellowship with him, and in parity exercise the functions of thinking, judicious and accountable men, in the discharge of their proper duties for guiding, adorning and strengthening the church; but that they may be subordinate, adopting his views, and conforming to his will. If the eldership in his church consist not entirely of such members, he will select one with the desired properties, whom he will use to do his business in the church, and take with him to presbyteries and synods, when it may be expedient for him to take any one. The elder thus selected becomes prominent, and presents to the world the criterion by which to judge of the church. The criterion being always unfavorable, so is the judgment, and religion suffers incalculably: not only is the eldership rendered inefficient, but the church is sunk in public estimation. On a very important occasion to the church, I noticed the name of an Elder with an imposing title, made very conspicuous. Afterward I met the same individual in the same vocation; and I was surprised to find a man of uncommon want of power, who had probably never formed in his life a substantive opinion in a matter of any difficulty.—Another evil is, the minister is made proud by the very acquiescence and subserviency, which he takes such pains to secure; he shuts himself up to false and delusive views; and the eldership, instead of instructing him by their experience, and by their knowledge of men and things, making him practical, and introducing into the church wisdom adapted to men in their modes of reasoning and acting, serve the pitiful purpose of blowing up his vanity, and the injurious one of confirming him in his closet notions; and, among others, that of the importance of indoctrinating men in the common walks and business of life with scholastic theology.—Another evil is, that the eldership do not serve the very important purpose of connecting the minister with the people; there is no common, pervading spirit; and in time

of need, there is no help for him from a lay-body having the confidence of the church, because of their interests and feelings being the same as theirs, and at the same time, united with him in sympathy and affection through community of office, and the reciprocation of common cares and responsibilities. The one who has been the minister's select instrument to gratify him by aiding to effect his wishes, has not the respect of the people, and can give him no available help; the others have no disposition: and the minister leaves. There is imperious need of an efficient eldership in every church, to sustain the minister in time of difficulty, and to impart to him weight with the people at all times: matters of vastly more proper concern to a minister, than to have his own way uncontradicted and untrammelled by the independent opinions of capable associates. In this country, where we pay so little deference to station, where every man knows and exercises his privilege of a freeman in thinking, judging and acting, it is unwise, to say the least, for a minister, for the sake of having his own way, to stand alone in his own single strength, rejecting all useful auxiliaries. Besides a minister cannot form a just estimate of the character of his church members without free communication and discussion, without a judicious eldership, and receiving and paying deference to their views and judgments, far more likely to be correct than his own. I speak from long and attentive observation, in saying, that one of the greatest hindrances to religion, arises from a minister's holding up, under false estimates, the characters of individuals, as Christians.

It is matter of astonishment, in view of the great need every minister has of an efficient eldership, that this body should be so treated as to defeat their usefulness. It is the same principle, that denies the cup to the laity, and makes the authority to ordain, an episcopal prerogative. The object is to make the eldership a foil to set off the ministry: the effect is to make the eldership insignificant, and impart that insignificance to the ministry. It is impossible for an inferior and a superior order to act together upon terms of mutual respect. An inferior order brought into connexion with a superior, under circumstances marking this inferiority, cannot respect themselves. If there cannot be equality in the eldership, it is the dictate of wisdom to dispense with the part to which parity cannot be conceded. With such public opinion as prevails in this country in relation to the rights, responsibility and proper dignity of man, inferiority of orders in the church must exceedingly prejudice it in general estimation, while the direct influence upon the orders themselves, exalting one and depressing another, is the opposite of the spirit of Christianity, and equally injurious both. Within my knowledge, a ruling elder peremptorily refuses to attend upon presbytery, synod or general assembly. He says, the inquiry shall never be addressed to his pastor concerning him, "Who is your elder, sir!" That he will not take the part of a menial. I have heard a minister moving in presbytery for a committee, suggest, that as the matter was important and required direct action, the better course would be not to appoint any ruling elder. I have known a minister, without any action of the session, name the elder to be the representative of his church in presbytery on a most important occasion; passing by another elder whom the

circumstances imperiously pointed out as the proper representative for that occasion: the elder thus named, introduced into the presbytery a resolution of serious and weighty consequence, which the minister had prepared, and which he knew when appointing the one elder and passing by the other, that the elder passed by, upon deliberate conviction proceeding from a full view of the matter, would oppose.

These things are noticed to call up in the minds of men, what they know of like character. The fact ought to be more looked at, that ruling elders do not feel their responsibility, nor ministers their importance; and that, in consequence, they oftener subserve bad than good purposes. Parity in the eldership is a clear instruction of the gospel; and, like all gospel instruction, it is founded in true wisdom. It cannot be departed from without most injurious practical effects. Upon what principle can it be departed from?—The following is the view of a very distinguished Episcopalian—Bloomfield. “At the period now in question” (the time in *Acts xiv.*) “the presbyters probably exercised their ministry in conjunction with the trades or professions to which they had been brought up. But when, in the next generation, it was thought expedient that presbyters should be confined to their sacred duties, and kept apart from all secular occupations—(which, by the way, *occasioned* the two classes of *clergy* and *laity*,) then ordination would become a much more solemn affair, and the conferring of it such, as not to be committed to any but the highest *rulers of the church*, who succeeded to the duties of the apostles.”—This is the same ground on which Dr. Engles places ordination by preaching elders only, viz.: “the designation of one to the *high duties of preaching the gospel.*” But Dr. Bloomfield admits this to be a departure from the practice of the primitive church; while Presbyterians insist upon adherence to that practice. Dr. Engles insists, that to “preach and administer sacraments” are “higher exercises of office than any pertaining to the ruling elder.” Is there not a strange mistake of the gospel on this point? What is Paul’s view of administering one of the sacraments, baptism? 1 Cor. i. 14–17. And how did our Saviour instruct his disciples about “higher exercises of office?” Matt. xxiii, 10–12. Mark x. 44. Luke xxii, 24–26. Who could have supposed that to be “chiefest,” “to be accounted greatest” would ever have been a point insisted on by the ministers of Christ?—that a love of “pre-eminence” should be sanctioned? 3 John 9: and that this should be relied upon as sufficient cause to sanction a practice of presbytery against the plain letter of its constitution?! We know from familiar experience, that persons having the same office, in official station equal and identical, may have very different duties. It is no doubt proper, that the preaching elder should be wholly set apart to his holy function, and so far as the blessedness of usefulness is concerned, let him enjoy it in its fullest measure; the appropriate terms of distinction applicable to him, and his functions, are holier, not higher; more consecrated, more laborious, more self-denying, more like the meek and lowly Saviour; not superior, not more dignified, not in a place separated by the special honor of it from the presence of others. It is inconceivable, indeed, that those whose duty it is “to feed the flock, tak-

ing the oversight thereof," should not have within their proper province the care and duty of setting apart pastors to their office, or that upon the principles of humility, inculcated by the gospel upon all authorities in the church, there should be any thing of human character above them. Who should set apart and designate the pastors of the flock, if not those who have "the oversight" of it? The gospel makes no account of lordship and dominion; it enters not into its scope to confer rank or adjust distinctions: it imposes responsibility, exacts duties, rewards humble faithfulness: "Whosoever of you will be chiefest, shall be servant of all."

The argument from practice, unless pursued into the primitive church, would lead to strange conclusions. It always comes in aid of protracted abuse and inveterate error. If what has been, must therefore continue, reform or correction is impossible. The practice insisted upon, for excluding ruling elders from the presbytery in the laying on of hands, proceeded from the confession of faith as formed by the Westminster Assembly. According to this confession, "every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer and fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong."* The practice thus became established. No one need to

* In this statement and the inferences drawn from it, the excellent author has fallen upon a conclusion which will be naturally taken up from the perusal of the statements of Neal and Lightfoot, regarding the proceedings, debates and decisions of the famous Synod at Westminster. We were ourself betrayed into it, and believed the fact to be as here admitted. But we are satisfied, on a very careful study of the subject, and will try to prove, if God spares us—that the opinion of the Westminster Assembly affords no authority for the practice now contended for by many, and resisted by us—of excluding ruling elders in the formal part of ministerial ordination. We believe we can show, that the doctrine on which that Assembly finally settled was this, to wit: That ordination belongs properly to the presbytery as *Presbyterium*, not as *Presbyteri*, that is to the whole body, not to particular members, of it; but that preaching elders may ordain, independently of ruling elders. This is a widely different doctrine from that which asserts that ruling elders shall not assist even when officially present; and this is the doctrine of Dr. Englos, of Princeton, (*at present*), and of the majority, perhaps, of our ministers, who have not examined the subject. It is one thing to say ruling elders need not assist in order to make ordination valid: it is quite another thing to say they are by order incompetent to assist. The latter is modern Presbyterian high-churchism; the former is the doctrine of the Westminster Assembly, as we believe. This doctrine, even in this mitigated form, differs from that of the *Second Book of Discipline* of the Scottish Kirk and from that of our own standards, in allowing ordination by a ministerial convention or committee, to be equally regular as ordination by presbytery. This ordination by committee is a thing unknown amongst us, now (at least we have never heard of a case since we were in the ministry,) but it was universal in our churches, a century ago, and was given up, as we suppose, at the change of our standards in 1788; and though settled at Westminster, would hardly be allowed with us.—We took occasion, when the author of the piece, to which this note is attached, appeared anonymously in our pages some time ago, in opposition to our views on a very interesting subject, to bear our testimony to his great worth and high personal and professional standing. We think we are now, in all fairness, entitled to the benefit of that testimony: and therefore beg the reader to bear in mind, that the views expressed are those of one of the oldest, more distinguished and most influential ruling elders in America; and we also feel authorised to say it is unsolicited, and therefore the more weighty. Our brethren who have set themselves to reduce the office of ruling elder by law as well as by practice, to a con-

be told, how difficult it is to change such a practice. But how happened it, that this confession restricted the laying on of hands, (the act of ordaining,) to the preaching presbyters? Clarendon tells us, that the parliament who called the assembly of divines at Westminster, "were all members of the established church, and almost to a man for Episcopal government." Neal informs us, that the English divines in this assembly would have been content with revising and explaining the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. To confine the act of ordination to "preaching presbyters," would be a very natural error for such a body. They had been accustomed to its being the prerogative of a single bishop. But the Confession of Faith as adopted in this country, corrects this notion. For correcting it, the very language of Scripture is employed. This language is unequivocal: ordination to the gospel ministry, is "with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."—"Laying on of hands," in the earliest times of the Israelitish church, was "a rite of institution to office, which it conferred by symbol." From the Jewish, it was adopted into the Christian church. Now this institution to office, (this conferring of the office,) is the act of presbytery; and the PRESBYTERY, according to the plain reason of the thing, as well as the unequivocal language of our Confession, in the words of Scripture, should join in the symbol conferring it. The first step of departure from this, is upon Episcopal ground; and you have only to modify the practice, in form and circumstance, without changing, or even touching the principle, to require ordination by a diocesan bishop. *From holding* that it is not the presbytery in its constitutional form, and of course, comprehending all its constituent parts, that is appointed to perform the rite of ordination, but that the authority rests upon particular members by way of eminence: *to holding*, that this authority is in a single member, by way of eminence, thus imparting to him artificial importance, is natural and easy. We ought to be more awake, than we are, to the truth, that the mystery of iniquity which has wrought such desolation in the Christian church, has its seat in the heart of man, is a part of that corruption which makes it deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; and that it incessantly directs and urges to the same mischiefs.

A RULING ELDER.

dition of ecclesiastical inanity, must not be surprised to find testimony like the present very extensively borne by the ablest, the best, and the most experienced men in that office. Delicacy and false shame, have kept them silent and inactive too long; but the fire has burned in their bosoms, and unless we greatly deceive ourself, they cannot hold it much longer.—Will the reader be so good as to compare the statements of this article—with those of our first letter? We were both ridiculed and reviled (in the *Protestant & Herald* before Mr. Hill took charge of it) for those statements; though we had personal knowledge the facts stated were true, and the feelings spoken of common. Here we have a venerable man, of the highest excellence, the most respectable position, and the most inoffensive demeanour, making worse statements than our own. Surely we need a *practical* as well as a *theoretical* reformation on this important subject; and perhaps the reason why the probe makes some of the brethren in the ministry wince so, is that the place is so sore. But they ought to blame the disease, not the probe.

EDITOR.

[For the Spirit of the xix. Century.]

THEOLOGICAL EXAMINER, NO. VII.

ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕΤΕ.

Is the Head of the Papal Community the Head of the Christian church?

OUR intention in the present article, is to prove, that the Pope of Rome, who is the head of the papal community, or church of Rome, *is not* the head of the Christian church, by showing, from the Word of God, that the only head of the Christian church is the Lord Jesus Christ; and thus to proceed a step in establishing the general proposition: "*That the church of Rome is not the church of Christ.*" For, if the church of Rome were the church of Christ, the head of the church of Rome would be the head of the church of Christ. But if we can prove that the Lord Jesus Christ himself is the King in Zion, and not the pope of Rome, we shall go far in showing, that they who acknowledge the sovereignty of his Holiness, *are not* the subjects of the kingdom of Christ, but "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and strangers from the covenants of promise."

The church at Rome, the papists tell us, was founded by the apostle Peter; and that he was the first pope, or universal bishop. But there is no proof, whatever, that Peter was ever at Rome; for the book of Acts, which was written to give an authentic account of the first progress of the gospel—and especially of the labors of the apostles Peter and Paul—does not mention that Peter was ever at Rome, whilst it records his labours elsewhere. The apostle Paul, in the numerous salutations to the more eminent members of the church at Rome, sent in the xvi. chapter of the epistle to the Romans, verses 3–15, does not mention Peter as being at Rome, when he wrote the epistle, or as having been the founder of that church. And when he went to Rome and wrote several epistles from that city, he made no mention of the apostle Peter, as being there with him. These circumstances are altogether *unaccountable*, if Peter founded the church of Rome, and was its first bishop.

The Scriptures do not inform us who first preached the gospel and planted the church at Rome; it is probable, however, that "*those strangers of Rome,*" who heard the gospel preached in Jerusalem, on the day of Pentecost, on their return, preached the gospel to their countrymen, (Acts ii. 10.)

The original form of government of the church at Rome, was doubtless the same as that of the other primitive Christian societies. And the Scriptures clearly represent the ordinary and permanent office-bearers of a Christian church, to be the bishop or pastor, the ruling elders and deacons. A scriptural bishop had the care of one Christian assembly, which frequently was small enough to be contained in a private house. *In the government* of the congregation he was assisted by the ruling elders; and, in the case of the poor, he was aided by the deacons.*

*Mos. Ecc. Hist. 4to. page 22.

Thus, at the first establishment of Christianity, every particular church or body of believers had its pastor, or bishop, ruling elders, and deacons—and each of these office-bearers enjoyed a *perfect official equality* with all others of the same rank; while the only known and acknowledged head of the universal Church, was the Lord Jesus Christ (Col. i. 18,) the Great Shepherd of the Sheep (Heb. xiii. 20.) This apostolical constitution of the Church continued until the middle of the second century, when a gradual change in its form of government commenced. As the congregations in the larger cities increased in opulence, their pastors, under the seducing influence of prosperity, began to lose the humility and zeal of their predecessors, and to assume a superiority over their brethren in more obscure situations. In the following century the pastors of the churches in Rome, Antioch and Alexandria, held a kind of pre-eminence over all other pastors, and were distinguished by peculiar rights and privileges. And, of these, the pastor of the Church in Rome was allowed a certain pre-eminence of association and order, if not of power and authority. The government of the Church had now degenerated from its primitive form of republicanism, to that of prelatial aristocracy.

In the fourth century, although the bishop of Rome had acquired a very high standing in the Church, yet he had not become the acknowledged head of the church; for, in this century, the Council of Constantinople, on account of the imperial dignity and privileges of that city, conferred on its bishop rank and honours equal to those of the bishop of Rome. This, of course, roused the jealousy of the bishops of the latter place; and, from this time, a fierce contest ensued, for supremacy in the Church: in the course of which, the bishop of Constantinople was for a short time the successful competitor; but, finally, in the early part of the seventh century, the bishop of Rome triumphed. Pope Boniface III. procured the emperor Phocas to take from the bishop of Constantinople the title of universal Bishop, and to confer it upon him. Thus was the supremacy of the bishop of Rome gradually erected on the ruins of the scriptural order of the Christian church, and in direct violation of the law of ministerial parity established by its glorious Head. Matt. xxiii. 7-12.

This establishment of the papal supremacy in the visible Church was, therefore, a blasphemous usurpation of the authority and office of our Lord Jesus Christ (Eph. i. 21, 22. v. 23. Col. ii. 10. 2 Thess. ii. 4.) and all who acknowledged it, concurred in it, or submitted to it, thereby renounced their allegiance to Christ as their Head, (Col. ii. 19) and were guilty of schism against the government of his church. And, consequently, the papal community, with the Pope at its head, at that time ceased to be a part of the visible Church of Christ. From that period to the present, the unchangeable doctrine of this community is: "That the Pope is their *supreme Lord and Bishop* upon earth: that he is their *infallible teacher of religion, and the ultimate judge in religious controversies*: that he may lawfully exercise *supreme temporal power over the whole world*. And that he received his office and authority in direct succession from

the apostle Peter, who was constituted Christ's vicar or representative on earth."

We are aware, that papists of the present day, in order to recommend their monstrous system of despotism and iniquity to the light and liberty of the age, have been obliged to explain, evade, and deny many things that anciently were matters of faith in their *infallible* Church; and, among their abnegated dogmas, are those of the supreme temporal power of the pope, and his proper and personal infallibility.* But, without going at length into the examination of this disputed point, at present, it is sufficient to remark, that if their Church be possessed of infallibility at all, it cannot be of the slightest benefit to them, unless they have a *lawfully appointed and universally acknowledged organ* to give expression to that infallibility. And whether that organ be the pope alone, the pope and cardinals, or these with a general council lawfully assembled, it is a matter of perfect indifference to the argument, that whatever was once the doctrine of this infallible teacher, must continue to be his doctrine, while he continues infallible. But the Roman pontiffs did once claim and exercise, as their right, supreme authority over civil governments; and that, too, with the approval of cardinals and councils: and this right has never been officially renounced. It therefore follows, unavoidably: either, that the Church has lost its infallibility, according to the obvious intention of the explanations of this subject, made by modern papists; or, that the pope *may still*, consistently, lord it over the nations as he once did; trampling upon Princes, and disposing of thrones and empires.

The main point, however, at present, is this: *That the pope is the head of the papal Church, and the father and teacher of all its members, and that he has full power to feed, rule, and govern his universal church.*" This was, in substance, decreed by the council of Florence, and its belief is an article of faith, indispensably required of every member of the papal community.†

* Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, in his letter on Christian Union, addressed to the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, (Spirit xix. Century, Nov. 1842) says: "The vicar of Jesus Christ is powerless against the truth; all his power being in support of it;" and again: "As to any assumption by the pope, at this day, of any political power over Catholics residing out of the Roman states, it is idle to think of it; and if the history of the middle ages present examples of this character, modern writers of celebrity have not been wanting to trace them to the peculiar state of society at that time, and to a principle *eminently republican!*" The "EMINENT REPUBLICANISM" of the pope's temporal power, is however, explained in the preceding part of this remarkable letter thus: "With civil liberty and independence, it (the temporal power of the pope) interferes no further than *the divine law* puts bounds to human power." Of which *divine law* "The Catholic church is the unerring judge." Here then is the *eminently republican principle* of popish domination: His Holiness *may interfere* with civil liberty and independence *whenever* the unerring judgment of *his Church* determines to set bounds to human power.

† The power of the bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, over all the Church, is defined by the council of Florence, and is embraced in the profession of faith, which contains a promise of true obedience to the vicar of Jesus Christ." "Yet this (papal supremacy) is the rock on which the whole edifice of Christianity rests in immovable firmness; this is *the essential centre of unity*, around which all the faithful must gather, in harmony of faith and obedience."—*Kenrick's Let. on Christian Union.*"

This point settled, let us proceed to examine the Word of God, as to the headship of the Christian church:

Gen. xlix. 10. "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come: *and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.*" This prophecy relates to the coming of Shiloh, Jesus Christ, the Messiah; and the people to be gathered unto him, are all the faithful; and these constituting the body of which *He* is the head, cannot be the same body which "*gathers around the pope of Rome as the essential centre of unity.*"

Isa. ix. 6. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: *and the government shall be upon his shoulder*: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace," &c. The incarnate Son of God, Christ the Prince of Peace is "*the child born unto us,*" his Church; the government of which shall be upon *his* shoulder; but the government of the papal community, is, by the council of Florence (A. D. 1439) declared to be invested in the pope, for the administration of which, he *has full power and amplitude of jurisdiction.*

Jer. xxiii. 5. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth." See also, Micah v. 2, quoted by Matt. ii. 6. Luke i. 32, 33.

These prophecies were fulfilled, when Jesus Christ the Righteous, of the seed of David according to the flesh, established his spiritual kingdom in the world, over which he still continues to reign and prosper, executing judgment and justice in the earth. Now as the popes do not pretend to be descended from the King of Israel, nor that the throne they occupy is the throne of David; it follows conclusively, that the kingdom over which they reign is not the kingdom of Jesus Christ the Son of David, the King of Israel. And, moreover, the King of Zion is a *righteous* Branch; whereas "*the tiara may sometimes be found decorating the brows of the most unworthy and flagitious men.*"*

Ezek. xxxiv. 23. "And I will set up *one* Shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their Shepherd."—Ch. xxxvii. 24. "And David my servant shall be king over them; and they all shall have *one* Shepherd."

John x. 11–16. In this passage our Saviour declares repeatedly, that *He is the Shepherd* of the sheep; and he contrasts his care and love for them in giving his life for them, with the conduct of the mercenary hireling, in fleeing at the approach of danger. In the 16th verse he says: "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; *and there shall be one fold and one Shepherd.*" From this it appears, 1stly, that the Church of God constitutes but *one fold*, although some of the sheep are in heaven and some on earth; 2dly, that over this fold there is but *one shepherd*, the head and chief; 3dly, that *the Lord Jesus Christ*, who gave his life for the sheep, is that good Shepherd. It is then self-evident, that the pope, who did not lay down his life

*History of the Church, by Rev. C. C. Pise, a Romish priest, vol. 5, p. 362.

for Christ's sheep, is not their chief shepherd; neither is he as Christ's vicar or representative, the head Shepherd of Christ's flock in this world; for the fold is *one*, it is *undivided*, and Christ himself is *The Shepherd* over the whole flock, in heaven and on earth. 1 Pet. v. 4.—But if the pope is not the shepherd of Christ's flock, it is manifest that the flock which is *fed and governed* by him, and which knows his voice and follows him, cannot be composed of the sheep of Christ; for *Christ's* sheep hear his voice, and he knows them, and they follow Him, “and *a stranger* will they not follow, but will flee from him: for they know not the voice of strangers.” John x. 5.

Col. i. 18. “And he is the head of the body, the Church: who is the beginning, the first born from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence.” Here the church is declared to be the body of which Christ is *the Head*: now, it would be absurd to maintain, that the pope is the head of Christ's body, or of any part of it; and it is no less absurd to maintain, that the body of which the pope is the head, is the body of Christ. A body with two heads, or a head with two bodies, is each equally absurd and monstrous, as well in theology as in anatomy.—Eph. ii. 20. “And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, *Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner Stone.*” The foundation stone, therefore, of the Christian church, the spiritual edifice, the Temple of the Holy Ghost, is *Jesus Christ himself*, ‘The Chief Corner Stone, elect, precious;’—whereas, the rock upon which the edifice of papism rests, according to the declarations of papists, is *the supremacy of the pope*. The direct testimony of the Word of God, is therefore conclusive, that the Lord Jesus Christ being the glorious and the exclusive Head of his blood-bought Church in heaven, and on earth; neither the pope of Rome, nor any one else, can be, in any sense, the head of all, or any portion of that Church. And hence the conclusion is inevitable: that the body of which the pope is the universally admitted head, is not *the Church of the living God*. How false, then, and ruinous the charity, which accounts the papal community a Christian church! and how strong the delusion, which confounds papism with Christianity?—Papism, based upon the supremacy of the pope—Christianity, founded upon the “The Rock of Ages!”

IMPORTANT MOVEMENT IN THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF THE CITY OF BALTIMORE.—FORMATION AND FIRST EFFORTS OF THE “SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF THE REFORMATION.”

ON the 7th of March, a number of the ministers of the gospel, amounting, as we understand, to about fifty, and belonging to nearly all denominations of evangelical Christians, met in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Light street, Baltimore, upon an invitation drawn up and circulated, by six or seven ministers, for the purpose of considering what ought to be done in the present aspect of popery and the efforts of papists to spread their system in this community.

The Rev. R. J. Breckinridge was appointed chairman, and the Rev. Thomas B. Sargeant of the Methodist Episcopal Church, secretary: a number of the ministers present expressed their views upon the general subject, in regard to which they had come together: two letters were read from two ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church, disapproving the objects contemplated in the invitation which had been sent to them: and the ministers present, then resolved *unanimously*, that there was a necessity for united and vigorous action in resisting the efforts and encroachments of Romanism, and that a society ought to be formed for that purpose. Whereupon the Rev. Messrs. Hamilton, of the Methodist Episcopal; Kurtz, of the Evangelical Lutheran; Musgrave, of the Presbyterian; Heiner, of the German Reformed; Smart, of the Associate Presbyterian; Reese, of the Protestant Methodist; Johns, of the Protestant Episcopal, and Walker, of the Baptist churches—were appointed a committee to prepare the draft of a Constitution for the contemplated Association: and then the ministers adjourned to meet in the Lecture Room of the 1st Presbyterian Church, on the 17th March. The meeting was opened and closed with humble and earnest prayer to God for divine guidance.

At the adjourned meeting on the 17th March, several additional ministers came in. The meeting was opened with prayer, and the committee reported a draft for a Constitution, which having been maturely considered, was amended and adopted *unanimously*, as follows, to wit:

Whereas we are fully convinced that the principles of the Reformation are essential to the welfare of spiritual religion and civil and religious liberty; and that the time has come when it behooves the friends of the Reformation to unite in efforts to defend, maintain and promote those principles in our common country, against all encroachments and errors from whatever source arising, and to act in concert on certain great scriptural principles for the protection and perpetuation of the interests of the Protestant faith; we hereby organize ourselves into an Association, the name and general objects of which are set forth in the following

CONSTITUTION.—*Art. I.* This Association shall be called “The Society of the Friends of the Reformation,” formed in Baltimore, March 7th, 1843.

Art. II. It shall be composed of all persons who adopt the sacred Scriptures as the sole rule of faith and practice, and also entertain a sincere veneration for the fundamental doctrines of the Reformation, and contribute to the funds of the Association and sign the constitution.

Art. III. Its sole object is to maintain, defend and promote among the several denominations of Christians to which its members belong, the principles of the Reformation and of civil and religious liberty, against all encroachments and errors whatever.

Art. IV. The only means it will use or sanction are such as being moral, legal and regardful of the rights of all other persons, shall by common consent be agreed upon from time to time as just, proper and effectual in the maintenance of our own.

Art. V. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and two Lay-Directors from each denomination represented in the Association, to be elected annually; together with all the ministers belonging to it; who shall form a board for the transaction of business; of whom any seven, at a meeting duly convened, shall be a quorum. The stated meetings of the board to be quarterly.

Art. VI. The Board of Managers shall, at the first meeting after their election, appoint an executive committee, consisting of a minister and layman from of each the denominations represented in the association, of which the President, Secretaries and Treasurer shall be ex-officio members. This committee to meet as often as they may find necessary for the transaction of the business committed to them, and to report quarterly to the Board of Managers.

Art. VII. The duties of the Board shall be to carry out in every way most expedient in their view, the ends and purposes for which this association is organized; and to render an annual report of their proceedings to the Association, at their annual meetings on the first Tuesday in March.

Art. VIII. The Board of Managers shall have power to enact such by-laws as may not be inconsistent with this Constitution, and to fill all vacancies that may occur between the annual meetings.

Art. IX. This Constitution shall be subject to amendments only at the annual meetings of the Association, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at such meeting.

It was at the same time determined to hold a series of public meetings in a number of our Churches; to present the Constitution for general signature at those meetings; to take up collections at them to aid the Society in carrying out its general objects; and to appoint a large committee to carry out these objects. It was further ordered that the permanent officers of the Society should not be chosen until those likeminded with us, had been favoured with the opportunity of uniting with us; that in the interim the Chairman and Secretary already appointed, should continue to act, and that a Treasurer be temporarily chosen—whereupon the Rev. Dr. B. Kurtz, of the Evangelical Lutheran church was appointed; and the Society adjourned, with prayer, to meet in public at the first of the series of meetings directed to be held.

The *first* public meeting was held on the evening of March 21st, at the Baptist church, in Sharp street (Mr. Hill's); and was addressed by the Rev. Dr. Morris, of the Evangelical Lutheran church, and the Rev. Mr. Kennaday, of Philadelphia, of the Methodist Episcopal church. The *second* public meeting was held on the evening of the 24th of March, at the 3d Presbyterian church (Mr. Musgrave's) and was addressed by the Rev. Dr. Bond, of the city of New York, editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal (Methodist Episcopal,) and the Rev. Mr. H. V. D. Johns, of the Protestant Episcopal church. The *third* public meeting was held on the evening of the 28th of March, in the 2d Presbyterian church (R. J. Breckinridge's) and was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Smart, of the Associate church, and the Rev. Dr. B. Kurtz, of the Evangelical Lutheran. The *fourth* public meeting was held on the evening of the 30th of March, in the Methodist Episcopal church, in Light street, and was addressed by R. J. Breckinridge, Presbyterian, and the Rev. Dr. Giustiniani, of the Evangelical Lutheran church, a native of Rome and formerly a papal priest in that city. The *fifth* public meeting was held in the German Reformed church (Mr. Heiner's), on the evening of the 6th of April, and was addressed by the Rev. G. W. Musgrave, and the Rev. A. B. Cross, both Presbyterians.—The *sixth* public meeting was held in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Caroline street, on the evening of April the 13th, and was

addressed by the Rev. Mr. Best, of the Methodist Episcopal church, and the Rev. Dr. Giustiniani.—It may also be mentioned, that the editor of this periodical delivered a discourse in the German Lutheran church in Trinity street, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Weyl, on the evening of the 7th of April, to raise funds in aid of an effort to erect a new Lutheran church in the Canton suburb of Baltimore; subject: *The duty of Protestants to make greater efforts to prevent the spread of Romanism*: and an annual discourse in the Church of which he is the pastor, on Sabbath morning the 16th of April (being Easter Sunday,) on *The temper which Christians ought to cherish towards Romanism*. Upon the whole, therefore, from the 21st of March to the 16th of April, both inclusive, being twenty-seven days—eight public meetings were held in the various quarters of our good city,—at which eight or ten thousand of our citizens, of all denominations, have had their attention once more strongly drawn to the whole subject of popery; a powerful Association has been fully set up on its feet, by a strong and rapid movement; funds have been collected to promote its operations, and a large number of members enrolled; and a new and powerful impulse been given to the Protestant cause in this community.

Truly, we have reason to thank God, and take courage.—When we look back to the commencement of the papal controversy in this city, less than ten years ago, and remember that we stood almost alone, and now behold the great body of evangelical ministers around us, standing shoulder to shoulder in the good cause; when we call to mind the fact, that but a few years ago the sentiments we uttered were considered proofs almost of insanity, and now hear the same flowing from the lips of the most cautious pastors around us; when we reflect that our flock was marked and its members watched, and we ourself not only denounced and pursued with ceaseless insult and slander, but haled before the criminal tribunals of the state like a common felon, and now behold the great mass of pious and enlightened Christians in most of our city Churches standing forward in the same rank with our beloved flock, and the body of our ministerial brethren boldly taking up the noble cause upon which so much odium has been heaped, and around which so many dangers have been thrown; verily, we do thank God, and take courage. Truly, a great revolution in public sentiment is already accomplished, when in the same city, the same cause which, in 1832, endangered a man's life, in 1835 jeoparded his character, and as late as 1840 exposed him to indictment, fine, and imprisonment,—in 1843 looms gloriously up on the top of a general movement of the piety of the community, and becomes the very centre of Christian unity. And if these brief years, from so small beginnings, and with such feeble means, have witnessed such results; what, with the present means, and the existing spirit may we hope for in future?

Look to your ways, ye vassals of Rome. Look to your ways, ye Jesuits; haters of liberty, of truth, and of righteousness. For verily, it is no longer a solitary man who stands forth to defy and to resist you. Look to your ways, ye destroyers of the earth, ye persecutors of the saints, ye arch opposers of the kingdom of God. For surely the day is at hand, when God's professing people will cease to call evil good and good evil, to put darkness for light and light for darkness, to be wise in their own eyes and prudent in their

own sight, to put away the righteousness of the righteous and justify the wicked for reward; in one word, to support, to countenance, and to advance your false and ferocious principles, your dark and perfidious schemes. And then shall we no longer behold our root as rottenness and our blossom as dust: no longer shall we be devoured as stubble and consumed as chaff; because the anger of the Lord will be turned away from his people and his hand be no more stretched forth against them, when they cease to cast away the law of the Lord of Hosts and to despise the Holy One of Israel.

We must not deceive ourself, nor must we delude others. The issue of this papal controversy,—the final issue—is beyond all peradventure. Antichrist is foredoomed of God, and cannot escape his predestinated ruin. But it is far from certain that he may not, before his final and endless destruction, rise to a height of power and rage with a fury and blood-guiltiness, unprecedented even in his accursed annals. But better, far better is it, that he kill the saints, than that he rob them of their hope and crown. Better, beyond comparison, was that state of God's people, in which Rome pursued them with fire and sword, than is that in which they take Rome into their embrace. Better, inconcievably better is it, that we die for the testimony of Jesus, than that we make our lives a testimony against him. Without reference, therefore, to the immediate influence upon Rome, of the great revival of the spirit of the Reformation which God is pleased to awaken in various parts of the earth at the present moment; without considering whether it betokens the speedy overthrow of popery, or whether it is only for the preparation of new martyrs to be slain by the emissaries of Antichrist; still we rejoice in the revival itself, as a precious evidence of the favour of God, and as a visible manifestation of his covenant-keeping fidelity. Let it spread and deepen, until it is clearly made known who are on the Lord's side, who are but formalists and hypocrites, who are fainthearted and unfit for the service of the great King, who love the praise of man more than the praise of God. Great events are about to come to pass; and God is separating unto himself a people, whom he will qualify to perform the part he hath for them to act. It is in distinguishing mercy and favour that he thus visits our earth. Blessed will they be, who know the day of their gracious visitation.

SHORT NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

The Bible in Spain, &c. By Geo. Borrow. And we must admit that in reading Mr. Borrow's pages, we cannot always forget that English travellers seem generally to consider themselves the first people in England, England the first if not the only country in the world, and the place they may chance to be describing about the last in creation. There can be little doubt that Mr. Borrow is amongst the first travellers, linguists, gentlemen, horsemen, or footmen, in all nature, if his notion of himself is correct. Bating egregious Anglicanism and egotism of Basil Hall, Mrs Trollop, George Thompson, Charles Dickens Boz, and the like, the book—it is in some respects very

instructive, and throughout extremely entertaining. The picture it presents of the condition of the Spanish population, every where, and in every respect is deplorable; a nation possessing one of the finest countries in Europe, and the seat of civilization above 2,000 years ago, now destitute of religion, of knowledge, of arts, of comforts, of a fixed administration of justice, and almost of every bond of social existence. Celts, Greeks, Romans, Moors, Goths, Jews, and Gipsies—have alike left upon its soil only their vices and their bones; and the dark and ferocious spirit of Popery covered the carcass of a nation morally defunct, with her pall. The world has yet seen no instance of a decayed state renovated, unless by the total slaughter of that part of its inhabitants in whose hands power resided. If Mr. Borrow has given us even a tolerably fair account of the state of the Spanish and Portuguese people, it seems evident that those nations must be farther and more fearfully convulsed, or sink still deeper into misery; unless indeed God, in infinite pity, should marvelously interpose, and raise up from their bosom a score of Luthers to shake the land. Think of a people professing, for centuries, the name of Christ, the bulk of whom do not even know that there is a revelation from God! Think of a Priesthood, who, after an absolute rule of many centuries, have reduced a whole nation—once Christian and free—to such a condition as this! This is the glorious estate which the pope and the tyrants of the old world are contriving for us. Let men regard the aspect of Spain and Portugal, and then they can understand what our condition will be, if Rome succeeds in her machinations against us.—We hope the publishers of this book will, in their next edition, print "Tract No. 90" and the Pope's Encyclical Letter of 1832—in an appendix: let us have the doctrine and the fruits in a single view.—We had almost forgotten to say, that Mr. Borrow resided in the Peninsula four or five years, as the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and succeeded in printing and distributing, chiefly in the villages of Spain, about 5,000 copies of the New Testament in Spanish, and an edition of the Gospel of Luke, in the Spanish Gipsy tongue. His book contains an outline of his adventures, which are certainly very interesting, and often remarkable, while accomplishing this important work; the chief difficulties of which were

created by papal ecclesiastics—the same sort of gentlemen who now burn Bibles in the United States. It is extremely striking to observe, on every occasion of danger and difficulty, how the author was upheld and borne forward by the unshaken confidence, that the British Government was both able and resolved to see him righted; and how this same conviction possessed the hearts of his enemies and withheld them from pushing matters to extremities. We must say, this is a noble trait in that proud and grasping people; a glorious use of its vast power. Would to God, we Americans had somewhat more of this lofty nationality, both in our people and amongst our men bearing office, of all parties.

Address of the Board of Managers of the American Protestant Association, &c. 1843, pp. 42. He must be a very inattentive observer of the religious movements of the world, who does not perceive, that throughout Christendom all things seem to be shaping themselves for another, and perhaps final conflict, of religious ideas. In those vast regions once covered by the influence of the Latin church, or now peopled by nations whose ancestors were subject to her, this remarkable phenomenon is every where manifest—that Popery is increasing in Protestant countries, and Protestantism in Papal countries; thus equalizing and generalising the force and the field of conflict.—In this country, the duties of Protestants may be divided, well enough, into three great classes: 1, to prevent the perversion of our own people; 2, to enlighten and convert papists; 3, to win the great, inert, ignorant, careless mass. The family, the school, the pulpit, the popular assembly, and the press; these are our fields of operation. Every movement that tends to awaken and to enlighten the public mind is important, and every one that conduces to draw the true friends of God and man nigher together in this conflict—is worthy of commendation. It will, however, if we mistake not, eventually turn out, that in this, as in all other cases, the real work must be done by real and permanent organizations, which are inherent in the nature of man or expressly ordained of God. With us, the practical operation of all our civil institutions is essentially and wholly irrespective of God and religion; the press is unchristian; the school is, to a deplorable extent, without

God; and the great popular mass is openly and professedly irreligious. Although Popery is as really the enemy of liberty and of knowledge, as it is of true godliness—not a secular press, not a statesman, not a patriot—can stand forth to rebuke and to expose it. The *Christian* must do all—or none else will do any thing. It is a glorious proof of the transcendent grandeur of the Christian's mission. And it is proof only of sad ignorance or inattention, to pass by and even deny all the great labours of good men for years past in the American churches, and talk as if all eyes had been closed, and all hearts unmoved, in regard to this mighty subject, until, as it were, yesterday: and, to conceal or obscure the immense and blessed fruits of these labours; fruits manifested even in the awaking of many who would seem ready to signalise their own tardy awakening, as the real era of a struggle, in which giants have already fallen. As long ago as 1831, this matter was agitated in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church; in 1835, that venerable court, by a great majority, called upon her ministers and people to buckle on their armour and go forth to this conflict.—Before the earliest of these dates, men in all parts of our country, and in several of the most important religious denominations, had laboured long and boldly; and every year since, one man after another, one press after another, one branch of Christ's church after another, one association of Protestants after another—has been added to the rapidly increasing host. The Association at Philadelphia, is the *result* of these labours, which long years have witnessed; it is in no sense, and no degree, the originator of the movement; nor will it be able ever to put itself at the head of one, except by doing exactly what it seems to disparage, in the past. We welcome, gladly welcome, this association, as a fellow-labourer; and would have done so with joy, many years ago. And we easily concede that it is natural for us all to consider discoveries just made by us, to be absolutely new, even though they have been known since the flood. But if the best soldiers in this Association will only do in years to come, what Brownlee, in the East, and Rice, in the West, and fifty others in as many places, and the late John Breckinridge, every where, did for years together, years ago, while the bulk of these excellent brethren

were utterly indifferent to the whole subject and profoundly ignorant of it; we will ask, as we need hope, no more. We greatly rejoice to see the ministers in Philadelphia, as a body, at length aroused; a few of them have been long and nobly at work. But, judging from their Address, they are greatly in error as to what has been already done—and greatly deceived are they, if they suppose, that common men or common labours will do as much more in years to come. In one respect they are right; they do not overrate our danger or our duty. And we feel sure that when they bear about them the scars and the fruits of ten or even five years of toil and study, and battle with Rome, if they are then required to issue another address, whatever else they may change, they will not diminish one jot of their testimony against her, as the enemy alike of God and of the human race. So that, bearing this testimony to our old teachers and companions—we cordially salute these new cohorts, and say, there is the field of action—go, and do more, and better than those who have preceded you: we have read your proclamation—now let us see your deeds.

History of the Church of Scotland, &c. By Hetherington of Torphichen. Edinburgh, MDCCCXLII. 8vo. pp. 809. We are indebted to a valued friend for a copy of this very interesting work; and intend, if the Lord will permit, to notice it somewhat at large, when we can command space and leisure. It is a popular history of the Church of Scotland from the introduction of Christianity into that kingdom, to the meeting of the commission of the General Assembly in August 1841. The latter portion of the work, to wit, from the secession of 1752, is much the fullest, and at the present moment, by far the most interesting part of it. Those in our own church who place *tradition* (or the *practice* of the church) on a footing with the express letter of written constitutions, and nearly with the commands of God, will, we apprehend, find reason to reconsider their opinions, if they will carefully peruse any history of the Kirk of Scotland. For then they will find that now, for nearly three centuries, this great branch of the church of Christ, has been for much the larger portion of the time, obliged to submit to the control of practices and principles, against which nearly all its own devoted

sons, have uniformly contended; and that the periods of success have been comparatively few and distant, vouchsafed by God to these holy and upright men. They will find, at successive periods, the best portions of the church forced out, by corrupt proceedings, and even now the one-half of its ministers, and they the best, on the eve of being expelled,—it is true, by a perfidious government—but yet by reason of the unfaithfulness of the church itself and the remaining ministers.—We have been much struck at observing how a question, which is now agitated amongst ourselves, (the position and rights of Ruling Elders) entered into the very essence of some of the sorest trials of the Church of Scotland, and how its erroneous decision ate out the vitals of that church. In the year 1757, this matter was largely agitated in the Scottish Assembly, and carried all their own way by the Moderates; on which occasion, *Dr. Witherspoon* laid on the table of the Assembly a Dissent, in which he pointed out evils which, says Hetherington, “have been completely realised, as the sufferings of the Church, even yet too clearly prove.” This little piece of history, remarkably explains and elucidates the changes made in the constitution of our own church, in 1788, in regard to the rights and duties of Ruling Elders; changes made under the influence of *Dr. Witherspoon* himself, who was one of the Committee and Assembly that formed our present church constitution; and which, one and all, carried back the doctrine and enactments of our constitution to the Second Book of Discipline of the Church of Scotland, and to the days and labours of Andrew Melville. We believe we may say with confidence, that from the earliest period of the church of Christ to the present hour, the corruption of its doctrine has gone hand in hand with the perversion of its discipline; and that one of the earliest and most dangerous marks of impending trouble, is a spirit of ecclesiasticism on the part of the clergy; a spirit, which first places them above their co-Presbyters, and then above the Church itself; and at last makes the rank they so adore, the essence of religion itself, and subjection to it, the only means of grace. Upon what principle, is one ruler in the Church allowed to assume rank and power above another, that will not more than justify the principle of Prelatical Episcopacy? Or what argument has the Bishop, by which to

oust the Presbyter, that the Pope may not use to cast out the Prelate? It is essentially one principle all through; the fatal principle of ecclesiasticism. God forbid that we should be supposed capable of charging our beloved and excellent brethren, who differ from us, with Popery, with Prelacy, or even with the moderation which so long cursed and corrupted the Church of Scotland. But we earnestly assert our deep conviction, that the essential principle of all these is the same, so far as ecclesiasticism is concerned; and we are utterly unable to divine, upon what ground or notion, except ecclesiasticism in its ultimate analysis, *Rulers* in the church of Christ, shall be ousted by other *Rulers*, from rights, duties and prerogatives, which as *Rulers*, equally appertain to all, seeing there are jointly invested, by Christ, with the functions of spiritual government,—unto which, indeed, the minister attains not because he is a preacher, but because he is a ruler. And perhaps it is not too much to say, that Popery, Prelacy and Moderatism, are all impossible, except by first corrupting or ousting those with whom God has placed so large a share of the discipline and government of his Church—the Ruling Elders. Let us ponder these things.

The Perpetuity of the Earth, &c.
By John Lillie. Moffet, New York, 1842, pp. 240. 24mo. Much the larger portion of this volume is taken up with notes on the Millenarian controversy; and the most of these are devoted to the “Manual of Sacred Interpretation,” by Prof. Alex. McClelland of the Reformed Dutch Church—of which Mr. Lillie also is a minister. And, such notes! Alas! for the Professor and his Manual.—The discourse itself, of Mr. Lillie, to which these killing notes are appended, seems to us, not to be correctly described by its title. It is upon Rom. viii. 19–23, and proves, from Scripture, very clearly as we think, the renovation of the earth,—but not its perpetuity, in that renovated state. We think it ought not to be questioned by any candid and humble student of the Scriptures, that a new heaven and new earth will surely be prepared of God, in which the Millennial kingdom,—the glorious kingdom of the God-man, will be triumphantly established: but it does not appear by any means clear to us, that the Millennial kingdom will be eternal

upon the renovated earth,—nor that the earth itself will remain perpetually: indeed, the Scriptures, as we suppose, teach the opposite, in both respects. Millenarians, we believe, generally embrace the doctrine of the discourse, on the latter point; but, we think, without sufficient warrant. It seems to us, that the duration of the Millennial kingdom is expressly limited; that it will be finally delivered up, with all its members, to the Father; and our Lord reign over us, at last, in the final and eternal state, as simply, God; in which sense, we think it is, that the kingdom of God is an eternal kingdom. If so, the *argument* for the *perpetuity* of the earth is at an end; and the *authority* appears to us—against, rather than for it—in the intimations of Scripture. It is proper, however, to say, that our view of this matter is not the common one.—We have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Lillie, personally; but along with very many in the like circumstances, we have been much interested in him, on account of what, we regret to be obliged to consider the very unkind, unfair, and extraordinary conduct of the Presbytery of New York towards him, on a recent occasion. It is known to the public, that he applied for admission into that body, upon a certificate from a classis of the Reformed Dutch Church, and that after being examined, he was rejected—and then the Presbytery refused, by vote, to say that its rejection was for the reason,—which, in debate, was conceded to be the reason, and which every body knew was the reason—to wit, that he was a Millenarian.—We say, 1, that if there were other grounds, it was due to propriety, to fair dealing, and to the rights of the minority, as well as of Mr. Lillie himself, to state them; 2, that if there was no other reason, this should have been stated; 3, that if this was even, a reason, it was, when properly moved, unjust and unfair to refuse to admit it. Presbyterianism, whatever else it may be, is an honest system—a fair dealing system; and whatever else it may hold, it certainly repudiates all indirection, and every approach towards official unfairness. The Presbytery of New York has no right,—moral or ecclesiastical,—to ruin a respectable minister of Christ by *inendo*: it has no right to condemn doctrines, without stating what those doctrines are, and assuming the proper responsibility of such a procedure: it has

no right to act in such a manner as to accomplish an end, and yet evade just accountability, both to public sentiment and to the higher church courts: it has no right to perform important and decisive acts, and then give such an aspect to them, as to render them incapable of proper revision. Whatever may be the heresies of Mr. Lillie,—it is not the custom of the Presbyterian church, to scalp and tomahawk men, in the dark, and throw their dead bodies into a sink-hole.

↳ *The Princeton Review and the Office of Ruling Elder.* The April No. of the "*Biblical Repertory & Princeton Review*," contains an article, which, with a few back-handed licks at this periodical, is a sort of general reply to the pieces published lately in the "*Presbyterian*," under the signature of "*Presbyter*," and seems to have had as its chief design, to define the position of "*Princeton*," in regard to the Rights of Ruling Elders. We never saw the articles of "*Presbyter*" until we read them in print; and have no particular relation to the question between the author of them and the gentlemen at Princeton, except so far as the general question at issue may be involved; nor, while we approve highly the general spirit of those articles, and agree fully in the great conclusion which they sought to establish, do we feel that the general result is at all concerned in the cogency of particular arguments, or the soundness of any collateral principles advocated in them. So much we may say, if it were merely that our fathers and brethren at Princeton may not too hastily conclude, that they may, as victors, put up their weapons, because they have, to their own satisfaction, turned the flank of certain arguments, or cast suspicion on particular opinions, or evaded particular difficulties, in a specified paper which, if it was not as conclusive and powerful as they think it might have been, had this excuse, at least, that it put forth force enough to exterminate ten thousand such attacks as that which elicited it. We are right glad to hear Princeton speak out: and though sorry for the matter and the manner, and surprised at the logic, the history, and the theology of the article, we are pleased to have to deal with able and responsible men in the discussion of this matter; and shall not fail to pay our respects, in due season, to these new and imposing opponents, of what we believe

to be, the Rights of Ruling Elders. Being somewhat accustomed to observe men and parties, we have not been inattentive to various signs in several parts of the Church, which led us to expect what "*Princeton*" would do, when the time arrived; although, if put to it, we feel confident of our ability to confute, out of the writings of "*Princeton*," every important proposition in their present article; and, what is more, to prove conclusively, that on the very point at issue, one of the ablest and most learned of their number, once held precisely the opinion which their present article condemns, and for which we contend, to wit: *that Ruling Elders, when sitting in presbytery, may lay on hands with the Preaching Elders there in the ordination of Ministers.* This is the specific thing for which we contend; and not that a church session, as commonly constituted may consistently with our Constitution, ordain ministers; nor that Ruling Elders in presbytery may do it, alone, or to the exclusion of Pastors. No such thing is said, though attributed to us, for the want, we hope, of due attention to the subject. But we assert "that the power of government in a presbytery, is not a power of order but of jurisdiction; and they govern not as presbyteri but as presbyterium;" which Gillespie proved and the Westminster Assembly held,—as a book compiled, it is said, by one of the fathers at Princeton, for our Board of Publication, shows, if nothing else did. But we will not now go into the question, further than to say, that the principles attributed to us by "*Princeton*," and those avowed there, alike excite our astonishment. If we comprehend the Review, it expressly gives up the *jus divinum* of presbytery; and this, to our view, is not only giving up Presbyterianism as a thing binding or obligatory at all—but is giving up all scriptural ground of any argument upon the present or any other point of Church government or discipline; and is certainly a stroke at the root of our whole doctrine of Church order, which might well enough have been expected from an Erastian, a Prelatist, or a New Schoolman,—but surely not from "*Princeton*!" What! has it come to this, that our leading Theological Seminary openly concedes and teaches, that God has not revealed in his Word, a form of Church

government, in such a manner, that we can come satisfactorily to the knowledge of what offices and tribunals he has created for his Church, and what the rights and duties are, which belong to them respectively? We confess our deep sorrow and amazement, at such an avowal, in such a quarter. Compared with this proposition—the other is utterly insignificant; and, so indeed, the Review concedes. For it says, in terms—that it is not the act of laying on hands by elders, it so much objects to, as the arguments used to vindicate that act, and especially—if we rightly understand—the notion of *jus divinum*.—United with such avowals is an attempt to prove that we who would magnify the office of Ruling Elder, and even place it, and its duties, on this immovable platform of *divine right*, are indeed the enemies of the office itself, and are labouring for its destruction!!! Amongst the other eminent and admirable gifts of the conductors of this excellent periodical at "*Princeton*,"—its keen wit is often and most agreeably displayed. But we had no idea that these respected and accomplished gentlemen were such extreme jesters. We like excellently well, a refined wit; but this surpasses!—That we should be blamed for holding that the office of Ruling Elder is by divine right, and at the same time also for holding that there is no such office; that by any logical necessity the former principle must conduct the latter; this is a jest, which we enjoy the more, as we could never have imagined it. We are aware of the great and deserved influence of "*Princeton*;" we feel sensibly what a weight is thrown into the scale against us, by this movement there. But we remember, and we exhort the friends of this good cause not to forget, that before now we have, by God's grace, succeeded in things against which the whole power of "*Princeton*" was arrayed; that before now "*Princeton*" has fought hard against movements for the reform of the Church, which, nevertheless God owned and blessed.—We may be allowed to say, in closing these general observations, that our attention has been arrested by the extreme reserve of the Reviewer, in speaking of the papers of "*Calvin*,"—the name of which, along with those of "*Presbyter*" is placed at the head of his article.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

JUNE, 1843.

No. 6.

A DISCOURSE AGAINST MILLERISM AND MILLENARIANISM, BY THE
REV'D W. BAIRD, OF ST. MARY'S, GEORGIA.

3 **PETRA** i. 19.—We have also a more sure word of prophecy: whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star, arise in your hearts.

IN our onward march, we see nothing before us. The future is all dark. The first thing, generally, that we know of events is their actual occurrence. And yet there is implanted in us an inextinguishable desire to know the future. Our solicitude about the future becomes at times exceedingly great, absorbing every other concern. It is not strange then that misguided men, wholly ignorant of the oracles of God, should resort to heathen oracles, and the various other pretended sources of divination; and that those who have the Scriptures, should eagerly pry into them, and strive, if possible to find out what phases the future will exhibit. And, thanks be to God, he has not left us to the fruitless conjectures, and fearful bodings of our own unassisted minds. In his great goodness, he has condescended to make not only a revelation of his will in regard to our duty, and the way of life thro' his Son; but he has thrown much light ahead, relieving us from our native darkness. The principal tops of things, the great landmarks of the future he has distinctly pointed out; and in regard to many events, whose foreshewing was intended either for special instruction to the great masses; or for comfort, or warning, or terror to those who were subjects of the prediction, he has descended into all the minutiae of historic relation. This, I say, he has often done. But if in other instances, clouds and darkness have been round about the portentous truths, which seem at random thrown forth, or are under bold and singular figures presented; if only their fulfilment makes them known, what has vain man to object? If God's *judgments* are a great deep, why may not his prophetic declarations be the same? God has in this respect, as in every other, a perfect right to do as seemeth to him good. We are distinctly taught "that whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we thro' patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope." But in all things written, and that intended, we find that God's manner of conveying instruction is exceedingly various. And it by no means follows that every thing intended for our instruction must be fully understood by us in order that it have its intended effect. It is more important to be good than wise. Were all prophecy so framed as only to make us wise, it might leave us less Christian in character than it found us. Whatsoever things were written aforetime

were written for our learning—but the best part of learning sometimes is, to learn our own weakness, our nothingness, and entire dependence upon God. But how are we better taught these things, than by letting us see the utter futility of all our attempts to bring to light truths which he has seen fit to conceal? Gratitude for the clear and plain instruction given—how is it better excited than by bringing out, side by side with those truths, others too profound for any creature to unravel? A child-like meekness and submission, is set down as one of the chief features of Christian character; but how is this better produced, than by the words of our gracious Redeemer, when he says, “It is not for you to know the times, and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power.” Then are we truly wise when we have learned to take our proper place beneath the foot of the great Jehovah’s throne: and there in the humble and cheerful performance of our own revealed duty, acknowledge that “secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children.” The meaning of some prophecies goes beforehand; others it follows after. Each has its use. One great design of prophecy seems to be not so much to give us a knowledge of the future, as to convince us that God possesses that knowledge: and then, after the prophecy has been fulfilled, afford, through its elucidation in history, the more profound displays of his greatness and glory: as well as his faithfulness in the fulfilment of what he had promised. “Time,” says Collyer, “has ever been the great interpreter of prophecy; and the wisdom of God has appeared in this; predictions have been couched in terms sufficiently obscure to check the presumption of curiosity; yet sufficiently luminous to afford the most satisfactory evidence, when once the transactions they referred to have taken place, that every circumstance was foreordained, foreseen, and foretold. He that will be the precursor of time in the regions of prophecy, must travel surrounded by a perpetual mist, through which indeed a variety of objects are visible, but none of them distinctly seen; but he who is satisfied to follow closely the footsteps of this infallible guide, will have the pleasure of seeing the cloud gradually rolling away as he advances, and a world of order and harmony emerging from confusion and obscurity.” There are some however, indeed always have been some, who cannot take this tedious, patient course. Time is too slow in his movements for them. They prefer rather to be in the cloud, and the darkness of the future, than to be behind this lagging interpreter. The darker, also, the cloud, the better for them; thus they hope the more easily, and certainly, to astonish the world by the corruscations of their brilliant genius. These have in all ages been the troublers of weak minds, and the bringers of ridicule and reproach upon the Scriptures of truth. “We have found it; we have found it,” is their exulting cry. The multitudes believe, crowd around, admire, and almost adore these wonderful elucidators of mystery. At one time they announce the immediate dissolution of nature, and hold the world in dread expectancy of the awful Judge. Time flows on as before; the falsity of their declarations is discovered; and then they roll the reproach upon their Maker—chide the delay of his chariot wheels, and mutter about the “slackness of his promise.” Religion hence receives a deep wound—scoffers are emboldened in

their wickedness, and sneeringly, ask, "Where is the promise of his coming?" Such men love much to answer for.—But it is precisely in this way that Miller, the great agitator, and alarmist of the present day has proceeded. Where men renowned for talents and learning had trodden with timid step, and expressed themselves with caution, he, though of most limited advantages, has presumed to pronounce with an air of imposing confidence. He has solved the gordian knot; difficulties which no other men could master, have given way before his wonderful genius and efforts; and now, we are alarmed at the immediate approach of events, by all others supposed to be many centuries distant. I perhaps should beg forgiveness for noticing the folly of this vain and silly pretender. Owing however to the credence elsewhere given to his published "views;" and yet the certainty I feel that those views must prove erroneous, I do it to vindicate the infallible truths of God from the abuse to which they might otherwise be exposed.

Mr. Miller, you are aware, derives his "views" chiefly from the prophecies of Daniel. Those respecting "the time of the end," are from statements made in the 12th, chapter of that book. But the prophecies of Daniel, and those which correspond to them in the book of Revelation, have ever been considered the most difficult of all the prophetic writings. Great difficulties in the way of clearly understanding them, you will at once perceive must arise from the following facts. 1st, Because, for wise and holy purposes, it has seemed good to the Holy Ghost, to set them forth under most significant, doubtless, but certainly most singular and mysterious emblems. 2nd, They cover an immense space of time; and a vast many important events. 3d. There is obviously a certain order in those events, and a relation between them; so that the whole must be viewed in their connection; in a word, the *end* must be understood, before any fixed certainty can be had of the several parts. 4th. There are certain measured spaces of time designated between some of those events. An error therefore in regard to the settling of any one preceding event, must create a corresponding error in regard to all the succeeding. Even a cursory glance therefore, at Daniel's prophecies, is sufficient to convince us of precisely what was declared at the time they were delivered, namely that "the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end." In a word, that these are some of those grand and glorious truths, above mentioned, which tho' thrown forth before the whole race of creatures, are yet purposely concealed; and through which God, in terrible majesty teaches the nations that he is God; that he holds the destinies of all in his hand—lets them out according to his own pleasure, and none may say unto him, "What doest thou?" Saying nothing then of various emblems, under which, in this book, the several great coming events are set forth, not stopping to consider whether *any* of them have been correctly understood, and the events settled; I purpose to shew that there is great uncertainty in the minds of the most learned men in regard to the main point in question, namely, what is meant by "the taking away of the daily sacrifice," and "the setting up of the abomination that maketh desolate?" This, you will remember, is the great startling point from which all the calculations respecting the succeeding events are made.

Mr. Miller, assumes this to be the daily *Pagan sacrifice* in the Roman kingdom, which he maintains was taken away, or discontinued, in the year of our Lord 508. And "the abomination that maketh desolate," he sets down as the "*papal power*." But, according to him, these two events, the taking away of the daily sacrifice, and the setting up of the abomination that maketh desolate, did not take place as has generally been supposed, at the same point of time. Pagan Rome is allowed a space of thirty years, decently to die, after her daily sacrifice is taken away, before the papal power, or papal Rome, is set up. This latter event, he maintains, occurred in the year of our Lord 538. But still, the year A. D. 508 is made the great starting point. And to this number 508, he adds the two different measured spaces mentioned in the latter part of the book of Daniel, to find the time of the end, 1st, of the papal power; and 2d, of the world. You will recollect that it is declared, "From the time that 'the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up,' their shall be 1290 days" that is, *years*, according to prophetic reckoning.

Now A. D. 508 being the time fixed on as the taking away of the daily sacrifice; add to this 1290, and it makes A. D. 1798 when he says papal power was broken. But it is also added, Daniel, xii. 12, "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." And this number 1335 days, that is years, being added to the above-mentioned number, 508 makes A. D. 1843, the period when, according to Miller, the great event, *the second coming of the Son of man shall take place!*

But even in regard to this main starting point, there is, as above-said, great diversity of opinion. In proof of this fact, I refer you to the words of Bishop Newton, whose authority is probably second to that of no other man. "The setting up," says he, "of the abomination that maketh desolate, appears to be a general phrase, and comprehensive of various events. It is applied by the writer of the first book of Macabees to the profanation of the temple by Antiochus and his setting up the image of Jupiter Olympus upon the altar of God. It is applied by our Saviour to the destruction of the city and temple by the Romans, under the conduct of Titus, in the reign of Vespasian. It may for the same reason be applied to the Roman Emperor Adrian's building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the same place where the temple of God had stood; and the misery of the Jews, and the desolation of Judea that followed. It may with equal justice be applied to the Mahometans invading and desolating Christendom, and converting the churches into mosques; and this latter event seemeth to have been particularly intended." Thus Bishop Newton, he giving the preference, you perceive, to a different period from that fixed on by Miller. But these several periods, from first to last, include a space of some 600, or 800 years. You readily then, perceive that just as the commentator assumes the one, or the other of these periods as the true one, (which, at last, is all conjecture,) so will the result of his computation be. From one of them, the end of the world should come 600 or 800 years sooner than from the other. Supposing then the fact admitted that the end of the world will come, at the precise *DISTANCE* Miller has mentioned, from the taking away of the daily sacrifice, still the fact

of its coming this year (1843) will depend altogether upon the fact of his having fixed upon the true event, and the true time meant in the prediction, which we have seen is very questionable. But we by no means assent to his assertion that the end of the world is the event foretold, and intended to take place at the close of the 1335 days. It is true that before the narration respecting the wonderful events treated of closes, words are used, which, whatever else they may first respect, seem *ultimately* to respect *the general resurrection*; and consequently, the end of the world. But the question put to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, was, "how long shall it be to the end of these *wonders*?" It may then include what is meant by those who sleep in the dust awaking, &c; or it may be limited to the events included under the emblems before exhibited. So far as the *wording* of it is concerned, it may, I say, be understood either way. But if we notice the declarations made in reply, respecting the number of days, it is evidently that *they do not include the whole space up to the end of the world*. The former cannot do it for the latter period, the 1335 days would not then be fulfilled till after the end of the world. And suppose with Miller that the latter period extends over the whole remaining space of time, and that the awful event by which he is now holding the nations in terror be the event intended as the conclusion of that period, then how could it be said, "*blessed*" "is he that waiteth and cometh to the 1335 days?" Yet, "*blessed*" is the word which is used in regard to him, every one, without distinction, who cometh up to the period which this wonderful interpreter has told us will bring suddenly upon us the end of the world and the destruction of the wicked! This then we must consider of itself conclusive, that whatever else may be meant as then to come about, it cannot be the end of the world. Be it then the fact that the period Miller has fixed upon for the taking away of the daily sacrifice be the true one, and consequently that the 1335 days will close this year, (1843) still *the end is not yet*. There is something yet before the end, which is looked forward to as a blessed and desirable thing, in relation to which it is said, "*blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the 1335 days*." This is the conclusion to which we must come, and that from the very same passages from which he has raised his cry of alarm, proclaiming that here the end will come. Bishop Newton's opinion too, accords with what I have stated. After fixing upon the conversion of the Christian churches into mosques, as the most probable event spoken of as the abomination that maketh desolate, he adds, "If this interpretation be true, the religion of Mohammed will prevail in the east, the space of 1260 years; and then a great, and glorious *revolution* will follow; perhaps the restoration of the Jews; perhaps the destruction of Antichrist; but *another still greater and more glorious will follow*; and what can this so probably be as the full conversion of the gentiles to the church of Christ, and the beginning of the millenium, or reign of the saints upon earth?" This is his opinion. And I would ask whether it is not more likely that this be true. In view of such an event as this last mentioned, then about to be ushered in, well might it be said, *blessed* is he that waiteth, or

remaineth till that time.* Dr. Henry also in his Commentary upon this same passage, after speaking of the 1290 days as denoting the reign of Antichrist, adds, that whosoever shall live "to the 1335 days, will see *glorious times indeed.*" These are the views certainly which, from this portion of scripture, most naturally arise. Still I would not rest the case altogether here. In the language of the text, I would say, "We have a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts." And to that word, a word which will conclusively settle this question, your attention will now be directed. I say a *more sure word*, not more sure as to its accomplishment, for, in that respect, both are perfectly certain, holy men of God having, in each case, spoken as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; but to us more certain *as to its true import*, the one being spoken in plain language, the other being conveyed under dark enigmatical emblems. I refer to the *yet unfulfilled prophecies which respect both the gentiles, and the Jewish*

* *Note by the author of the sermon.* It will be understood that the author differs altogether from Miller in regard to the literal resurrection of the saints, and the destruction of the world by fire previous to the millenium—as well as the literal coming of Christ in his bodily presence to dwell with the saints on earth. By the millenium, is meant, as will be seen from what follows, a long period when all the causes of moral evil now operating shall be effectually checked, and Christ shall reign by his authoritative word, and in the plenitude of his grace, in the hearts of all mankind; and that, in the world as it now is, and under the present dispensation of grace. There was much greater reason to suppose that Christ would come bodily to the earth at the destruction of Jerusalem, than that he will come to reign bodily with the saints during the millenium. But he did not then come. He also said before the gospel dispensation commenced, "It is expedient that I go away." And we must suppose that for the same reasons it would be inexpedient that he should return till that dispensation closes. But that will not be till the end of the world. Besides it is expressly said, "whom the heavens must receive until the times of the restitution of all things." But this certainly will not be till the graves and the sea shall give up the dead that is in them.

Note by the editor of this periodical. It is our glory to confide in the power of truth, and to respect human nature so far as to be convinced it is capable of discerning and loving it: therefore we publish a free journal. The excellent author of this sermon represents a large class who agree with him very nearly in most of the opinions here expressed by him. As to *Mr. Miller* and his system, we have several times expressed our general views—and not having had leisure to examine the matter further, must stand by our opinions already expressed. But as to the doctrine of Christ's second coming, we have for our part, no more doubt in regard to it, than we have in regard to his first coming: and, we had supposed that it was just as indubitable an article of Christian faith, that Christ will again come visibly and personally, as that he ever did so come. Whether this second advent will be *pre* or *post*-millennial, is really the only difficult question, or rather the only debatable question, as to it. That when he does come, he will bring with him all his saints departed, and change all those alive, take signal vengeance on his obstinate enemies, destroy the beast, the false prophet, the man of sin, and all the works of the devil—may, in general, be asserted as unquestioned articles of Christian faith. Upon the question of the *pre* or *post* millennial advent of Christ, we do not at all the question of a second, personal advent—which cannot be seriously questioned for a moment, and which we should be most careful not to obscure by doubtful phraseology. For ourselves, we cordially embrace the doctrine of the *pre* millennial advent, and suppose ourselves in this, not only to receive the doctrine of Christ in simple verity, but to be of the same mind with the great bulk of the redeemed in all past ages, and the common and ancient faith of the church of Christ.

nation. And in regard to these I would first remark that they are a part of an extended system of prophecies which have for ages been promulged, and have been going on to receive their accomplishment. Through an extensive portion of the series they have already been most strikingly, and to the very letter, fulfilled. But the exact fulfilment of prophecy, embracing a series of events, and long before promulged, proves it to be from God, who only knows the future, who from the beginning lays his plans, and irresistibly brings about his own purposes. The prophecies also, of which we are about to treat, are all parts of the same system, with those which have been fulfilled. And they are not *behind* in the series, have not been *left* while others before them have been fulfilled. No; they are yet in the advance; and are the consummation of what was aimed at in the fulfilment of those that went before. The fulfilment then of the former, proves the whole system to be from God; and gives us the highest guaranty for the fulfilment of those which remain. Passing by, then, the several promises made to Abraham, and the numerous predictions respecting his posterity up to the time of their passing through the desert up to the promised land, all which, that do not still respect the future, it must be admitted, have been fulfilled, not one having failed; passing these by, I would direct your attention to the following denunciations of God against his chosen people if they broke his covenant, and kept not his commands. (Lev. xxvi. 33,) "I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste." This denunciatory prediction, one of the first of the kind we met with, is supposed to have been uttered 1490 years before the coming of Christ, now (1843) 3333 years ago. In Deut. iv. 27, we find this prediction:—"And the Lord shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen whither the Lord shall lead you." Also in Amos ix: 8, 9, it is written, "Behold the eyes of the Lord are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth; saving that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the Lord. For I will command, and lo, I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, yet shall not the least grain of it fall upon the earth." Our Saviour also in Luke xxi; 24, declares, "And they shall fall by the sword, and they shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the gentiles, until the time of the gentiles be fulfilled." These are a few of the many predictions which relate to the same end. They are found also scattered through the book of God, covering a space of more than 1500 years. They must then, as aforesaid, all belong to the same system, all have had the same one thing mainly in view. And yet I would ask whether they have not all to the very letter, been fulfilled? The ancient cities of Israel, do they not lie waste? Jerusalem, is it not trodden down of the gentiles? God's own once chosen people, have they not been rejected, just according to his threatening? The descendents of Abraham, preserving yet their unadulterated lineage, have they not been driven out from their own land, strangers devouring it in their presence—and have they not been dispersed among all nations, through the whole earth, just as if they had been "*sifted in a sieve*?" Never was there

a more literal and emphatic fulfilment of any predictions. And that once favoured people, the Lord's own inheritance, but now "without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without a teraphim," as Hosea (iii. 4.) had foretold, they are at this very day, and throughout the whole world, a standing confirmation of the truth and faithfulness of God, in all that he had said he would do. The collateral branch also of these prophecies should not be overlooked. I mean those that respect *the calling of the gentiles*; and the substitution of them as the people of God, instead of the Jews; as the New Testament has it, the grafting of the wild olive upon the ancient stock, instead of the broken off natural branches. These prophecies, I need not tell you have also been fulfilled. For what are we, what are all Christian churches this day, but so many living monuments of this truth? But these fulfilled prophecies respecting both the gentiles and the Jews, have each their counter parts yet unfulfilled in the future. Israel, we have seen, is dispersed; Jerusalem is trodden down of the gentiles; the churches now existing, with the merest exceptions, are of the gentiles; and by far the larger part of the world lieth in wickedness, "without God, and without hope." But it will not always be thus. God hath not forgotten his covenant, "hath not cast away his people whom he foreknew." Israel will yet be gathered—gathered, it may be, into their own land; but certainly into the church of God, their ancient inheritance; and "the fulness of the gentiles shall come in." Of both these facts, I might cite abundant proofs. Take the following from Deut. xxx. 3. 5. "Then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee," &c.—Also from Isa. xi. 12. "And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth."—Also Ezekiel xi. 17. "Therefore say, thus saith the Lord God, I will even gather you from the people and assemble you out of the countries, where ye have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel."—Also from Hosea iii. 5. "Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord, and his goodness in the latter days." And that these declarations did not respect merely the return of the Jews from Babylon, and other temporary captivities; but had special reference to their *present dispersed condition*, is manifest from declarations made by our Saviour and his apostles *since* their return from those former captivities, and *immediately before* their present dispersion. When Christ said, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the gentiles, till the times of the gentiles be fulfilled," did he not imply that there would come a time when it should not be thus trodden down?—but should be again occupied by the Jews? The apostle Paul also speaking of Israel as *then* broken off from the church, and rejected, yet declares, "God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew." He speaks also of their being "grafted in again." "Blindness in part," says he, "is happened to Israel until the fulness of the gentiles be come in." And then he adds, "And so all Israel shall be saved;" as it is writ-

ten, "There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and he shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob." (Rom. xi. 26.) The fulness of the gentiles coming in—that is, all nations coming into the church of God, and becoming his people—this, as well as the regathering of the Jews, you perceive, is then a thing *certainly to come about*. The fulfilment of this also is to be literal and exact. In Psalm ii. 8. it is declared in a direct address to the Son of God, "I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." It is also written, that "they shall not teach every man his neighbour,—saying, know the Lord, for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest." (Heb. viii. 11. It is also declared that "the whole earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." (Isa. x. 9.) Here then, you perceive, are many prophecies yet unfulfilled, respecting both the gentiles and the Jews—and yet fulfilled they must be—and that to the very letter—and to the fullest extent. For, as abovesaid, they are the remaining parts of that great system of prophecies—all the *past parts* of which stand before us fully accomplished. You will notice also that they respect *this world in its present state*; and the church of God as it now exists. From the whole tenor of the Scriptures, it would seem that nothing could be plainer than this. It was into the Christian church that the gentiles were engrafted; and that, as it was established by our Lord and his apostles. And it is into the *same Church* that the fulness of the gentiles is to come; and that, *under its present dispensation of grace*—for we are abundantly taught, it is through the preaching of the gospel to every creature, and the outpouring of the spirit, that this is to be effected. We are also taught that the Jews shall be graffed in again *into the same stock* from which they were broken off; that is, into the church of God during its dispensation of grace upon earth—the very same into which, after the natural branches were broken off, the wild—that is, gentile branches—were engrafted.—But all this cannot, in the ordinary course of things, take place for many years yet to come! Here then I maintain, that we have demonstrative proof—yea, the very truth of God who cannot lie, *that the end is not yet*. No; *the end is not yet*. The old man who has been alarming the world with his "Midnight Cry," is mistaken in his calculations. All that he has said is not worth a straw, and should be passed by, and disregarded as the idle wind. He makes his "*calculations*," forsooth, from uncertain periods, and from his own interpretation of figures wrapt up in mystery, and "shut up till the time of the end"—and from these, attempts to set aside a thousand truths of God, clearly made known, and in the plainest terms expressed. Presumption and wickedness this—where shall we find its parallel! Let him then in his folly, and his madness cry: "lo, here!" or, "lo, there!" Go ye not after him—neither be partakers of his deeds!

From what has been already said, I trust it has been clearly shewn, that unless the system of God's revealed truth be broken in the midst, and a large and important part of it be changed into a lie, the end of the world cannot immediately come. And it may be easily shewn, that unless the Christian world at large has been greatly deceived—unless indeed a large portion of God's promises, made,

it would seem, expressly to comfort his Church in her tribulations, be calculated to mislead; the end cannot yet come for many centuries—perhaps for many thousands of years. For not only is it clearly revealed, that God's ancient people, the Jews, shall be brought in, with "the fulness of the gentiles;" but *after* that there is to be a reign of righteousness—a time of peace and prosperity to the Church, such as has never yet been known upon the earth. And, *after that* again, there is to be a short reign of wickedness. A very few only of the many prophecies which respect these things, can we now consider. Notice, however, the following.—In Daniel vii. 22, it is said: "And the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." Also the 27th verse. "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom; and all dominions shall serve and obey him." Now this is not only plain language, and unquestionably respects a state of things in this world; but it is perfectly accordant with many other portions of the Scriptures which refer to the same thing. "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." Now what is this, says Edwards, but to say that, "as there is no place in the vast ocean where there is no water, so there shall be no part of the world of mankind where there is not the knowledge of the Lord; as there is no part of the wide bed, or cavity possessed by the sea, but what is covered with water; so there shall be no part of the habitable world, that shall not be covered by the light of the gospel, and possessed by the true religion." But such being the state of things—all being saints—and they of course having the whole state of things through the whole world under their control—how could it be otherwise than as above cited—that the saints should possess the kingdom, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven? To this accords also the reign of *peace*, spoken of by the prophets. In Isa. ii. 2-4. it is said, "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it—and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks; neither shall they learn war any more."—It is said also in Isa. xi. 9. "They shall not hurt, nor destroy in all my holy mountain." And in Isa. lx. 17-18. it is declared, "I will make thine officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls salvation and thy gates praise." Such is to be the state of things *after* the filling of the whole earth with the knowledge of the Lord. Neither shall this blessed state of things pass away like the clouds of the morning—it shall not simply come about, and be recognised as existing, and then in a moment vanish away; or the world come to an end upon it. No; it is to remain; be enjoyed—and as a living monument of God's grace, tell to his glory. The prophecies speak of Jerusalem not only as the joy of the whole earth, when this period arrives; but *as the joy of many generations*. Isa. lx. 15. "Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through thee. I will make thee an

eternal excellency—a joy of many generations.” It is also said (Isa. lxx. 22) “For as the days of a *tree* are the days of my people—and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands.” Thus the earlier prophets. Turn also to the Book of Revelation, and there you find that *before* the resurrection, and the final judgment; consequently in this world, and this life—the same state of things is described as existing. There too we find a definite length assigned for that period. Satan is bound *a thousand years*, and cast into the bottomless pit, and shut up, and a seal is set upon him—(and what terms could express effectual subduing and utter seclusion from the earth, more strongly than these?) that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled. Then also it is that the saints have the dominion under the whole heaven—they reign with Christ *a thousand years*. And though this definite number 1000 is mentioned—and we cannot suppose it will be less than this—yet like many other definite periods, it may be employed indefinitely—meaning simply *a very long time*. But this shutting up of Satan, and this reigning of Christ with his saints in the plenitude of his grace—how exactly does it accord with the state of things described by the ancient prophets! Then how reasonable that nation should not lift up sword against nation—neither learn war any more—then how natural that officers should be peace, and exactors righteousness—and that there should be nothing to hurt or to harm in all God’s holy mountain! Thus most conclusively is it proved, both from the Old, and the New Testament, that after the filling of the whole earth with the knowledge of the Lord, there is to be a long reign of righteousness and peace. But after that again there is to be a short reign of wickedness. For when the thousand years are fulfilled, Satan must be loosed a little season. “And he shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them to battle, the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.” (Rev. xx. 8.) Thus I trust it has been shewn from the clearly expressed declarations of God’s Word—and these taken in their most obvious meaning—not only that the end is not yet—but that it cannot be for many centuries to come.—And by these plain truths I trust you will abide. To this *more sure* word of prophecy ye do well that ye take heed—at least till much more historic light be thrown upon the shut up visions. Leave blind guides to their own way. Allow not yourselves to grope after them. By the clearly revealed truths abide, “till the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts.”

In all your attempts also to pry into the difficult parts of the prophetic writings—and these attempts need not be many, nor often repeated, for they will generally prove abortive—and certainly will but little advance your spiritual interests—you will remember that the prophecies are a grand and glorious system of truths, which must be viewed in *their connection*. All must harmonize. You are neither to separate what God has joined, nor make one part contradict, or set aside another. You will look rather into what has been fulfilled than form vague opinions, or raise puzzling questions respecting those things which the mists of distant time, or rather the hand of the Almighty has concealed. Our place is to serve God faithfully,

according to what he has revealed. And who will say that he has not shewn us all our duty?—Neither will you allow the follies and mistakes of others to diminish, in the slightest degree, either your reverence for God's Word, or your confidence in his faithfulness. "Hath he said, and shall he not do it?" Look at what he has done, and can you doubt the rest? His divine truth—even if not yet understood—let it still reign in your hearts, in all its serene majesty and unsullied glory. What you know not now you shall know hereafter.

"God is his own interpreter,
And he will make it plain."

In the closing language then, of the heavenly revealer of these visions, I would say to each, "Go thy way, Daniel." Go, as before, about all your duties. Dismiss your apprehensions of the immediate dissolution of nature—it will not overtake you! but "thou shalt rest!"—rest as the numerous generations before you all have done—rest in the embrace of common death—rest in the grave—"and stand in thy lot at the end of the days." *Your own departure* then, and not that of the heavens, you will make your great concern. That event, you need no prophet to tell you, must be near—and it may come suddenly—at any moment! O! to be found then at peace with God! Nothing else is worthy of comparison with this. But you must stand in *your own lot*—yes, your own lot, whatsoever you make it here. In view then of the end, and of the recompense of reward—the everlasting life; or the shame and everlasting contempt—to the one or the other of which you must awake—live and act—waiting till your Lord shall come—come, not in his bodily presence, to reign on earth; but come by his messenger death, to release you from the body, and take you home to his kingdom.

CONTROVERSY WITH THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAINS OF THE "ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE."—NO. VIII. OF THE PROTESTANTS.

—THE APOCRYPHA; REPLY TO THE ARGUMENTS OF THE PRIESTS.

WHETHER the gentlemen who have undertaken to reply to our article on the Apocrypha "understand rightly the technicalities of logic" or not, we, of course, cannot confidently determine; but it is abundantly plain from the whole tenor and drift of their communications that they understand nothing of the *thing* itself. In proof of this position, we appeal not only to their imperfect conceptions and inadequate statements of the arguments of others, but to the peculiar character of their own reasonings. If it were not that imbecility of mind is one of those terrible misfortunes which should always command our pity, we might treat with becoming ridicule and contempt the awkward efforts of these gentlemen to deal with things too high for their capacities. But, in compassion to their weakness, we shall content ourselves with pointing out to others and deploring for their own sakes the lamentable discrepancy between the conclusions to which

their premises legitimately lead, and those which they themselves profess to have deduced from them.

In regard to the Apocryphal books, the point in dispute between us and the Romanists is whether or not they were inspired of God. Papists undertake to prove—nay these gentlemen declare that *they have proved* that this is the case;—that is, they profess to have established by positive testimony the fact of inspiration. What then are the arguments which support this conclusion? Why, 1, they are found in the old Italic version, therefore they must have been given by inspiration of God.—Admirable logic! All the world knows, or ought to know, that the old Italic version was made, not from the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint, and of course contained the very books which the Septuagint original from which it was made contained. At what time the Apocryphal writings became incorporated in the same volume with the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, it is difficult to determine; but it is certain, from the testimony of Josephus, Philo and the Talmud, that neither the Jews of Palestine nor those of Egypt ever received any books as *inspired* but those which Protestants now receive, and which were found in Hebrew. Then if these books found their way into the copies of the Septuagint without being received as inspired, there is no difficulty in accounting for their appearance in the old Italic version, without supposing them to have proceeded from God. Who believes that because these books are found in the authorized English translation of the Bible, therefore, the church of England receives them as inspired?—The major proposition of the Papal argument is, that whatever books were found in the Italic version were inspired: which is a mere gratuitous assumption, which they have not proved, cannot prove, and is so manifestly ridiculous that its very statement is enough to overthrow it.—The truth is, the adoption of the Apocryphal books into general use, for ecclesiastical purposes, at an early period of the Christian church,—just as the church of England now permits some of them to be read in the congregations of the people—sufficiently explains their introduction into the ancient versions of the Scriptures. They were regarded—at least some of them—as edifying and instructive; they were read as interesting moral and historical discourses, and for devotional purposes were bound up with the inspired writings, just as now a good Episcopalian encloses his Prayer Book and Psalter, or a good Seceder his Bible and metrical version of the Psalms in the same volume. But as the Episcopalian never dreams that his Prayer book is inspired, nor the Seceder that Rouse's rhymes proceeded from God, so the early Christians would have shuddered at the thought that the Apocryphal books belonged to the same category with the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Psalms.

2. The old Syriac version is also appealed to, as showing that these books are inspired. Now, the only Syriac version which can have any weight in this controversy is what is called the *Peschito*: and it is to this, we suppose, that the gentlemen allude. If so, their reference is peculiarly unfortunate. That version was made directly from the Hebrew, and, of course, contained no books which were not found in the Hebrew original: and, with all their ignorance, these gentlemen will hardly pretend to assert that the Hebrew copies of the Old Testament contain the Apocrypha. We presume that they have been misled

by the Syriac version found in Walton's Polyglott, not being aware that the Apocrypha was added from other sources.

3. Much stress has been laid upon the 47th Canon of the Council of Carthage, and upon the testimony of Augustin himself, who was a member of that Council, as also of the Council of Hippo, which passed a similar decree in favor of the *canonical authority* of those books. It is very evident that by *canonical* the Council of Carthage did not mean *inspired*. Those who will take the trouble to consult the *The-saurus Ecclesiasticus* of Suicer, on the word *canon*, will find it abundantly proved by quotations from the ancient Fathers, that not until comparatively recent times has its signification been *exclusively* confined to a collection of *inspired writings*. It anciently denoted, sometimes a book or catalogue generally—a collection of things which belonged to the Church—a book that was used in the church,—and it was even applied to a collection of hymns to be sung on festivals, and to the catalogue of the members of the church. It was particularly employed to designate the catalogue of books that might be used in the public assemblies of Christians for instruction and edification. That this was the sense in which it was employed by the Council of Carthage, when it speaks of Apocryphal writings as *canonical*, is evident from the fact that the canon was *conditional*,—the Church beyond the sea was to be consulted for its confirmation “De confirmando isto canone Trans-marina Ecclesia consulatur,” is the language of an ancient note upon it. The Council of Carthage then received these books as canonical, provided the trans-marine churches would consent. Surely it could not mean that these books are *inspired*, provided the trans-marine churches will agree that they are so. The evidence of their inspiration was either complete to the Council, or it was not. If it was complete, they would have said absolutely and unconditionally that these books are a part of the word of God. If the evidence was not complete, that is, not satisfactory, as a conditional canon shows that it must have been, the testimony of the Council is against the Apocrypha.

If it had been a certain and notorious fact that these books were given by inspiration of God, it was the duty of the Council, as a faithful witness for the truth, to have declared it. There was no need of consulting the church beyond the sea in regard to a plain matter-of-fact which was unquestioned and notorious. But if we suppose that canon had reference to the books *which might be profitably read* in the public assemblies of Christians, then it was natural and proper to consult other churches, for the purpose of securing uniformity in the public worship of God.

Again: the very phraseology of the canon shows that it was intended to determine not what books were *inspired*, but what books might be publicly *read*. “Item placuit,” is the form of expression, “ut præter Scripturas canonicas, nihil in ecclesia *legatur* sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum.”—The books that were read in the churches were called *divine*, as in the decree before us, not because they were all *inspired*, but because they were used for divine or godly purposes—for edification and improvement. The following passage from the *Treatise of Junilius De Partibus Divinae Legis*, will clearly show that the words *divine* and *inspired* were not synonymous. “Quomodo divinatorum

librorum auctoritas consideratur? Quia quidam perfectae auctoritatis sunt—quidam mediae—quidam nullius.” It is impossible that any Christian man, who had the least reverence for the authority of God, could say of what He had revealed by His Spirit, that it possessed no authority at all. And yet, *Junilius*, a Christian Bishop in the sixth century, asserts this of books which, in his day, were received as *divine* and canonical. The conclusion is unavoidable that in such connections these words mean something very different from *inspired*—The application, therefore, of these terms by the Council of Carthage to the Apocryphal writings, determines nothing as to their *inspired* authority—it only determines that they might be profitably read.

The testimony of Augustin, however, who was a member of the Council, puts the matter beyond all doubt. He speaks of these books as *canonical*, and yet virtually *denies* their *inspiration*. In his *Retractions* he acknowledges his error in quoting the book of *Ecclesiasticus* as *prophetic*, that is, inspired, when it was not certain that it was written by a prophet. Lib. 1. c. 20.

Speaking of the Books of *Maccabees*, he says: “Et hanc Scripturam quæ appellatur Macchabæorum, non habent Judæi sicut Legem et Prophetas et Psalmos quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet. Sed recepta est ab Ecclesia non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur et audiatur, maxime propter illos Macchabæos qui pro Dei lege sicut veri martyres a persecutoribus tam indigna atque horrenda perpesi sunt.”* Here Augustin evidently justifies the reception of the books of Maccabees into the canon, *chiefly* on account of the moral tendency of the history. It is plain that he could not have regarded them as inspired, since their inspiration would have been the strongest of all possible reasons for receiving them. He receives them only because they might be profitably read and heard, showing that by *canonical* he meant what might be read for edification and improvement. Again, the fact which Augustin mentions,† that these books were read from a lower desk than those which were confessedly inspired, and by the inferior ecclesiastical officers, shows that although they were regarded as canonical, they were not regarded as coming from God. It is evident that all truly inspired writings—Trent itself being witness—must be received with equal veneration and piety. And hence the only Council which ever dared to assert the inspiration of the Apocrypha, did not hesitate to place them on an equal footing with Moses and the Prophets. That the ancient Church did have canon for public reading, distinct from the catalogue of the inspired writings, will also appear from the following testimony of *Jerom*,—and, with Romanists, *Jerom's* testimony should be decisive, since they are compelled to believe that he was inspired or abandon the authenticity of the Vulgate. “Sicut ergo *Judith* et *Tobie* et *Macchabæorum* libros legit quidem ecclesia sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recepit, sic et hæc duo volumina (*Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom*) legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.”‡ To this may be added the testimony of *Athanasius* to the same purport: *ως οτι εστι και ιτερα βιβλια τουτων ξωθιου, &c.*||

* Cont. Gaudent. Donat. Lib. 1, c. 81.

† De Prædest. Sanct. Lib. 1, c. 14.

‡ Præf. in Lib. Salom.

|| Paschal Epistle.

As then the word *canonical* is confessedly ambiguous, as a meaning may be put upon it justified by ancient usage and a particular practice of the early church, which saves the Council of Carthage and Augustin himself from egregious folly and disgraceful trifling,—it certainly devolves upon those who adduce these witnesses as sustaining the decision of the Council of Trent, to prove unanswerably that canonical and inspired are uniformly used synonymously by the ancient fathers, or their whole argument falls to the ground.

It is one thing to assert that these books are canonical, in the sense that they may be profitably read in the public service of the Church—it is quite another to affirm that their authors wrote as “they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” That they were canonical in the Western churches in the days of Augustin, in the former sense, we are not at all disposed to deny; that they ever were canonical, in the latter, we boldly and unhesitatingly pronounce to be false. The Papist does not make out his argument when he quotes the decrees of councils and the writings of individual fathers, applying the epithets canonical and divine to these books, unless he shows at the same time, that these words, notoriously equivocal in themselves, are used in such passages as synonymous with *inspired*. The issue between us and Rome is on the point of *inspiration*. She affirms that God is the author of these books, and we deny it. The question is not whether the Western Churches read them or not—whether the early fathers quoted them or not—or whether they regarded them as instructive or not—the question is, was God their author? And, while this is the issue, the Romanist only exposes himself and his cause to contempt, by elaborate proofs of what no Protestant would deem it of any importance to dispute with him.

4. The reception of these books by the Greek Church, has been pleaded as an argument for their divine authority, but how it bears upon the point in dispute we are at a loss to determine. The Greek Church, in this matter, is in precisely the same predicament with the Church of Rome.—She receives them upon the same grounds that Rome does: that is, through ignorance of the whole subject. The introduction of these books into the public worship of the Church, to be read for edification and improvement, laid the foundation for an undue reverence for their authority, and prepared the way for their being eventually received as the sacred oracles of God. The distinction was gradually lost sight of between the ecclesiastical canon and the canon of inspiration—between the books which might be read and the books which were inspired: and as they were bound up together in the same collection, we are not to be surprised that, in process of time, the designing should teach, and the ignorant should believe, that all the books in the collection possessed equal authority. After the schism which separated the Greek and Roman Church, the Greeks retained the Scriptures to which they had been accustomed, in the form to which they had been accustomed; and, like their brethren of Rome, were too careless or too ignorant to make the necessary distinction. The testimony of the Greek and Roman Churches, then, is only *one* testimony, unless the Greek Church has *grounds* for receiving the Apocrypha which the Romish has not. If the Greek Church receive them upon good grounds, it is well; if not, her testimony is good for

nothing. Let us have the reasons, and not the naked testimony itself. So shallow and flimsy are the pretexes of the Romanists for their blasphemous additions to the word of God.*

The reply of the learned gentlemen to our *positive considerations*, which they will have to be *negative*, deserves a passing notice, as affording a striking illustration of their utter incapacity to comprehend an argument. So accustomed, themselves, in defence of their vain and idolatrous inventions, their gross and flagrant usurpation in the church of God, to string together as premises and conclusions, propositions but slightly, if at all, connected, they seem to forget that Protestants' minds are not of the same mould: and have indirectly attributed to us a weakness which belongs only to themselves. It could not, surely, have been from design that they have mis-stated our arguments;—we would not willingly charge them with such a fraud. How then could it have happened, but through defect of understanding? Our readers, perhaps, will be as much amazed as ourselves at the statement of our argument which those logical gentlemen have given. According to them, our No. v. attempts to show that the Apocryphal books are not inspired—1, “because they were not contained in the Jewish canon, and our Saviour did not instruct the Jews to insert them in their canon; 2, because some of the early Fathers do not mention these books as a part of the written word of God; and, 3, because these books exhibit no internal evidence of their inspiration.” Now, our readers will remember that our arguments were, 1, that Jesus Christ *sanctioned* the conduct of the Jews in *rejecting* the Apocrypha; 2, that the early Fathers and Councils unanimously testify—so far as they have borne any testimony upon the subject at all—that these books *were not inspired*; and, consequently, were not to be received *with equal piety and veneration* with the word of God; 3, that these books, at least some of them, to all intents and purposes, *disclaim* being *inspired*.

In replying to what they conceive to be our first argument, they amuse themselves and their readers by telling us that the Jews really regarded the Apocrypha with profound respect and veneration. And Maimonides is brought in to testify that “they were ranked by the Jews in the *second class of inspired writings*.”

What can be meant by the *second class of inspired writings* we are unable to divine. According to Trent, all inspired writings possess *equal authority*, and are to be received with *equal piety and veneration*. If then Maimonides testifies that the authority of the Apocrypha was not equal with that of the Hebrew Scriptures, he testifies of course, that they did not proceed from God in the *same way*. In other words, he testifies that in a strict and proper sense—in the sense of Trent itself, they were not *inspired at all*. If their being treated by the Jews with respect and veneration, is a proof of inspiration, then Plato, Aristotle, and all the heathen sages should, upon the same sort of evidence, be placed upon a level with Moses, David and Isaiah. To respect a book is one thing—to believe its inspiration is another, and he only

*This case is argued as if the allegation of the Priests about the Greek Church were true; whereas we believe it to be false, and could prove it so, if it were of any importance to the present argument.

exposes himself and his cause to contempt who supposes that he has proved the latter when he has only asserted the former.

We showed conclusively in our No. v. that the Jews *rejected* the Apocrypha from their canon of inspired writings—that our Saviour sanctioned their conduct by approving their canon and thus virtually condemned the Apocrypha by his own authority; and to the clear and indubitable testimony which we adduced in support of these positions we are now gravely told that the Jews after all *really* respected the Apocrypha and thought very highly of them—*therefore* they *must have been inspired*. One is conscious of mental degradation in stooping to notice such miserable stuff, and nothing but regard for the sacred interests of truth could reconcile us to coming into collision with men whose minds are evidently not framed to discern the distinction between declamation and argument, rhodomontade and proof.

Their reply to our second argument is already sufficiently answered in another part of this article. We may notice here, however, their anxiety to evade the true question and introduce another. They would be glad, no doubt, to draw us off into a discussion concerning the grounds on which we receive the Hebrew Scriptures; but we shall confine them to the single point of the *inspiration* of the Apocrypha. That *point* they must *prove* or abandon their cause. It adds nothing to the proof of that point, neither does it bear upon the strength of our argument to remind us of doubts which have existed at different times upon the minds of particular individuals in regard to the Divine authority of any of the books which protestants receive as inspired.

Their pretended reply to our third argument is evasive and disingenuous in the highest degree. We proved that some of these books to all intents and purposes disclaimed being inspired, and that others contained statements which were utterly inconsistent with the supposition that they came from God. They contain in other words, flat contradiction and palpable lies. Now those are not *difficulties* to be reconciled with their Divine authority—they are sheer impossibilities. A book that comes from God *cannot profess* to be merely human, and *cannot* contain falsehood, contradiction and lies. It is utterly and absolutely impossible; and none could harbor the supposition but those whose consciences have been seared by long familiarity with blasphemy, and whose understandings have been given over to strong delusions in order that they might believe a lie. Now these plain and palpable impossibilities are met by telling us that there are *difficulties* in the writings confessedly inspired. We grant that there are *difficulties*—but we deny *that there are lies*, and we deny that *any of them* come to us only in the *name of man*.

THE FUNERAL OF THE MASS.

CHAPTER VIII. *Containing answers to the Objections of the Romish Doctors.*

1. In the two first chapters, we have answered the two principal objections of the Romish doctors, drawn from these words, *this is my body, &c.*, and from these, *he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, &c.* Now, we must answer the rest.

2. OBJECTION I.—The first objection is this. When the establishing of articles of faith, the institution of sacraments, and the making testaments and covenants, are in agitation, men speak plainly and properly, and not obscurely or figuratively; but, in the celebration of the Eucharist, Jesus Christ established an article of faith, instituted the sacrament of the Eucharist, and spake of a Testament and a Covenant; for it is said of the cup, that it is the New Testament and the New Covenant in the blood of Christ; yea, he spake then to his disciples, to whom he spake in plain and proper terms, and not in obscure terms, or in figures or parables, as he did to the people.

3. ANSWER.—To this objection, I answer, First, That it is false that articles of faith are always expressed in proper terms in holy Scripture, as when it is said in the creed that *Jesus Christ sitteth on the right hand of God*, it is evident that this is a figure and a metaphor, for God being a Spirit, hath neither right hand nor left; and all interpreters expound this sitting on God's right hand metaphorically, viz. for that lordship both of heaven and earth, which he hath received from God his Father, as earthly princes make their lieutenants, whom they appoint to govern in their name, to sit on the right side of them. Again, when it is said, St. Matt. xvi. 18, 19. *Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven, &c.* It is manifest that these are figures and metaphors, as Bellarmin confesseth in Book i. of the bishop of Rome, chap. x. and yet it is chiefly by this passage that they endeavor to prove the Pope's authority.

4. Secondly, I answer, That the holy Scripture commonly speaks of sacraments in figurative terms; thus circumcision is called God's covenant, Gen. xvii. 10, in these words, *This is my covenant, every male shall be circumcised*, that is, this is the sign of the covenant, as appears by the following verse:—*Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the covenant between me and you.* So the Paschal Lamb is called the Lord's Passover, Exod. xii. 11, because the blood of this lamb sprinkled on the door-posts, was given as a sign of the angel's favorable passing over the houses of the Israelites; as appears by verse 13 of the same chapter. So baptism is called the washing of regeneration, because it is the sacrament of it. In a word, the Eucharistical cup is called the New Testament, because it is the sign, seal, and sacrament of it.

5. Thirdly, I answer, That, in holy Scripture, testaments are not always expressed in proper terms without a figure; for the testament of Jacob, Gen. xlix., and that of Moses, Deut. xxxiii., are nothing

else but a chain of metaphors and other figures. And civilians will have it, that, in testaments we should not regard the proper signification of the words, but the intention of the testator. To this I add, that Jesus Christ did not then make the New Testament and the New Covenant, but only instituted the seal and sacrament of them: for the covenant was made with all mankind in the person of Adam after the fall, when God promised him that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. This was afterward renewed with Abraham, when God promised him, that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed, viz. in Christ, the blessed seed, who hath destroyed the kingdom of Satan. After this, it was confirmed by the blood of Christ shed on the cross;—then it was published through all the world, when the apostles had received the Holy Ghost. And, lastly, Baptism and the Eucharist are the signs, seals, and sacraments of it.

6. Fourthly, I answer, that if by these words, *To speak clearly or plainly*, be understood to speak intelligibly, so that the apostles might and ought to understand what he said to them, then it is certain that Jesus Christ did speak clearly: for, to speak sacramentally, and according to the style used in all sacraments, was to speak clearly and not obscurely: but if by these words, *to speak clearly*, be understood to speak without a figure, then it is false that he always spake clearly to his disciples, witness the calling of his disciples, to whom he said, St. Matt. iv. 19, *follow me, and I will make you fishers of men: and when he saith elsewhere, ye are the salt of the earth, the light of the world, &c.* To this I add, The apostles did ask Jesus Christ the meaning of parables, and other things which they did not understand, and therefore certainly they had much more reason to ask the meaning of so many strange things as follow from the mass, from transubstantiation, and from the pretended presence of Christ's body in the Host, viz. how a human body can be in a point, and in divers places at once? How the head of Jesus Christ and his whole body could be in his mouth? How accidents can be without a subject, &c.

7. Lastly, Seeing Jesus Christ said, *drink ye all of this cup*, all priests, whether Jesuits, monks, or other Romish doctors, would of necessity be constrained, really, properly, and without a figure, to drink of the cup, whether melted or not, and really to swallow it, until they should confess that there are figures in the words of Jesus Christ in the celebration of the Eucharist.

8. OBJECTION II.—The second objection is this: The sacrament of the Eucharist is more excellent than that of the passover, because the sacrament of the passover is a type of the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the thing typified is always more excellent than the type: but if the sacrament of the Eucharist did not really contain the body and blood of Christ, but was only the sign of it, then it would follow that the sacrament of the Eucharist would not be more excellent than that of the passover: nay, the sacrament of the passover would be more excellent than that of the Eucharist; because a lamb and its blood is more excellent than bread and wine; and the death of a lamb, and the shedding of its blood, doth much better represent the death of Christ, and the shedding of his blood on the cross, than bread broken, and wine poured into a cup can do.

9. ANSWER.—To this, I answer first, that the thing typified by the paschal lamb, is Jesus Christ, and not the sacrament of the Eucharist; as St. Paul shews clearly, 1 Cor. v. 17, when he calls Jesus Christ our passover, in these words, *Christ our passover was crucified for us.* The truth is, a whole lamb without spot or blemish killed and burnt toward the evening, and its blood shed, doth very well represent Jesus Christ perfect, without sin, put to death, and his blood shed toward the end of the world, and in the fulness of time, but such a lamb represents nothing of that which is seen in the Eucharist. Besides the types and sacraments of the Old Testament were instituted that the faithful of those times might come to the knowledge of the things typified and signified, for the salvation of their souls: but the faithful under the Old Testament never came to the knowledge of the Eucharist by the paschal lamb, and though they had come to the knowledge of it, yet they had no benefit thereby. In a word, seeing the passover and the Eucharist are types, images, and signs of Jesus Christ, it is very impertinent to say, that the passover is the type of the Eucharist, because a type is not properly the type of another type, but only of the thing typified; as the image of Cæsar is not the image of another image of Cæsar, but only of Cæsar himself.

10. Secondly, I answer, that the excellence of one sacrament above another, must be drawn from its form and efficacy, and not from its matter, because it is form that chiefly gives being to things composed of matter and form. But the form of sacraments depends on the words of institution, because, being signs of divine institution, their form can only depend upon the will of God, who chooseth certain things to signify other things, and this will of God cannot be known but by revelation, which is the Word; so that it is properly said, that the Word joined with the element makes the sacrament: Therefore, although the sacrament of the passover be more excellent than the Eucharist in respect of its matter, because the paschal lamb and its blood, are more excellent than the bread and wine of the Eucharist; and that the lamb and its blood have a greater analogy with Jesus Christ and his blood shed on the cross, than the bread and wine of the Eucharist have; yet the sacrament of the Eucharist is much more excellent than that of the passover in respect of its form, which depends on the words of institution, because that at the institution of the sacrament of the passover, God spake not one word of the principal end for which he did institute it, viz. to be the type of Jesus Christ and his death. But at the institution of the sacrament of the Eucharist, Christ declared in express terms, that he did institute the eating of the bread broken, and the drinking of the wine, poured into the cup, to be commemorative signs of himself, and his death. The sacrament of the Eucharist is yet more excellent than that of the passover, in respect of its efficacy, which depends on two things, viz. on the form, which being more manifest in the Eucharist, doth also operate with more efficacy, and also because it represents a thing past, viz. the death of Christ. But the knowledge of things past is more clear and perfect than the knowledge of things to come; and we are more touched with the memory of things past, when some symbol brings them to our thoughts, than when we con-

sider things to come, through clouds and shadows. To this I add, that the bread and wine of the Eucharist have a greater analogy with Jesus Christ than the paschal lamb had, in one respect, viz. in regard of the spiritual nourishment which we receive by Christ's death: for as baptism is the sacrament of our spiritual birth, so the Eucharist is the sacrament of our spiritual nourishment. But this nourishment is much better represented by bread and wine, which are the ordinary nourishments of our bodies, than by a lamb.

Lastly, I answer, that it is far less inconvenient to give some prerogative to the passover above the Eucharist, (viz. to give it a more excellent matter and analogy) than to assert the corporal presence of Christ in the Host, by an unheard of transubstantiation, which destroys the nature of sacraments, gives our Lord a monstrous body, includes notorious absurdities and contradictions, and gives the lie to sense, reason, and holy Scripture; as hath been proved.

**"CONFLAGRATION AT PETERSBURG"—IN 1837. BEGINNING OF THE
END OF THAT FAMOUS ADVENTURE OF MR. CONVERSE, MR.
HUTCHINSON, AND MR. SHORE.**

IT is a matter of regret to us, to be obliged to refer once more to this business. But we judge that fidelity to truth and a proper respect for our own character require it.

In order that the reader, especially if he has not been a subscriber to the *Baltimore Literary & Religious Magazine*, may fully comprehend what we have now to say, and why we say it, we will recapitulate the case, as briefly as possible.

In that periodical, of which, it is known, we were one of the founders and proprietors, and during its whole existence, the senior editor, there appeared, some years ago, a series of articles, extending to four numbers, entitled "*the Bible Doctrine of Slavery*," and signed "*A Presbyterian*." The first No. was published in September, and the second in October 1837, and the third and fourth in January and February 1838. These articles, there can be no impropriety in saying, were written by the *Rev'd Samuel Steel*, formerly of Kentucky, now of Hillsborough, Ohio, an old and beloved friend of ours, and an able, worthy and pious gentleman. They did not express our views on several important branches of the subject of which they treated; and so we expressly stated in a note to the third No. which will be found in *vol. iv. p. 18* (January 1838) of the *Magazine*.

On the appearance of that very number, *Mr. Thomas Shore*, then postmaster at Petersburg, Va. wrote us an official note dated January 11, 1838, on behalf of the *Rev'd Mr. Hutchinson*, then pastor of the Presbyterian church in that place, of which *Mr. Shore* was a member, stopping the *Magazine*, on account of "the abolition feature, which (said they) stands out with so much prominence." This note, which was extremely insolent and unjust, and our comments on it may be found in *vol. iv. p. 108-111* (March 1838) of the *Magazine*. About the same time, a denunciation of us in Richmond, Va. appeared in the *Telegraph*, edited by *Mr. Converse*, by a couple of

booksellers named *Wyatt & Yale*, (the latter an old abolitionist); which was noticed in *vol. iv. p. 121* (April 1838); and one or more copies of our Magazine were publicly burned at Petersburg; our notice of which event, with strictures on the whole case, will be found in *vol. iv. p. 321-325* and *p. 433-37* (July and October 1838.)

At the period indicated, *Mr. Hutchinson* and *Mr. Converse* were Presbyterian ministers, and *Mr. Shore* was a Presbyterian deacon; and all three said they considered themselves orthodox. At present the first named is an Episcopalian in Missouri; the second is editing at Philadelphia a paper in the interest of the New School and Abolition Assembly—though we do not mean to say he is an abolitionist himself—since he denies it; and the third has long ago left our church. What we were then, and remain still, others can say. We therefore suppose time itself, and God's providence have very plainly shown, that what we then asserted was really true, to wit: that New Schoolism was at the bottom of this whole movement against us, and the object was to break down our Magazine and ourself for the benefit of that heresy; and *Mr. Hutchinson*, though not a New School man himself probably, was carried away, partly by his morbid jealousy, and partly by his want of moral courage to withstand a cry of abolition, which he knew was false.

We were perhaps not sufficiently cautious in relying on the statements of others at that time; and may possibly have trusted too implicitly in the readiness of honourable and responsible men to shoulder their statements, when it became necessary. So it was, we made a publication on what we then deemed and still deem ample authority, the truth of which both *Mr. Converse* and *Mr. Shore* peremptorily denied; and demanded that we should either retract it or give up our authors; a requisition which appeared to us reasonable, and we endeavoured to comply with one or the other alternative. Why we did neither, will be seen by consulting the Magazine for March 1839 (*vol. v. p. 136-8.*) The particular statement denied, was, in substance, that *Mr. Converse* had written a letter to *Mr. Shore*, which caused the burning of our Magazine in Petersburg. The denial was absolute; no such letter, it was declared by the former, was written; none such, it was asserted by the latter, was received. The dilemma in which we were placed was this; we were pretty sure the letter was both written and received, and so could not retract; but our authors refused to allow their names to be given up. We supposed much harm to a cause dearer to us than life, would arise if we gave them, under the circumstances of that particular period; and we felt an invincible repugnance to do it, if it were possible to avoid it, against their wishes.

So the matter stood till June 1842. On the 17th of that month, *Mr. Converse*, having taken offence at something reported in the *New York Observer* (not correctly, by the way) as being said by us in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church; published a very abusive article against us, in his own paper (*The Christian Observer*), from which we extract the sentences which follow, which are all that relate to the present matter.

Mr. Breckinridge, no doubt, remembers that some of his incendiary pamphlets were condemned and publicly burnt in the streets of Petersburg,

Va., by the civil authorities of the town, in 1838. Chagrined and mortified, (as far as he was susceptible of such emotions,) that his productions should be treated as a *public nuisance*, he asserted in strong terms that Mr. Converse had instigated or caused that conflagration. This slanderous charge we proved to be *false* and unfounded, in every respect, by the testimony of a gentleman of the highest respectability in Petersburg, who was personally acquainted with all the proceedings in the matter. His testimony, disproving Mr. B's. statement, was published, at the time, in the columns of our paper. Mr. Breckinridge, from that day to this, has brought no counter testimony to support his charge—nor has he apologized for the gross misstatement. But he has repeated his assaults in his magazine, and reiterated other charges as *veracious* and unfounded as that which we proved *false*. These charges, reiterated during the last three years, have been permitted to pass *unanswered*, for what they were worth. Nor should we notice the above had it appeared in his own print. We have abundant materials at hand to exhibit Mr. B. in his true character, in the enormities detailed by Mr. Wickliffe, of Ky.,—but we have no wish to expose him.

As to so much of this as relates to "*Mr. Wickliffe, of Ky.*"—we flatter ourselves, that the public mind is pretty well informed, by this time, what that person's statements are worth, and what estimate any individual who makes common cause with him, puts on his own character. We will not fight him through *Mr. Converse*.

Upon reading the article, we saw that the matter about the Petersburg letter would, at last, have to be set open before the public; as we supposed it should have been done four years before. In the mean time, some of our informants were dead; some out of our reach. The principal one still lived; and our correspondence with him also existed. We opened a correspondence with him on the subject, a second time. But he again refused to be given up.

Mean time there appeared in the "*Watchman of the South*," edited at Richmond, Va. by the *Rev'd Dr. Plumer*, an editorial statement under date August 18, 1842, which we print below; and which we suppose settles, with every candid person, that part of the case to which it relates, to wit: the fact that so far from being the fabricator of the statement published by us, we had abundant reason to believe the statement was true before we printed it; for our publication was in October 1838, and *Dr. Plumer* declares he had no doubt of the fact before May 1838, and told us of it in that month.

The point needful to be made out by us was that we had good and sufficient reason,—such as ought to satisfy a just and discreet man—that *Mr. Converse* really wrote and that *Mr. Shore* really received such a letter as they denied. If we had this evidence, we were justifiable in making the statement; we mean strictly right in making it, without any reference to the deep injury meditated against us personally and against the cause of Christ through us by these men, or to the rights of self-defence arising to us, by reason of their unprovoked and unjustifiable conduct. If we had good reason to say so, we had a right, nay were bound to say so, even if it should afterwards turn out, that we had been misinformed. No doubt our best justification would have been to give up the specific evidence on which we made the statement. We expected to do it; we thought it reasonable that *Mr. Converse* should demand it; we used our best endeavours to do

it: we disapprove the refusals which prevented our doing it five years ago; and again more recently; we would never have thought of shrinking from a responsibility of this kind ourselves. We say this without the least unkindness: all men are, alas! made of clay, but it is not tempered alike in all, and allowances must no doubt be made for human weakness and error. But we say it in justice to sentiments which we cherish, and in obedience to our sense of what is due to truth and to ourselves.—Well; the next best proof we could give, was the testimony of persons of known veracity—that we were really authorised, upon competent information received before the statements were made to believe that they were true. The testimony of *Dr. Plumer* settles that point. Whether *Mr. Converse* ever wrote the letter he denies having written or not; whether *Mr. Shore* ever received that letter, which he declares he never did, or not; it is now proved, that long before we published to the world the facts denied by them, we had ample reason to believe and did believe they were true; and therefore could not retract our publication, which only declared that belief.—Now why has *Mr. Converse* allowed this statement of *Dr. Plumer* to pass wholly unnoticed for the last ten months? Is not the proof conclusive that we did not originate the story? Then why does he not, like an honest man, notice and admit that public fact?

A STATEMENT.—Our readers are perhaps generally aware that some four years ago, a rude assault upon the feelings of many was committed in the town of Petersburg, Va. by the public burning of the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine. The moving agent, as was then and still is believed, in causing the burning, was the then acting postmaster of Petersburg. It was also often said that the postmaster at Petersburg was encouraged in this course by the editor of the New School paper then published in this city. That the said editor was much gratified at it, we suppose no one doubted from the manner in which we understood he announced it to his readers. We say “we understood,” for we were not in the habit of reading his paper, and cannot now say whether we ever saw his announcement of the matter or not. We moreover frequently heard it stated that the said editor had written to the said postmaster a letter recommending or suggesting the course adopted by the postmaster, and that the letter had been seen by a gentleman in Petersburg. We heard this in a way that at the time left, as we supposed, no room for doubt. It was stated by several persons, and we believed it. We know that *Dr. Breckinridge* was advised of this state of things. Indeed, on our way to the General Assembly, we ourselves informed him of what we had heard, and of what we believed. Subsequently, *Dr. Breckinridge*, in defending himself, alluded to the matter. We were soon informed that the writing or reception of such letter was denied, and soon after learned that circumstances of peculiar delicacy, involving the friendships of some Old and New School families, none of whom resided in this city, and also that the connection with the matter of some who ought not to be brought before the public, were such, that their and our friends desired that the matter might rest where it was, upon the denial of the Editor and Postmaster. *Dr. Breckinridge* was requested to leave the matter where it was, and, appealing to the providence of God for his innocence as to any originating of the matter, publicly declared his intention to do as requested. But of late we are told (for we have not seen any such thing) the matter has been publicly alluded to by others, and an attempt made to use it to *Dr. Breckinridge's* disadvantage. Under the circumstances, we feel it proper

to make the above statement, and to say that Dr. Breckinridge did not allude to the matter until some time after it was frequently spoken of and extensively believed in Virginia. We also add, that we very much regret that any one should have made it proper for us to allude to the subject, as any feelings of unkindness awakened years ago, we had hoped, were dying away, and as the circumstances of delicacy in the case are rather increased than diminished by time.—*Watchman of the South*, Aug. 18, 1842.

So far our defence rests on a ground which does not involve the absolute truth of the statement to which we gave publicity, so much as the credibleness of our information concerning it. But we have always believed that *Mr. Converse* did write, and that *Mr. Shore* did receive such a letter as that already spoken of. And we submit to the reader the following statement of facts as at least conducing to show, that it is very far from certain, that our belief is not well founded; simply observing again that the expression of this belief, and not the positive assertion of the fact as within our personal knowledge, is the whole extent of our commitment in the premises. *Mr. Shore* attempted to do us and the cause of our master a most serious injury, at a most critical juncture: we were informed and we believed and said we believed that *Mr. Converse* instigated him: both of them denied it; we have already proved we were so informed; now we will state a part of the grounds upon which we still incline to the belief that the facts probably were, as we were informed they were.

1. We were distinctly informed, at the time, by several persons of the utmost respectability, that the facts were beyond question; and that they could and would be proved when it became necessary. Though, for special reasons, these individuals, subsequently declined when required by us, to stand forward and prove the facts; yet they have never expressed the least doubt that their original statements were true. Now while we never considered the reasons for holding back, justifiable, yet we never questioned the exact veracity of the gentlemen in question. So that, upon this point, the question remains just where it did, to wit, on the denial of *Messrs. Converse* and *Shore* and the assertion of persons in whom we have more confidence than in them. Of course, as the matter lies in the personal knowledge of the two former individuals, their statement would be conclusive, under ordinary circumstances. But when it is considered that being parties directly and deeply interested in the issue, they become, in law, incompetent as witnesses, and their denial only a general plea of not guilty, which amounts to no more than a requisition for affirmative proof; that being detected in an unworthy act they have every motive to colour it, and thus their credibility in the particular thing as well as their competency might be considered as affected; that the very sin of New Schoolism, as constantly manifested, being a habit of "paltering in a double sense," their denial may, when the whole case is finally developed, turn out to be no more and to be intended for no more than an evasive special plea: when these, and such things, are considered, we are obliged to say, that the balance of probabilities appears to us to be in favour of the truth of our original information, and of the existence of such a letter as that denied by these persons.

2. The testimony in the published statement of *Dr. Plumer*, is conclusive as to several important points, which have a decided, though it be an indirect influence on the question now under consideration. It was "*then and still is believed*" that "*the moving agent in causing the burning, was the then acting Postmaster at Petersburg.*" That was *Mr. Shore*. "It was also often said that the Postmaster at Petersburg was encouraged in this course by the editor of the *New School paper then published in this city*," (Richmond.) This was *Mr. Converse*. "We moreover frequently heard it stated that the said Editor had written to the said Postmaster a letter recommending or suggesting the course adopted by the Postmaster, and that the letter had been seen by a gentleman in Petersburg." This is precisely what we always supposed was the fact: and our offence was the repetition of this statement, often repeated, in Virginia at the time,—and then and still believed and repeated there, by gentlemen and Christians above suspicion: "the very head and front of our offending, hath this extent,—no more."—"We heard this in a way that at the time left, as we supposed, *no room for doubt.*"—Now if the nature of the transaction be considered: if the kind of knowledge which could be obtained of the secret operations declared to exist, be weighed: if the character, position and subsequent conduct of the parties be estimated: if the objects to be attained be reflected on: if the way in which the thing transpired, be pondered: if the contemporaneous conduct of the *New School press and people*, especially in Virginia, be taken into the account: if the general conviction of good and wise men, on the spot at the time, be thought of any consequence: really, it does seem to us, that a very violent presumption exists that the denied letter was written and was received, and that *Mr. Converse* and *Mr. Shore* must do something more than put in a special plea, before candid men will be satisfied they were not guilty of that of which we expressed the belief they were guilty.

3. We have proved that "*a gentleman in Petersburg*," was understood and believed to have seen the letter. We will now offer direct testimony that "*a gentleman in Petersburg*," did actually see a letter or letters written by *Mr. Converse* to *Mr. Shore*, in the hands of the latter at the time charged; the specific object of which letter or letters was to interest the latter in a concerted effort to put us down, at the time and for the reasons stated, and by a movement intended to operate on the ignorance, the prejudices and the passions of men. *Mr. Converse*, knowing perfectly that we were not an abolitionist, set himself privately to work to break us down, as an abolitionist, by means of a sworn officer of the general government; and personal attacks in the political press, and the burning of our periodical at Petersburg followed: the attacks of "*Wyatt & Yale*"—of "*E. Mitchell*,"—of *Mr. Converse* himself, chimed in: *Mr. Elipha White* and *Mr. Dana* fell upon us at the South; and in general the whole *New School* body reiterated the false cry against us, which even now "*Mr. Wickliffe, of Ky.*" is quoting all these worthies to prove, and *Mr. Converse* in return, is ready to quote "*Mr. Wickliffe, of Ky.*" to establish. And yet, after all, there is nothing in the whole affair! All is smoke! They who can, may believe.

The late Dr. McPheeters to Mr. Breckinridge.

Raleigh, N. Carolina, July 15th, 1838.

Rev. and Dear Sir—I have always regarded the "Conflagration at Petersburg" as a little, silly, new-school affair, concocted and executed chiefly, if not solely, with the view of serving a party purpose.

My oldest son, James G. McPheeters, is a resident of Petersburg, and was in town at the time when the ridiculous farce was acted. He and his partner in business, Andrew S. Holderby, a ruling elder of the church, are both decidedly *old school* in their views and feelings; and in *their* counting room, when their acquaintances step in, the politicks of the church, are, not unfrequently, brought under discussion.

James is now in Raleigh, at my house, on a visit. The other day looking into the last number of your Magazine, he noticed your remarks respecting the Petersburg affair; and recollected that he was one of those whom Mr. Shore permitted to see parts of Mr. Converse's letter. On reading the article, it occurred to James, that Mr. Shore would be likely to fix on him as the channel of communication to the Editors of the Magazine, and, of course, as having wantonly betrayed confidence.

A respectful letter from Mr. Shore, addressed to James on the subject, was received on yesterday.

James feels no difficulty in asserting to Mr. Shore, that he was not the author of any communication to you. But as the affairs of the Church, and the contents of your periodical, were freely and frequently talked about in his presence, he thinks it not unlikely that, in proof of Mr. Converse's unhallowed zeal in the new school cause, he had adverted to his letter to Mr. Shore, in the presence of some one, who had afterwards given in detail to you, what were believed to be the contents thereof.

If such were the case, as James has now no recollection of the circumstances—the time—place or persons present, he wishes you, if consistent with what you owe to yourself and to others, to help him out of a difficulty in which he finds himself unexpectedly involved.

The questions then, are these. Was the name of J. G. McPheeters associated in any way with the communication which reached you, touching Mr. Converse's letter to Mr. Shore?

If not,—Were the authors of the communication, or any of them, inhabitants of Petersburg?

If so,—Would you be willing to give me their names? Not for the purpose of engendering strife among individuals who ought to love and sustain each other, but for the purpose of directing James in his inquiries—refreshing his recollections, and aiding him, if possible, in extricating himself from what Mr. Shore regards as a dishonorable violation of the rights of hospitality.

Excuse, my dear friend, the liberty which I have taken.

I am, respectfully and fraternally, yours,

WM. MCPHEETERS.

Mr. Breckinridge to Dr. McPheeters.—(Copy.)

Baltimore, July 19, 1838.

My Dear Sir,—Your favour of July 13 reached me yesterday; and although labouring under considerable bodily indisposition. I hasten to reply to it.

I have no acquaintance with your son, Mr. James G. McPheeters, of Petersburg, Va.: I do not remember ever to have seen him; nor to have had any communication with him directly or indirectly—before the receipt of your letter now before me.

It does not appear to me necessary or even proper to mention, especially without previous communication with them, the names of any individuals who have communicated with me, in regard to Mr. Shore; and I therefore respectfully decline saying any thing on that subject, farther than this: that there can be no question of the exact truth of every word I have stated, and all can be made clear by the testimony of persons more respectable than Mr. Shore himself.

In regard to your son's name and agency, I am obliged to say, that it has been more than once mentioned to me, by persons none of whom live in Petersburg: by persons, his friends, and they of the first standing in the country—There can, therefore, be no doubt, that your son has distinctly, and I apprehend on several occasions and to various persons mentioned the fact, that Mr. Shore had shown him the alledged letter of Converse, hiding the name. And after what has been communicated to me, by persons of the utmost worth, I am only surprised, that his memory should be so slight on subjects related to me, with great emphasis by others.

While I deeply regret that your son or any other gentleman should be troubled by the machinations of these or any other wicked men; I still think that this whole matter is providential: and that your son, in any statement he may give to Mr. Shore, ought to be very explicit, for the truth's sake, and for his own character's sake, in making that statement full and complete: embracing the fact of the letter having been seen by him; its contents; its authorship, &c. &c.

I also regret being the innocent occasion of giving your son any trouble. But no testimony could or need be more excellent or explicit than that on which I proceeded.—And as to Mr. Shore's pretences about violation of confidence; that is all perfect fudge. The only confidence violated was Converse's by him.

The facts, I have reason to believe, were openly known at Petersburg and elsewhere weeks before they reached me.

With kind regards and best wishes,

I am truly your friend and brother,

R. J. B.

Mr. Breckinridge to Mr. J. G. McPheeters.—(Copy.)

Baltimore, August 9, 1842.

Mr. James G. McPheeters—Sir: You no doubt remember the difficulty which arose about four years ago, in regard to the supposed influence of the Rev'd Mr. Converse, then of Richmond, Va., with Mr. Shore, then Postmaster at Petersburg, Va., in promoting the public burning of a copy of a periodical publication, with which I was connected. It was distinctly told to me that Mr. Converse had written a letter to Mr. Shore to have this burning effected; and that you had seen the letter. To mention no other testimony, I have before me a letter from your excellent father to me, on the subject of your relation to that letter, dated July 13, 1836, in which he says, speaking in your name, under your eye, and by your request, that you were "one of those whom Mr. Shore permitted to see parts of Mr. Converse's letter"—alluded to above.

It may become my duty, as Mr. Converse has attacked me again recently about this business, denying that he ever wrote such a letter,—to defend myself again in regard to it. The case consists of two parts, 1st, My authority for what I formerly said. This is plain before me, and I do not wish to trouble you with that part of the business: 2. The verity of the fact; was there such a letter? This is the part of the case I must trouble you about. I have the means, as I have said, of proving that you said you saw it. But I prefer that you should put that part of the case, in such a light and with such evidence as will be most acceptable to yourself;

and to that end I write this letter to you. If you decline saying any thing, of course, I am left to use the proof I have, and such as I can otherwise command. If you think proper to state the facts of the case to me, allowing me to use them as I shall find it necessary and proper in establishing the truth, against men who are only emboldened in wickedness, by the forbearance of others; I shall be glad. It appears to me that the course I now take in thus addressing myself to you, is the most proper under the circumstances; and that, as the facts of the whole case stand, it will be best for all concerned that you should, by a plain and clear statement, put the matter in its true light.

I regret the necessity which seems to be laid upon me in this business, by the providence of God; and beseech him to give you grace that you may be enabled so to act in regard to it, as shall be for your own honor, for the promotion of truth and for the defence of innocent men.

I am your obedient servant,

R. J. B.

Mr. J. G. M., Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. J. G. McPheeters to Mr. Breckinridge.

Raleigh, August 18, 1842.

Rev'd R. J. Breckinridge—Sir: your communication of the 9th instant, was received a few days ago. It brings again into view an affair in which I and others were implicated several years ago, and which I supposed had passed away forever. But in the providence of God you are, it seems, compelled to bring the thing again under review.

The fact that a letter was written by Mr. Converse to Mr. Shore, and that I was allowed by Mr. Shore to see, or hear read a part of said letter, has never been denied by any one. The question is, What were the contents of that letter? On this point, Mr. Shore and I seem to differ widely. On seeing your Magazine for July 1838, he writes me as follows: "It was just after breakfast that you came into my chamber, you took the letter out of my hat and asked permission to read it. A part of that letter I allowed you to read, holding my hand over the name." Mr. Shore then goes on to say, "Mr. Converse in that letter observed that Mr. Breckinridge had attempted to fix on him the charge of abolitionism, that he, Converse, was pleased to hear that Mr. Hutchinson had stopt the Magazine, and had requested me to allow him to publish my letter ordering the paper to be stopped." "I told you that I should write Converse in reply, that I should not consent to have any thing more to do with it. This answer Mr. Converse has." Mr. Shore then remarks.—It is inferred by some persons, from our intimacy, that Mr. Breckinridge has received some garbled statements from some persons who heard you speak of it—but, says he, I will not believe it—I do not believe it—you are incapable of betraying the confidence of your friends, &c. &c.

In reply to Mr. Shore, (being in Raleigh at that time) I informed him of what you communicated to my father, viz: that my name had been mentioned more than once in connection with the statements which had been made to you, and that there was no doubt but that on several occasions I had mentioned the fact that Mr. Shore had shown to me the alleged letter of Mr. Converse, one object of which was to suggest to him, Shore, the propriety of coming out in the political papers of Petersburg against the abolitionism of the Magazine. I then go on to say to Mr. Shore,—as a proof that such was the purport of Mr. Converse's letter to you, it is proper to state, that in a letter written to my father, dated January 1838, among other things I informed him, that I had seen a letter from Mr. C. urging a friend of mine (Shore) to come out in the political papers against Mr. Breckinridge, and if possible to put him down.

On the receipt of this statement, Mr. Shore pronounced the thing wholly untrue, denying that Mr. Converse ever wrote to him, urging him to come out in the political papers against Mr. Breckinridge. "Several letters," says he, "you took out of my hat from the same gentleman, neither of which would justify your statement. One of the letters was in reply to one I wrote to Mr. Converse in relation to a piece prepared by me, signed Old School,* and published in the Petersburg Constellation,—respecting which, he, Converse, remarked, he would be glad to see it in all the political papers in the country. In another letter he, Converse, requests permission to publish in the Telegraph my letter to Mr. B. ordering Mr. Hutchinson's Magazine to be discontinued, remarking that he, Breckinridge, had done for himself." "Out of the aforesaid letters," says Mr. Shore to me, "you have invented a marvellous tale and taken strange liberty with the truth." My letter in reply to this gentlemanly charge, was such as the occasion demanded. Our friendly intercourse from that day was, of course, suspended—nor was it renewed until a short time ago (during the late revival in Petersburg) when at the request of Mr. Shore, and through the intervention of friends, we were again placed on speaking terms.

In regard to what I may have said in the hearing of *those* who communicated with *you* on the subject of Mr. Converse's letter, I could not, when the thing was first agitated, recollect—nor can I to this day recollect, what I *did* say, who the persons were, or at what time or place the conversation occurred,—for the affairs of the Church were then a topic of much debate and great excitement, and if on any occasion I said to them, that Mr. C. had written to Mr. S. to get up an "operation in Petersburg," that is, to have the burning of your Magazine effected, and that I had seen a letter from Mr. C. to Mr. S. urging him to that measure, I have no recollection at all of the circumstance. On reflection, it is my opinion, that nothing short of a personal interview with yourself and the "four or five individuals," to whom you are *indebted* for the statements given in the Magazine, would enable me to throw more light on the subject.

In conclusion; I feel it my duty to say, if you can so manage and settle the matter between Mr. Converse and yourself, as not to disturb or interrupt the present good understanding between Mr. Shore and myself, I shall be gratified—for, as before stated, he opened the door for a reconciliation, and the matter being referred to two Christian friends, was easily adjusted to our mutual satisfaction.

I am, respectfully, &c.

J. G. MCPHEETERS.

We suppose we have now clearly made out two propositions. 1. That whether *Mr. Converse* was art and part in the "Petersburg conflagration," or not,—we had abundant reason to believe he was; and were fully justified in expressing that conviction. And that his insinuations that we fabricated the statement to that effect, are clearly flagitious.

2. That there is great reason to believe that he really was deeply implicated in that affair, and in a general and concerted scheme, of which that conflagration was but a part, to excite the worst passions of men against us, upon a false accusation: that *Mr. Shore*, a sworn officer of the General Government, lent himself to this affair, and implicated his own pastor, a pretended old-school Presbyterian, in it; and that the whole three acted a most unworthy part in the matter.

So much, God's providence has made evident. Here we pause.

* This article, I think, charged you and others with abolitionism.

Time may produce other developments: it is the great revealer of all things. A solemn truth, which, if men would but believe it, how greatly would it strengthen our virtue, increase our forbearance, support our courage, and sustain our truth, justice and honour, amid the trials of life; and how much of that detestable baseness, which constitutes so large an element of human nature, would it hold in check, if it could not banish it from the earth.

We have no motive to desire any controversy with any of these persons. None of them are in the way of doing any further injury to the church they have abandoned. It is from a regard, perhaps some may say over sensitive, to our own reputation as a fair and upright man, that we publish the present article. Personally, we are supremely indifferent to the conduct and opinions of such people. Nor have we any idea that the people of Petersburg, care a particle about their stale calumnies, or believe a syllable of what they uttered to our disadvantage. Long after Mr. Hutchinson left the church at Petersburg, we preached Christ Jesus to the people, whose hearts he was willing to poison against us: and in no part of America have our poor labours through the press been more kindly or constantly patronised, than in that fine town, and by members of that noble congregation. In Richmond, the seat of *Mr. Converse's* former labours, long after he found it convenient to emigrate to the North, have we been called in God's providence, once and again, to make proclamation of those blessed doctrines of grace, for devotion to which, the whole New School body have so hated and reviled us. And in how many portions, and to how many tens of thousands of the inhabitants of the slave-holding states have we spoken with kind acceptance on their part, through the press and from the pulpit, since the outbreak of that combination of men, whom God has scattered like chaff, to put us down as an abolitionist! Blessed be God for his good hand over us. Blessed be the name of our God, who has not allowed our enemies to prevail against us. Yea, blessed be his name, who gives his children grace to be found faithful, who catches the wicked in their own pit, and who is, to them that trust him, a very present help in time of trouble.

THE BI-CENTENARY OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY. JULY 1, 1643
—1843.—REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

THE Standing Committee appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which convened at Philadelphia on the 18th of May, 1842,*—to mature a plan for a suitable commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the meeting of the Westminster Assembly, according to the order of the assembly submit the following Report and Recommendations.

On the 1st day of July, 1643, being Saturday, sixty-nine persons, ministers and laymen, the whole of the former having been Episco-

* See printed Minutes of the General Assembly for 1842, p. 17 and p. 24.

pally ordained, and nearly all of both sorts being still in the communion of the Church of England, met in Henry VIIIth's chapel, at Westminster, in England, and constituted themselves into "An Extraordinary Synod." Both houses of that illustrious parliament of England, commonly called the Long Parliament, which sat for nearly eighteen years, and accomplished one of the most remarkable revolutions which the world has seen, were present officially on the memorable occasion. The Synod itself was constituted by an ordinance of that Parliament, dated the 12th June, 1643, which summoned it, and in terms enjoined its members "to confer and treat among themselves of such matters and things concerning the liturgy, discipline and government of the Church of England, or the vindication of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed by either or both houses of Parliament, and no other: and to deliver their advices and opinions touching the matters aforesaid, as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, to both or either houses from time to time, in such manner as shall be required."* By that ordinance, the Synod was to consist of one hundred and twenty-one divines, and thirty lay assessors, of whom, ten were peers, and twenty commoners: to whom were added, at various subsequent periods, fourteen divines, making the whole number appointed by the Parliament one hundred and sixty-five persons.† The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, being thereto especially requested by the Synod, and by the English Parliament, appointed five ministers and three ruling elders, as commissioners of the Church of Scotland to the Synod met at Westminster;‡ which made the number delegated to it one hundred and seventy-three persons. Some of those appointed members appear never to have met the body; and others to have attended only occasionally: but the majority of them gave diligent and assiduous attention to the duties to which they had thus been called in the good providence of God; and have become famous amongst men, and dear to God's people, by the name of the *Westminster Assembly*.||

It is very common to call this body, the *Westminster Assembly of Divines*. But the ordinance which summoned it, called it "an Assembly of learned and godly divines, and others:" and it has just been shown that thirty-three lay assessors and ruling elders were organic members of it, and it is generally known that this class of members was made up from amongst the most famous men of their times; and there is reason to believe that few members of the Assembly had more influence than several of these.

It is to be remembered that this Assembly was not ecclesiastically convened, and was not an ordinary church court. It had, properly speaking, no spiritual power, and was not in any sense a representative body of the clergy, or a national Synod, much less a general one: and the very ordinance which called and constituted it, expressly restrained it from assuming or exercising "any jurisdiction, power, or

*Rushworth, vol. v, p. 887.

†Their names are given by Neal. Hist. Puritans, vol. III., pp. 46—48.

‡Hetherington Hist. Church of Scotland, under the year 1643.

||The actual number of English divines who sat in the Assembly was one hundred. Their names are preserved in *Duncan's Collection of Scottish Confessions, &c.*, pp. 186—8.

authority ecclesiastical, whatsoever." It was, as itself justly said, "a committee or council to the Parliament, to give their opinion touching such church matters as the houses should lay before them;" and its continued existence depended absolutely on the will of the Parliament which convened it. Whatever authority, therefore, its acts or definitions may have, must be purely that influence which results from the character of the men who made them, or from that of the works themselves; or it must be the result of subsequent and independent adoption or sanction by competent authority, civil or ecclesiastical. In this particular, this Assembly differed from the most of those famous bodies which have in different ages exerted a controlling influence in giving shape to the form and to the doctrine of various branches of the church of Christ.

The Assembly may be said to have subsisted till the 22d of February 1649—a period of five years and eight months, nearly; during which time they held nearly eleven hundred sessions. After this, such members as remained in London were continued as a committee for the examination of ministers, for about three years more, until the revolution effected by Oliver Cromwell, in the constitution of the Parliament in March 1652, seemed to them to abrogate virtually, the authority which convened them, and the Assembly finally broke up.*

The members who were designated to compose the Assembly, although originally almost entirely Episcopalians, were divided into several very distinct but unequal parties. Some were prelatists of a very high tone; and of such very few ever met with the body, and none continued long in it. The great majority were at first, as were the two houses of Parliament which called the Assembly, and indeed the body of the enlightened and pious portion of the English nation at that time, moderate Episcopalians, men of the old Non-Conformist and Puritan stamp;† of these far the greater part gradually came over to the sentiments, as to church government and discipline which are set forth in the formularies prepared by them, and such as did not, chiefly left the body before its work was done. There was, perhaps, from the beginning, a small but decided and very able body of thorough Presbyterians both in the Parliament and in the Assembly. There was also a small party of Erastians, who were amongst the most learned and noted men of their day. And there were also a few excellent and eminent men who were extremely zealous Independents. It is to be remembered, however, that almost the entire difference between these last and the strict Presbyterians lay in the absolute independency of each separate congregation asserted by the former; and that not only as to most points of doctrine and discipline, but as to many of church order also, these two portions of the Assembly perfectly agreed. For example, they were entirely of one mind in asserting church government to be *jure divino*, and fully agreed also as to the proper mode of organizing particular congregations:‡ points, it must be conceded of great importance, and in

* Neal, vol. III. 413.

† Baxter's Life.—Neal, vol. II., ch. xii.; and vol. III. ch. iv.

‡ See Apologetic Narr. of the Independents: Neal, vol. III., ch. iv: Lightfoot's Journal.

regard to which modern Congregationalists have generally, it is believed, somewhat different views. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the commissioners from the Scottish General Assembly, were strictly Presbyterian in their views.

Every member of the Assembly, before he took his seat, was required to make and subscribe a solemn declaration, that he would not maintain any thing in matter of doctrine but what he believed in his conscience to be most agreeable to the word of God; or in point of discipline, but what he conceived would conduce most to the glory of God, and the good and peace of his church; and this protestation was publicly read in the Assembly every Monday morning. All their sessions were opened and closed with prayer. Three of their members officiated by turns as chaplains to the two houses of Parliament, and to the body called the "Committee of both Kingdoms." They preceded their labours by a solemn and public fast; and statedly and at short intervals, repeatedly humiliated themselves thus before God. And in general, it must be allowed, that the whole of their public proceedings indicated a fixed and habitual conviction of their dependence upon him, a constant sense of his presence, and a deep and earnest assurance of the importance and solemnity of the work to which his providence had called them.

The great works which they produced, with the times and circumstances under which they were perfected, may be imperfectly estimated from the statements which follow:—

1. On the 17th of October, 1643, a committee was appointed on a *Directory for Public Worship*; this part of their duty being amongst the most pressing of all, on account of the Parliament having, by an ordinance, discarded the use of the Liturgy. The Assembly passed the Directory with great unanimity. It was established by an ordinance of the English Parliament, dated January 3, 1645, and by the General Assembly of the Scottish church, which met on the 22d of January of the same year, and afterwards by the Scottish Estates in Parliament.

The reasons which induced the English Parliament to discard the Liturgy, are set forth in the preface of its act, and those of the Assembly in recommending the substitution of their "Directory for the Public Worship of God," in the place of the "Book of Common Prayer," are succinctly stated in their preface to the Directory:* and the candid study of them will show that two centuries of further experience have only confirmed the judgment of the Parliament and the Assembly, in the whole subject. The importance of the change and of the principles on which it is to be justified may be easily perceived when it is considered that amongst the alterations produced by this substitution were, the suggestion of topics for extemporaneous prayer substituted in the place of a prescribed form of prayer; the rejection of the Apocrypha from public use in the worship of God; the rejection of private and lay baptism, as well as the use of god-fathers and god-mothers, and the sign of the cross in baptism; the disuse of private communion and administration of the Lord's supper to the sick; the substitution of the communion table for an altar; the

* The Directory will be found at large in Neal, vol. V., Appendix viii.

excluding of profane and unconverted persons from the Lord's table ; the abrogation of the prohibition to marry during lent ; the disuse of private confession and authoritative absolution, in the visitation of the sick ; the disuse of all formal services in the burial of the dead ; the discarding of saints' days, and of all clerical vestments. A careful comparison of the Directory of the Westminster Assembly, with that ratified in May 1821, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and now in use in our church, will, it is probable, cause both surprise and regret at the extent of the changes, abridgments and substitutions—generally for the worse—which have been, we cannot but think, most improvidently made ; and perhaps it might be considered, by no means an unfit improvement of the present season, to restore the venerable Directory from a great mass of the emendations which a restless spirit and superficial views of divine things have pushed farther than is generally supposed.

2. The doctrinal standards composed by this Assembly consisted of a Confession of Faith and a larger and shorter Catechism. At first and for some time, their attention was occupied with a revision of the Articles of the Church of England ; and they went as far as to the end of the 15th article, in this work.* But it was afterwards determined, at the instance of the Scottish commissioners, to compile a full and independent system from the Scriptures ; and on the 9th of May, 1645, a committee was appointed for this purpose. On the 26th of May 1646, the work was finished and reported to the Assembly,—which, however, had been occupied during the intervening time, as part of its stated business, in examining and determining the various propositions which make up the system ; which, it is well known, is throughout composed, not of arguments, but of comprehensive definitions and statements of truth. This "Confession of Faith," was presented to the Parliament on the 11th of December 1646, by the whole Assembly in a body. The Commons House was engaged above a year on this Confession ; and on the 22d of March, 1648, presented it to the House of Lords, with some alterations and reservations in regard to those parts which related to the power of discipline—church censures—the keys—synods and councils—marriage and divorce—and the duty of the church and the civil magistrate towards religious offenders. On the 28th of June 1648, it was established by an ordinance of Parliament—with the aforesaid reservations—and published under the title, "Articles of religion approved and passed by both houses of Parliament, after advice had with an assembly of divines called together by them for that purpose."† The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland which met at Edinburgh on the 4th of August 1647, ratified this Confession, in the form in which it came from the hands of the Westminster Assembly ; and the Scottish Parliament of 1690, again expressly established it.‡ Whilst the Confession of Faith was passing through the Assembly, committees were appointed to digest its articles, which are more particularly moral and dogmatical, into two Catechisms ; a larger one,

* Neal, vol. V., Appendix vii., gives the emendations.

† Rushworth, p. 1055.

‡ Hetherington, under these years.

for public exposition, and a shorter one for more general use. The latter was presented to Parliament in November 1647, the former in April 1648; though they must have been both completed by the Assembly, before 24th of Oct., 1647, since on that day, which was about a week before the Scottish Commissioners took their leave of the body, it was entered on its Journal that some one or all of them had been with the Assembly "during all the time they had been debating and perfecting these four things mentioned in the covenant, viz., the composing a directory for public worship, an uniform confession of faith, a form of church government and discipline, and a public catechism."* On the 15th of Sept., 1648, the Parliament approved and published these catechisms; which had been adopted by the Scottish Assembly in the previous July.† This Confession of Faith and Larger and Shorter Catechisms were formally adopted by the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian church in this country, then called the "Synod of New York and Philadelphia," at its last meeting preceding the formation of the present General Assembly. This occurred at Philadelphia, May 21—29, 1788. A single "small amendment" as it is called in the Larger Catechism, and "some alterations" in three paragraphs of the Confession, were the only changes made in them.‡ It is not, however, to be understood that this was the first occasion on which these doctrinal standards have been openly avowed by this church; on the contrary, it has always professed them from the first emigration of its members to this continent, and on various occasions our ecclesiastical courts have, with great distinctness, renewed the open profession of them.§ But in the year 1788, the ministry of that church had, during about a century of labours and struggles not unmingled with persecutions, increased from a single person to one hundred and sixty-nine ministers;|| and the Synod having determined, two years before, to re-model all its Presbyteries—divide itself into four Synods, and constitute a General Assembly to convene on the third Thursday in May 1789, in the city of Philadelphia, and be constituted by an equal delegation of ministers and ruling elders from the sixteen new-modelled Presbyteries; it was deemed a suitable occasion to review these formularies, and adopt them anew by a public and fundamental act. Fifty-five years of subsequent effort and experience, during which the Lord has so severely tried the faith of the church, so greatly enlarged its borders, and so thoroughly purged and delivered it, have so resulted, that it is not too much to say that there probably never existed a single communion so great in the number of its ministers and churches and covering so large an extent of country, which embraced with more simplicity the great doctrines set forth in these formularies than the Presbyterian Church in the United States does at this moment; nor is it too much to add, that its present position, is far more advantageous for the maintenance and diffusion of these blessed truths amongst men, than it has

* Neal, Vol. III. p. 322.

† Duncan's Collection of Scottish Confessions, &c., p. 326 and 396.

‡ Printed Records of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., pp. 539 and 547.

§ See Printed Records, &c., p. 92-3, (year 1729,) and p. 232, (1745,) p. 286, (1758,) &c.

|| See printed Records, p. 541-2.

ever been before. With what gratitude to God should we dwell on these things? With what humility, faithfulness and zeal should we improve them?

3. The greatest difficulties and the most protracted debates in the Westminster Assembly, were on various subjects connected with church government and discipline; indeed it was only upon subjects of this nature that very serious differences of opinion existed amongst the members of that body. At an early stage of their deliberations, many questions of this nature were thrown upon them by the Parliament, and were obliged to be disposed of, in consequence of the absolute necessity of erecting some tribunal to examine, to ordain, to try and to depose ministers; and the mere neglect to determine such matters was practically to encourage every sort of excess in the country. For the bishops sided with the king in the civil war then raging; a very large part of the inferior clergy in the old establishment were men of immoral lives, and besides negligent of their work and incompetent for it; and the growing fanaticism of the times, filled the country with presumptuous men, who, upon their own mere motion, assumed the functions of religious teachers. Nor were these matters ever finally and satisfactorily arranged between the Assembly and the Parliament; although the former, with great labour, perfected its work, and the latter, from time to time, by ordinance after ordinance, adopted portions of the directory for ordination, the discipline, and the form of government digested by the Assembly, until the entire Presbyterian system was virtually set up by the laws of England as the established religion of the kingdom. The formularies of the Assembly were approved by the General Assembly of the church of Scotland in 1645.* The great points of difference in the Assembly, were such as these; the office and warrant of the Ruling Elder, whether there be such an office, whether it be *jure divino*, and what are its nature and functions: ordination, what it is and in whose hands—whether of Bishops or the Presbytery, and if with the latter, is that body itself *jure divino*; discipline, what is its nature and extent, with whom is it lodged, whether with the brotherhood, the eldership, or the civil power—and if with either of the two first, whether *jure divino*; church courts, whether they be independent or subordinated to each other, and whether in either case, they are subject to the civil power *in spiritualibus*; the pastoral office, whether it be exclusively parochial, and that *jure divino*, &c. &c. The result of all was, the successive and complete establishment, in the Assembly, of the Presbyterian system, very nearly upon the model then existing in Scotland. In this form it was introduced as far as circumstances would admit, into the United States, from the earliest times. The present form of government and discipline of our church were digested during the years 1786, 7, 8,† by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, preparatory to the erection of the General Assembly. Though the former preserved the main features of

*Neal, Vol. III, appendix 9, gives them at large. The approving act is printed in Duncan's Collections, p. 164; it contained important reservation, upon points still not fully determined.

†See printed records of the Presbyterian church for the years named.

the Westminster Assembly's form of government—there are numerous and in some instances very considerable changes; and practically the working of our system is in many respects different from that established in England under the advice of that Assembly. Our discipline was compiled chiefly from the Scottish forms, of which it is rather a meagre compend. The most careless observer cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable resemblance which exists between the model of our church government and that of our civil institutions; and it is not unworthy of being kept in remembrance that some of the distinguished men who aided in forming the Constitution of the United States, were at the same time engaged in digesting the form of government of the Presbyterian Church in this country. This close resemblance, it is obvious, must always give our system a powerful hold on the affections of our countrymen, and quicken in the bosoms of our people the sentiment of patriotism by a coincidence at once so striking and so grateful. Nor can we, as lovers of civil liberty, fail to note, that this system was established in England at the only period of true freedom in her long annals, and by the hands of the same statesmen and patriots who laid the deep foundations of the greater part of that freedom she still enjoys; and that it was not subverted until a corrupt and perfidious tyrant was again upon her throne. Religion itself we readily admit, is compatible in its interior work with every condition of human institutions; but its own institutions are essentially free, and their action can be perfectly developed only under circumstances answerable to their nature. It ought to be remembered that the Synod of 1788, which made the important changes in our church organization which have been intimated, which amended some and digested others, and adopted all our present formularies, was only an ordinary Synod, as the previous one of 1786 which took the initiative in this great work, also was. A convincing proof that those theories which allow to our existing General Assembly and other church courts only such powers as are exhibited and defined in our form of government; as well as those which make the Presbyteries, the source of power to the higher church courts, are wholly fallacious. For the history of our church shows, that the Assembly is itself the real representative of the original body in this country; which having first grown large enough to do so, constituted itself into a Presbytery, then divided itself into several Presbyteries and constituted a Synod, and at length divided that Synod into several, reorganized all its Presbyteries and constituted this General Assembly. All which things it did, in the exercise of its common and inherent powers, the whole of which remain as before in all the church courts, which are indeed ordained not of man but of God, and cannot therefore lawfully either assume or demit powers of themselves. And no church constitution can of right be any thing more, than a system of definitions and rules drawn from God's word, and a covenant between those who are of one mind upon the points stated; and where it is silent, the authority is not vacated, but remains untouched, to be settled out of the Scriptures. So that our church constitution is to be assimilated rather to that of one of our states, where what is not withheld is allowed, than to that of the national government, where what is not granted is withheld; the more especially as ecclesiastical power is not only exclu-

sively moral, but is also purely declarative and ministerial. It is worthy also of being remembered that although there were a hundred and sixty-nine ministers, and a much larger number of congregations composing the Synod of 1758, all which ministers should properly have sat in that Synod, and all the congregations been represented by ruling elders; yet in fact only forty-one ministers and about a dozen elders were members of it; and this small fraction of the church accomplished all the important changes already mentioned, without requiring a subsequent approval either by the Presbyteries or the new Assembly. And the acquiescence in these changes, which was general and cordial, as well as the fact of their having been preferred under such circumstances, confirms the belief that the view here presented of the theory of our church power was that originally held.

The Westminster Assembly, amongst its other labours, paid considerable attention to the metrical version of the psalms for use in public worship. It is impossible to determine exactly what was done by it, in this respect; but it is known that the Commons House of Parliament, being moved thereto by divers complaints of the obsolete version of Sternhold & Hopkins, passed an ordinance on the 14th of November 1643, desiring the Assembly to recommend some other version to be used in the churches. During two full years, the metrical version then lately made by Francis Rouse or Roos, who was a member both of the Commons House and of the Assembly, appears to have been under examination; and on the 20th November 1645, the Assembly reported to the Parliament, that they had caused this new version to be carefully perused, altered and amended, and that they did "humbly conceive" it might "be useful and profitable to the church," if this version was "permitted to be publicly sung;" and the house accordingly authorized its use.* During the progress of this matter in England, the Scottish General Assembly was very assiduously occupied with it;† and the new version was finally adopted by that body in 1649.‡ It is well known that our church has never held that the Psalms are *exclusively* to be used in singing the praises of God.§ But on the contrary, believing that he is to be praised for all that he is, and in all that he does, and knowing that every portion of his blessed word contains revelations of himself, and that these are in general far clearer and more extensive in the New Testament than in the Psalms; it has always contended for the use of a psalmody which should embrace, to the utmost extent possible, the whole revealed grounds of the religious praise of God. And at various periods it has bestowed peculiar care on the compilation and preparation of sacred songs whose composition, paraphrase, or translation, rests on this constant, obvious, and as it appears to us, unquestionable principle. After five years of arduous labour, in committee and in the Assembly, a new collection is now passing through the press, which it is hoped will be found to meet all the just expecta-

* Neal, Vol. III., p. 266.

† See Aiton's Life of Henderson, pp. 573—80: and Balie's Letters, dated June 17, and Nov. 25. 1645: and *Hist. West. Ass.*, compiled for the Pres. Board of Publication, pp. 98—102.

‡ See approving acts in Duncan's Collection, pp. 559 and 560.

§ See printed Records for 1778, p. 447 and p. 449, and places there alluded to.

tions of the churches. While it is much to be regretted that a matter of this kind should be permitted to divide from us, considerable portions of those who agree with us in most points of faith, order, and practice; it is due to candour and to the present occasion, to state distinctly our continued and perfect confidence in the scripturalness, the propriety, and the expediency of the principles constantly adopted and acted on by this church, in regard to this interesting subject.

It does not appear that the Westminster Assembly had any agency in preparing the Annotations upon the Scriptures, which pass under its name; nor that it took any order on this important subject. The work referred to, states in its preface,* that it was prepared by a body of divines appointed by the Committee of Religion, of the House of Commons; and that this appointment was made in consequence of a petition from the stationers and printers of London for license to print the notes in the English version called the *Geneva Bible*, along with the text of the new or King James's version, first printed in 1612: and that their original appointment contemplated little more than a thorough revision of those notes, which had been written and published about the year 1560, by learned and pious English exiles at Geneva, at the head of whom was the great John Knox.† It is hardly too much to say that the greatest deficiency of our church in this country up to the present moment, is the want of a sound, thorough, complete and attractive commentary upon the entire Bible; a commentary composed in the sense of our church formularies, and throughout conformable to our views. Nor is it too much to add, that the lack of such a book has left a gap through which our families and congregations have been constantly liable to an inundation of books obnoxious to the most serious objections; and by means of which, shallow views of religion have spread, wholesome impressions have been effaced, the influence of our doctrine and order been weakened in our own body, and evils produced, the extent of which it is impossible to estimate. Nor can we conceive of a more valuable or appropriate service which could at this time be rendered to our church and to the reading world, than for this Assembly to take such steps as will secure the preparation and publication of just such a commentary as we need.

There is one remarkable difference between the method directed to be pursued in the ordination of ministers, by the Form of Government of the Westminster Assembly and our own. The former seems to have required neither a subscription to the articles of religion nor a distinct public profession of their adoption in a set form; but in lieu thereof the person proposed for ordination, was required to produce more ample testimonials, to be perhaps more thoroughly examined in the Presbytery, and far more so by it publicly on the occasion of his ordination according to a directory prepared in relation to the whole subject. Without hazarding any particular expression of opinion in the case, it may be safely affirmed that the history of our church affords the most ample and melancholy proof, that professions and

* P. 9, folio edition of 1645.

† Their names will be found in Neal, Vol. III., p. 414.

‡ McCrie's Life of Knox, Vol. I, p. 214.

subscriptions according to set forms, no matter how precise and solemn those forms may be, cannot be relied on, as substitutes for the thorough training, testimonials, supervision, and examinations, contemplated in the more ancient standards.

It would be a very grievous error to imagine that the great principles, doctrines and results embodied in the standards of faith, order, discipline, and worship, digested by the Westminster Assembly, were discoveries made by that venerable body. Probably there is not a solitary truth asserted, or principle laid down in any part of those summaries, which had not been fully elaborated, distinctly stated, clearly proved, and long practiced by some portion of the church of God, before that Assembly met. So far as their testimony is against popery, it was the common and established sentiment of the reformed world for nearly a century previous, and of thousands of holy men before the dawn of the reformation itself. Their decisions against diocesan Episcopacy and in favour of Presbytery were the mere expression of the universal and constant judgment of all the reformed churches, except that of England; and even in England itself, the great body of the original reformers and non-conformists did not desire, but were forced by kingly power to allow the accumulated evils and follies of prelacy. In Scotland especially, prelacy was little less odious than popery; and it was only a few years before the Westminster Assembly convened, that the famous Glasgow Assembly of 1638 had crowned with triumph a national struggle of half a century against it; and the whole nation roused itself up, as one man, to resist to the death all attempts to restore by force a system which had filled Scotland with blood and tears. The Scottish national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, which latter covenant resulted from this successful attempt on the part of the Scotch people to emancipate themselves from prelacy imposed by violence and fraud upon them, and was taken by the British Parliament and the Westminster Assembly; exhibited and perhaps fostered a temper in that generation which rendered such churchmen as the cruel and perfidious Laud, and such prelacy as he aimed to set up in the three kingdoms, as odious as the worst specimens of popes and popery. It is worthy of much consideration that this same Laud is in our day ranked by many prelatists, along with Charles himself, as a Christian martyr, and that some of his worst heresies and principles are rapidly spreading in the bosom of Anglican and Anglo-American episcopacy. The testimony of the Assembly against Arminianism, decided and clear as it is, is scarcely more so than that of most of the creeds of the Reformation, and perhaps not so explicit and pointed as that of the famous Synod of Dort, which but twenty-five years before, had, with great labour and solemnity, and with the consent and acquiescence of reformed Europe in general, declared the doctrine of Christ touching Divine predestination, redemption by the death of Christ, man's corruption, the method of his conversion to God, and the perseverance of the saints. And it may be allowed to us here, to call attention to the general and somewhat remarkable similarity between the heresies and proceedings of the disturbers of the peace and purity of the Belgic churches before 1618, and those of the party that had so nearly overwhelmed

our own church before 1837. It is known that at the era of the Westminster Assembly, Antinomianism and Ana-Baptism, had made but small progress in any part of Western Europe, and had scarcely excited any decided apprehension in the British isles. The Assembly, however, once and again, bore its open and emphatic testimony against these and other heresies and disorders, which became more and more formidable amid the civil commotions which raged around them during almost the whole period of their sessions;—but even in this, they did but re-echo the constant sentiment of the reformed churches. In what it set up, it clearly manifested the same great truths, and perfectly exhibited the same absolute sympathy with the common and constant doctrine of the purest churches, in all past ages, as well as with those then existing around them. The month after the Assembly met, it declared that “the creeds that go under the name of the Nice creed, Athanasian creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles’ creed, are thoroughly to be received and believed, for that the matter of them may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.”* At the same early period of their labours, they entered into correspondence with the reformed churches and divines on the continent, and not only themselves solicited the aid of the church of Scotland,—at that moment the purest, most enlightened, and most efficient of all existing churches, but the Parliament of England made a similar appeal to that venerable church, and both the Parliament and the Assembly sent commissioners to Scotland to enforce a requisition so extraordinary, and so honorable to all the parties.† Five years before (in 1638) the church of Scotland had thoroughly emancipated herself: and the intervening period had been employed with great diligence and energy in perfecting what she still delights to call her *second reformation*. During the greater part of 1640 and ’41 several of the ablest divines of Scotland had resided in London by appointment of the Scottish authorities, in order to assist by their counsels on ecclesiastical affairs, the commissioners who were maturing a treaty between the Covenanters and the Long Parliament; and during their stay submitted to the “Lords of the Treaty,” as the convention was called, a remarkable paper in which they attempted to show that “conformity of church government between the two nations” would be “one principal means of continued peace.”‡ At the Scottish General Assembly of 1641, it was resolved to digest more perfectly a Confession of Faith, a larger and shorter Catechism, a platform of church government, and a directory for worship; and this great work was by order of the Assembly, laid upon the man who had suggested it; the same who had before suggested to the “Lords of Treaty” the idea of conformity between the two kingdoms—the same whom God had so remarkably used and honoured at the memorable era of 1638—who was the prime mover of the *National Covenant*, and the author of the *Solemn League and Covenant*—who afterwards undoubtedly exerted more influence in the Westminster Assembly, than any other person; and who

* *Journal of the Assembly of Divines*, Lightfoot’s Works, Vol. XIII., p. 10.

† *Rushworth*, Vol. V., pp. 468—9. *Neal*, Vol. III., p. 56.

‡ *Hetherington*, pp. 228—9.

was, by God's grace, by far the most important man of his generation in the church of Christ, and had, beyond all comparison, a greater share than any other mortal, in shaping the standards of which this report treats, and through them on the destiny of Presbyterianism to the present hour. That man was *Alexander Henderson*;* a man raised up by God for great and good designs; fitted by his grace for the glorious work set before him; and richly deserving to rank with *Calvin*, *Knox*, and *Melville*, in the gratitude of all who love Christ Jesus and his blessed kingdom. Soon after the arrival in Edinburgh of the Commissioners of the Westminster Assembly and the English Parliament sent up to Scotland to ask for the presence and aid of Scottish divines, upon conference with the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, the latter drew up, and on the 17th of August 1643, unanimously adopted, *The Solemn League and Covenant*, which was also unanimously ratified on the same day by the Convention of the Scottish estates.† During the month of September following, the British Parliament and the Westminster Assembly approved this document, certainly one of the most searching and effective ever drawn up by man; and on the 25th day of that month, the Parliament and the Assembly, came together in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, and with solemn religious services, individually subscribed the covenant and swore to observe it.‡ It is well known that the great body of the English and Scotch people, and of the Irish Protestants, subscribed this covenant with absolute enthusiasm. The whole transaction must be admitted to be one of the most remarkable national movements recorded in the annals of the world. If any are disposed to cavil at some features of it, they should remember that the papal leagues for the extirpation of heretics, and their public and general butcheries in endeavouring to carry them into effect, which the preceding century had witnessed, had not lost the impression of their horror and perfidy. They should consider that the frightful massacre of the protestants in Ireland had occurred but two years before, and that, there was great reason to believe, by the connivance of the king himself. They should consider, how much innocent blood had been shed, how much cruelty had been perpetrated, how much perfidy had been systematically employed, both in England and in Scotland, to hunt down true religion, and to set up a religion half-reformed from popery, disfigured by puerile and heathenish rites, and hateful to the people by its dreadful spirit. And then perhaps, we shall admit, that the movement was as far from being destitute of sober reason as it was remarkable for its profound conviction and its fervid enthusiasm. However this may be, it is impossible to reflect that this solemn league and covenant had amongst its avowed objects, "the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine,

**Aiton of Dolphinton* has compiled an interesting Memoir of the Life and Times of this illustrious man; published, Edinburg, 1836, in 8vo, pp. 674. But the whole history of the Scottish church and nation of that era—of the Westminster Assembly, and of the relations between England and Scotland from the accession of Charles 1st, till his own death, is full of him.

†*Hetherington*, 336. The document at large is in Vol. III., pp. 39—68 of Neal's Hist. Puritans. Also in Rushworth, Vol. V., p. 478.

‡*Lightfoot's Journal*, p. 15.

worship, discipline, and government ;” “ the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches ;” the bringing of the “ church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechising :” and “ the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness ;” and not at once perceive that from the moment of its being sworn to and subscribed by the Westminster Assembly, which was within three months after it first met—there no longer remained a doubt as to the general result of the labours of that great Assembly, and the prevailing character of the standards they must at last produce. And the whole of these reflections show how true it is, that nothing was invented, nothing originated by that Assembly ; but that its whole labours resulted only in making it more clear and evident that the glorious and long descended truth of God is in all ages the same ; and that the great merit of the standards compiled by it is their clearness, their simplicity, their conformity with the general doctrine of God’s elect, and their faithful exhibition of the system of truth which the ever blessed God has revealed to us in that word, which is the only infallible rule of our faith and practice.

The men who composed that Assembly never imagined for a moment, nor do we, that they were not liable, like other men, to great and manifold errors ; and they saw plainly that they were surrounded by difficulties and hindrances. The spirit of their age, beyond a doubt, more or less influenced their conduct, their views, and their opinions ; and we can discover more clearly than it was possible for them to do, the sources, the extent, and the consequences of errors arising from such causes. The greatest and the most fatal of these, was the universal conviction then prevalent, that it was the duty of all commonwealths to establish and support the church of Christ, by the active intervention of the civil power and as a clear civil obligation. From this principle others necessarily follow, which at the first step involve the church in mortal conflict with the state ; a conflict which can have no end, except in Erastianism or in popery ; for if the conflict be not interminable, the state must subject the church, or the church must subject the state. And the second step in the development of the principle leads just as directly to schism ; for if the state must establish religion, it must be that form of it which the state itself approves as best, and to expect all states to approve the same either for form or substance, or to expect the same state to remain constant in one view, is utterly absurd, and opposed to all experience. The third step leads inevitably to intolerance ; if, indeed, it does not by logical necessity, force us into a position where it is very difficult to escape from an obligation to persecute ; so much so indeed, that God has in few things more manifestly displayed his grace to the Presbyterian body throughout the world than in this, that though portions of them have been long subjected to this severe temptation, their hands are unpolluted except with their own blood. To plead a divine warrant for religious establishments from the ex-

ample of the Old Testament church, is to forget that a theocracy exists no more; that Jesus himself put away that dispensation by the sacrifice of himself. To support it upon the allowed ground that the state itself is ordained of God, and that its highest function and plainest duty is to honor him in all its acts; is to forget that being so ordained, apart from the church, it is a separate ordination, separately instituted, separately accountable, and to be separately judged. To argue for the necessity of any such establishment, is to be blind to all existing developments of God's providence, forgetful of the glorious struggles and triumphs of the church during her earliest and brightest centuries, and of the horrible corruptions which sprung from the coronation of the cross. To plead for such a principle as inherent in the religion of Jesus, is to surrender the blessed hope of that coming day when every authority but that of the glorified Redeemer will be abolished upon earth, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. For nearly a century and a half the Presbyterian body in America, constantly repudiating this dangerous and unsound principle, and all its evil consequences, constantly asserting with our fathers the absolute freedom of the church, but constantly proclaiming against the doctrine of our fathers—its total separation from the state; has, by God's blessing, grown from the smallest beginnings to her present strength, rendering to the state ten thousand favours without ever asking for one peculiar to herself, and conferring upon mankind blessings which cannot be numbered, without taking from the meanest human being the smallest of those rights which placed him on the common level with ourselves. How manifold has been the experience of the same body in England, Ireland, and Scotland, since the era of the Westminster Assembly, that the doctrine we repudiate, cannot possibly sustain the church of God in any thing distinctive of her vocation, even when it operates most freely in her behalf; but may be used with exterminating fury, when it is corruptly turned against her? Alas! where is now the once precious and illustrious national, covenanted Presbyterian church of England? And what might she not have been, but for the doctrine of church and state, by force of which, the execrable *Charles II.* and his fierce and corrupt prelates tore her up root and branch? And how nearly had the same servants of Satan, by the power of the same principle, extirpated, even in Scotland, the faith which seemed rooted like the everlasting hills? And at this very moment, how affecting it is to remember that this great error of that venerable and beloved church, is so turned upon her own bosom, that the very anniversary which we will signalize with so great thankfulness and joy,—may with her be a time not only of trial and mourning, but of open schism and dreadful apostacy! Alas! how idle if not impious are those exaggerated commendations, which heap upon the Westminster Assembly almost such praises as are due to inspiration itself; when even a solitary error, sanctified by their illustrious names, has wrought in wicked hands, such frightful calamities to a cause which themselves loved more than life.

Looking around us after the lapse of two centuries, during which mankind has made such wonderful progress, and witnessed such amazing revolutions, and been subjected to such repeated and terri-

ble convulsions, we cannot fail to see that the very same forms of error and vice against which the members of the Westminster Assembly bound their souls to strive "without respect of persons," still trouble the earth, and endanger the truth. "Popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness," with many things "contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness"—are still to be resisted by all who would not "partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues." We are, therefore, as fully obliged as they were, "sincerely, really, and constantly through the grace of God, in our several places and callings" to strive and to testify against these defections and sins, and never to be deterred from our fidelity, nor seduced "to the contrary part," nor "give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality" in things "which so much concern the glory of God" and the good of a world that lieth in sin.

So too, if we will but consider the trial which during these two centuries, God has been pleased to make of the precious truths set forth in our standards, and of the scriptural order and discipline declared in them; and observe how they have been owned and blessed of him, and how amid ten thousand snares and devices of Satan, and through long ages of persecution by wicked rulers and corrupt sects, and under the perpetual assaults of carnal wisdom, they have still signalized their heavenly origin, and proved, by the grace of God, their glorious fitness as instruments of salvation; we shall see reason enough to hold fast to them, as plain and faithful summaries in which the true reformed religion, "according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches"—is really and plainly held forth; and by which, faithfully observed, "we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us."

Neither can we fail to see, in the retrospect of the past, that we have been, like our fathers, "guilty of many sins and provocations against God and his Son Jesus Christ," by which many "distresses and dangers" have come upon us, and through which we have just cause to fear many more. Wherefore on this signal and solemn occasion, it well becomes us to feel, and "to profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins," for the sins of our church, and for the sins of our country; and to cultivate a "true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavor, for ourselves and all others under our charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation," and establish our church and country in truth and peace.*

It is not permitted to man that he should pry into the secret purposes of God. Who can tell,—who can imagine, what two centuries more may bring forth? Is this useless struggle of light with darkness to be still protracted, while yet the long suffering of God waiteth, and the heirs of salvation are slowly and painfully gathered into

* The words in inverted commas in this and the two preceding paragraphs are taken from *The Solemn League and Covenant*.

the fold? Or will the King Eternal make a short work in righteousness, and once more shaking not earth only but heaven also, suddenly appear in glory, and take to himself the kingdom purchased with his most precious blood? Or will the powers of darkness and of hell, in fierce and universal outbreak, rage and triumph, tear once more, and that more fearfully than in all their former butcheries, the outcast children of God's love, and thus fill up to the topmost brim, the cup of the fierceness of that wrath which God at last will make them drain even unto the utmost dregs?—Jehovah reigns; it is enough.

To improve the present season, is our great duty and true wisdom. In doing this, with reference to this occasion, it has been thought, that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, in which, first of all, it is believed the celebration of the bi-centenary of the Westminster Assembly was suggested, and which took the initiative in regard to an observance, which it is hoped, God will own and bless, being now in session, might properly and with good reason to expect the divine favor:

I. Take such order as may cause its venerable standards to be more carefully studied, more perfectly understood, and more faithfully observed by all the members and office bearers of this church; and that the children of the church may be more thoroughly indoctrinated therein, and more faithfully trained thereby.

II. Take such further order as will cause the history of the past trials, persecutions, and faithfulness of the true church of God, and especially of our own branch of it, to be more distinctly a subject of study, especially by those who are, or are expecting to become office bearers in the church; and, as part of this general object, adopt some plan for the general observance of the — day of —, as a season specially devoted to the general instruction of our people, by the ministers, in the great facts connected with the subject then commemorated.

III. Take such further order as will bring our church into a closer and more perfect union with all other evangelical churches, and especially with such as adopt our own formularies—or others of kindred spirit and form.

IV. Take such further order as will be needful to cause to be prepared, in convenient season, by competent persons chosen from time to time by the General Assembly, a complete, but comprehensive commentary on the whole word of God, expounded according to the system embodied in all our standards,—so that this great and necessary work, being fitly accomplished, our congregations may have a standard exposition of our whole doctrine, and not be exposed, as now they are, in that regard; and so that this work may be connected, at least in its origin, with this memorable occasion, and be published, as it shall be from time to time prepared.

And whereas our brethren of the Church of Scotland are now contending for those great principles which they and we have received as a common inheritance and trust from a common source; and it is probable that in maintaining them, they will be called upon to make great sacrifices and to endure much suffering; and whereas that church has received and still maintains the formularies prepared by the Westminster Assembly, which we also have received: Therefore,

V. The General Assembly, as an expression of its gratitude to God

for the many and great blessings conferred on the church and the world, through the instrumentality of the Westminster Assembly, should recommend that on the — day of — special prayer be made in all our churches to beseech the Great Head of the church to look in mercy upon our suffering brethren, to grant them the guidance and consolations of his holy Spirit, and to overrule all their trials to the furtherance of truth and holiness, and to the establishment of his church in that liberty wherewith he hath made his people free.

VI. That the Assembly ought further to recommend to all the pastors and churches under its care, that collections be made in that mode and at that time during the current year, which shall be most convenient, and that the money thus collected, be forwarded to the treasurer of the trustees of the General Assembly, to be by him transmitted to the Rev. Drs. Chalmers, Gordon, and Candlish, ministers, and — Dunlop, esq., and Sir David Brewster, elders, to be appropriated as they may think most subservient to the interest of the church with which they are connected.

In submitting the foregoing report and recommendations, the chairman of the committee is directed to say, that the report itself is approved by five members, being all that convened; that the recommendations numbered I., II., III., are approved by eight members, being the whole that have given any expression of opinion; that the one numbered IV. is approved by five members, and dissented from by three; and that those numbered V. and VI. are approved by five members, being all who have expressed an opinion in regard to them. The chairman of the committee, by its order and on its behalf, and concurring with the majority in every case, subscribes and submits the whole.*

ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE,

*Chairman of the standing committee of the Bi-Centenary
of the Westminster Assembly.*

PHILADELPHIA, May 19, 1843.

*The reader will understand that this report and recommendations are here printed in the form in which they were submitted to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. At the period of putting the last sheets of this No. of our periodical to press, we are ignorant of the action of that body in the premises.

[EDITOR.]

SHORT NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Reply to Letters in the U. S. Catholic Miscellany, addressed to Rev. JAMES H. THORNWELL by "A. P. F."—The reply, that is, of Mr Thornwell, to those letters : it is printed in *The Southern Chronicle*, a secular newspaper published in Columbia, S. C., and in the *Charleston Observer*, a religious paper ; and has extended up to the present writing, to seven numbers. In the spring of 1835, we were called in God's providence to Columbia, S. C., in the performance of the last acts of reverence and love to a dying friend, kinsman, and benefactor. During our stay in that place it was mentioned casually in our hearing, that the library of the College of South Carolina, which is located there, possessed a full collection of the Greek and Latin Fathers. Some years afterwards we were drawn into a written controversy with some papal priests in the city of Baltimore, in the course of which they printed an article intended to prove that the Apocryphal books are divinely inspired. Having no sort of confidence in the genuineness of their citations of the fathers, and not having access to all the books they referred to, we remembered the remark made a number of years before—about the library in Columbia; and wrote to a valued friend then a professor in the college there, pressing him to look into the subject and write for our use, a short paper which should contain a clear argument in regard to the Apocrypha, and a reply to the paper of the priests. He was good enough to do so, and the article being too long for one No. in our controversy, the direct argument was published first, and afterwards the reply ; this is the same published in a previous portion of the present number of this journal, as No. VIII. of the controversy with the domestic chaplains of the "Archbishop of Baltimore." It became known that we had been in some way the responsible person on the protestant side of this controversy ; and some of the papers being very able,—we felt it to be proper, when a suitable occasion presented itself, to confess that we had not written all the protestant articles ; and to state who had aided us. This we did, without consulting the other gentlemen, and purely out of a sense of honor, after the whole affair was at an end. Recently the first article on the Apocrypha was copied from this period-

ical into both the Southern newspapers named above, and in them both, attributed, justly, but without his knowledge, or any immediate agency of ours, to Professor Thornwell ; whereupon "A. P. F." attacked him personally, abusively, and anonymously, in the *Catholic Miscellany*, the organ of the late distinguished prelate "†John, Bishop,"—whose soul, we regret to learn from his former organ, is still ill at ease. Mr. Thornwell in his reply—which we earnestly hope will not be permitted to remain in so ephemeral a form as newspaper articles,—has shown the public, what his intimate friends knew well before—that his true position is in the very front rank of his generation. The papists have done us all the harm they could these ten years and more. We are now happy above measure, in crediting their account with this signal good work, even though they meant it not so—that they have forced into this conflict one of the greatest and most original thinkers of this age, one of the keenest logicians who was ever set for the ruin of sophists and pretenders,—one of the first scholars of his generation, and one of the boldest and honestest men in the wide world. And as we look back on the series of minute but controlling providences, which covering a period of eight years, have resulted so strangely in placing a beloved and admired friend, precisely where no body else was so fit to stand ; we adore the great Ruler of the universe, and feel our courage and faith made strong by a new manifestation of his condescension, his favor, and his care. If we are at all capable of judging, nothing that has appeared in the papal controversy, at any time, is more effective in argumentation, more powerful in expression, more clear and overwhelming than these papers of Mr. Thornwell ; and we are not surprised,—though somewhat amused—at learning, that the *Catholic Miscellany*, at the second or third broadside, gave in, upon the usual plea—and by the way a very sound one—that it could not think of holding a controversy with *such* an adversary. Thanks be to God, the old Scottish and Hugonot spirit of Carolina "is not dead but asleep."

Essay on the Composition and Delivery of a Sermon.—This is a new edition of OSTERVALD, published in

Baltimore, by Plaskitt & Cugle, 1840, pp. 333, 24 mo. The work is of very little value, and so are all others we have seen on the subject *Orator nascitur, non fit*. No doubt there is a wide difference between *composing* and *delivering* a discourse; and doubtless also, in regard to both exercises, a great deal is to be learned that is as really a matter of *art*, as composing music or playing on an instrument: and unhappily, this part of the business is just that to which the attention of the student is generally directed. Feeling is a gift, intellect is another; acuteness, force, comprehensiveness, the power of analysis, of combination, of illustration, all the books on earth never can give a man any one of them, any more than all the merchant tailors in the world can by all their padding and stuffing give him lungs. And so of all the rest. If a man has intellect and will cultivate it; if he has religion and will keep it in vigorous exercise; if he has a Bible and will thoroughly study it; if he can speak his mother tongue, and will only do it modestly, earnestly, and plainly; this man cannot fail to compose and deliver good sermons. Great men do not become so by art but by nature; they are studies for others. Great orators are produced by nature, and perfected by their own study of their own minds and hearts, and by observing the effects they produce on others. Little

men are destroyed by imitating the great; little orators only become ridiculous by aping the great. The frog would become an ox: but he only burst in the attempt. There are two things in regard to which a radical change, as it appears to us, must be made, or our children will have no preachers at all. The first regards the increasing and deplorable habit of reading sermons in the pulpit; a practice utterly destructive of every distinctive end of public speaking, and which, if it be not successfully resisted, will wholly subvert the distinctive character both of our preachers and people. The second relates to the method of training our young ministers. We give it as our decided but painful conviction that theological education as now conducted, is an utter failure, both as it regards the *moral* and *professional* education of our young men; and that *intellectually* no material advance upon the former method is made by our seminaries. We speak of *results*, and say nothing at present as to the causes which produce them. But looking to them alone—and passing by all other considerations,—many of which are of the gravest character—this is the conclusion to which a very extensive observation and much reflection have conducted us. If there is a bare possibility that we are right in this, they who love the Lord and ponder the future, have occasion for deep and solemn forebodings.

BUSINESS NOTICES, &c. &c.

New Subscribers. David Gibson, Esq. Romney, Va.; from January, and paid Mr. Owen for this year.—Mr. Wm. H. Marquess, Gallatin and Mr. John M. Hill, Nashville, Tennessee—names added, back Nos. sent, and \$5 paid for their subscription for this year by Rev. Dr. Edgar.—Mr. A. Ketchum, Wyoming, Pa., name added from January, and back Nos. sent.—Mr. Jas. Blechir, Washington city, from January '43.—Mr. John B. Hubson, Richmond, Va., from January, and \$2.50 paid to D. Owen by Dr. Plummer, to whom back No's. delivered.—Rev. Colm Shaw, Bladen co. N. C., from Jan'y. \$2.50 paid, by Rev. C. McIver; the 50 cents over held subject to the directions of Mr. McIver. Mr. Wm. Gregory, Alexandria, D. C. \$2.50 for 1843, and back Nos. sent.—Rev. Geo. C. Gregg, Bradleyville P. O., Sumterville District, S. Carolina, \$3, and back No's sent, and the other pamphlets written for forwarded without charge.—P. M. Kingsport, Tennessee, \$2.50 for Rev. F. A. Ross, name added and back No's from January sent.—Rev.

Alex. Smith, Livingston, Alabama, name added from June, and \$1.25 paid for the remainder of the year.

Payments. Col. Jas. Patterson, Mountjoy, Lancaster co. Pa. \$5 for 1842 & '3.—H. E. Kellogg, Esq. Woodville, Miss. \$5 for 1841 and '2.—Gen. A. Anderson, Knoxville, Ten. \$10, which pays in full to the end of 1842. Miss Coulson, York, Pa. \$2.50 for 1843.—P. M. Columbia, S. C. \$5, for Rev. Dr. Howe, for 1842, and the *Society of Inquiry* for 1843.—Rev. Dr. Miller, Princeton, N. J. \$2.50 for 1843.—Mr. White, Fredericksburg, Va. \$5, for 1842 and '43, by the hands of Dr. Plummer.—Mr. Hugh Crockett, Stirling, N. Y. \$7.50, which pays to the end of 1841, if there is no error.—Mr. Robert Ritchie, Mr. George Dunn, and Mr. J. Stephenson, all of Petersburg, Va. \$2.50 each, for 1843.—Mr. Alex'r. Preston, Winchester, Ky. \$5, which pays till July 1844.—Mr. J. K. White, Shepherdstown, Va. \$5, for 1842 and '3. (?) Mr. Michael Stuart, of Delaware, \$2.50, for 1843, if there is no error.—P. M.

Carlisle, Pa. \$10, one half for Dr. A. Rankin, of Newville; and the other for Mr. Nathan Woods, of West Hill, in full for both to the end of this year.—Rev. C. F. Worrell \$2.50, and direction changed to Monalapon, N. J.—James Hunter, esq., city of New York, \$5 for 1842 and 43—Rev. Dr. C. P. Cummins, Cumberland county, Pa., \$5 by the hands the P. M. in full; had discontinued before—P. M. Charlottesville, Va., \$5, of which \$2.50 to Rev. William S. White, for 1843, and \$2.50 for Rev. S. W. Blain, of Albermarle, for 1842—Z. Jacob, Wheeling, Va. \$5, (less 37½ cents postage) for 1842 and 43, and discontinued at the end of the year—P. M. Union Town, Pa. for Mr. R. Heeson \$3, in full, (discontinued some time ago)—William F. Taylor, esq., Richmond, Va. \$5, for 1842 and 43.—Hon. S. Hepburn, Carlisle, Pa. \$5, for 1842 and 43—W. H. Sloan, esq. of New Jersey, \$3, (less 12½ postage) which pays (as per his statement, which we doubt not is correct) till the end of this year, and leaves 54 cents to his credit—John Dawson, esq., Union Town, Pa. \$5, for 1842 and 43—Rev. R. Steel, Abington, Pa. \$5, for 1842 and 43—John Ker, esq., Huntingdon county, Pa. \$5, for 1841 and 42—Rev. Dr. Davidson, New Brunswick, N. J. \$15, in full to the end of this year—Col. Wm. Schillinger, Cincinnati, Ohio, \$10, of which \$6 for himself, which is within 72 cents of being in full to the end of this year, and \$4 for Mr. James Johnston, which pays to the end of 1842, (his subscription began with 1833, and in December, 1840, he paid \$8.50 by the hands of Col. Schillinger)—Hon. Judge Potter, of N. C., \$5, (less 37½ cents postage) in full, and discontinued at the end of this year—Rev. John Skinner, Lexington, Va. \$5, for 1842 and 43—Rev. Dr. Saml. Martin, Chanceford, Pa. \$5 and discontinued at the end of the year—Rev. J. A. Gretter, Greensboro, N. C. \$5, for 1842 '43.

Discontinuances. P. M. Union Theological Seminary, for Rev. Dr. Saml. B. Wilson, \$5, in full—and discontinued.—Mr. A. W. Putnam, Nashville, Tenn. \$5 in full, and discontinued.—P. M. city of New York, refuses for Mr. Theodore Foster, Genl. Agent, of some concern there to circulate periodicals, who has received a trifle in money for this work, and several copies of it for several years, without any profit to us; and is, we suppose, blown up.—P. M. Augusta, Georgia, refuses for Rev. J. P. Ring, who has had our periodical four years, (including this—having ordered it in 1840)—paid some time ago \$2.50 for one year, and allows us the honor of working gratis and paying printer, paper maker, &c. &c. for him, for three years more, and then refuses our periodical at the post office,—Post Master Palmyra, for Mr. John McKee, refused, (re-

moved) Mr. McKee has received this and the former periodical since 1837, seven years, and the regular charge would be (see terms) three dollars per year. \$21.

Miscellaneous Notices.—We are very sorry Mr. McK****, near Newville, Cumberland co., Pa., has become reduced in his circumstances, and would never have sent his bill if we had known it; if he is as well content to read our periodical as we are gratified in receiving his account in full, the matter is settled.—The money paid by Major D. B. Price, of Ken., and for which we give him a receipt, and therefore mention it here only to inform him of the years to which it should be applied.—was for himself for 1841 and 42, and for Mr. Berryman for 1843.—We find on examining our books, that the Rev. John Leyham, of Petersburg, Va., paid \$2.50 too much; which we will thank him to inform us how we may return.—We state, as requested by our friend R. Jaffrey, esq. of N. Y. that the bill sent is correct, so far as the books of the concern show; but we cannot answer for their exact accuracy.

For the second time, we believe, in nearly nine years, we have been obliged to send out our bills; that is we have made a beginning. The responses generally made are kind and prompt—for which we are truly thankful; for our friends must help us out, or we must stop. There is enough due us to carry on our work for about three years. We will send out the remainder of our accounts as soon as we can; that is to all who owe as much as two years, including the present. In some instances—more than we could wish—our patrons seem worried at the magnitude of their bills; and some discontinue. Perhaps we should have sent them sooner; but we are so over worked we have not been able to do it; and moreover, we have so great a repugnance to this part of our business, that we would not do it now—we plainly confess it—if we had the means of honestly getting on any other way.

We prefer not being paid beyond the end of this year; for our life is so uncertain, our labors so severe, our health so precarious, our patronage so inadequate, and the great principles which we advocate are so much disregarded by our generation, that we cannot and dare not come under obligations that extend very far into the future. Indeed if there had been a solitary journal, weekly, monthly, or quarterly, in our whole country, devoted absolutely to the entire principles of the glorious reformation of the xvth century, we would, before this, have felt free to resign to more vigorous hands, a work which we have never considered our main, much less our special vocation. For it is to the preaching of Christ crucified, that our life is consecrated.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

JULY, 1843.

No. 7.

FRAGMENTS OF A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE PROGRESS OF LIBERTY.*

The human race appears to have made its great conquests not so much by gradual and constant accumulation, as by occasional and violent exertions. It is in the order of God's providence, and has been the method of his glorious dealing, to overturn and overturn; to shake, not earth only, but heaven also. And he hath forewarned us that so will he do, till he shall come, whose right it is to reign. Thus hath it happened, that every department in which man has made progress—even those least liable to such vicissitudes—is marked by multitudes of great epochs. Letters have had their brilliant cycles; science has not escaped the most profound revolutions; and religion itself presents a history full of those remarkable developments, which exhibit its never dying spirit, in mortal conflict, with triumphant error. But above all, liberty,—valued when possessed above life itself; recovered when lost at whatsoever price; when in danger defended even to despair; liberty has been the most deeply and permanently affected by the grand incidents in the career of man. By a slight review of some of the principal of these, we shall be able to run over the chief points of her own philosophical history, and thus also arrive at a clear perception of her present condition.

Let us begin with the illustrious era of the Greeks. Before them, liberty has left no fruits, hardly indeed any evidence of its exist-

*The reader who is only tolerably conversant with the better class of works in our own and other languages, on General History, Politicks, and kindred subjects, will recognise in this discourse many thoughts and perhaps some expressions, which like all the facts, would have required, in strict propriety, a marginal reference. It is not always easy to decide, how we may, at the same moment, avoid pedantry on the one hand, and on the other an unfair use of the labours of other men; especially in exercises prepared for the rostrum. Perhaps we may be excused for adding, that having within a few years, delivered three discourses on *Liberty* at three of our principal literary institutions, the present fragment belongs to the first part of the subject, to wit, *its history*: the two remaining portions, relating to the *existing condition*, and the *excellency* of liberty,—are in a still more fragmentary state. It may be some apology for the present publication, that we were earnestly and repeatedly urged to print the discourses above alluded to, by those at whose invitation they were originally prepared; and our readers may bear in mind that our July No. has seldom failed to have something in it, touching the hopes, the claims, or the wrongs of freedom. If we never issue another number in this month, so full of glorious reminiscences,—let this be our last tribute to the liberties of mankind.

ence, except in two remarkable, and most dissimilar examples. The first of these will be found in the case of the ancient people of God, and in his blessed word, of which we will speak more fully in another place. The second, in those renowned Phœnicians, hereditary enemies of Israel, and founders of so great a commonwealth, and so numerous colonies; of all which, and of all their glory, not one has left us, an authentic memorial of their own composition. Early and brief as was the period of Grecian freedom, simple and unique as was the social development of that brilliant epoch, every succeeding age has felt its power. In the very birth of liberty, Greece baptized her into the loftiest civilization, and combined her name even from tenderest infancy with the grandest efforts of mental power. The enduring influence of those exquisite models which adorned liberty; the uniting of her cause with every image of beauty and all the power of refinement; the making of genius itself free; who can estimate these priceless benefactions! If there is any gift superior to these, for which we are indebted to that time honoured people, this is it, that they have proved by so many and such signal testimonies, the unconquerable force of liberty, in her own defence. On the beautiful plain of Marathon, on the blue waters of the bay of Salamis, in the narrow defile of savage Thermopylae, lessons were traced which tyrants and invaders have read through twenty-three centuries; which the free will cherish till time shall end. How many times has liberty been spared, only because her presence was less hateful, than her ruin was big with danger! How often has the spirit of Greek freedom given invincible defence to those, who had no defence besides! How often has the remembrance of its awful triumphs been the only safeguard against coward wrong!

But there are other and mournful lessons. Virtue is not always triumphant; the right does not always prosper. The teachings of adversity are perhaps the most impressive, and alas! the most multiplied of all. We have said, the era of Greek freedom was brief; and have shown how full it was of imperishable blessings. But they were blessings won, not so much for Greece, as for human kind. Even the splendour of the era and administration of Pericles, was no compensation for the public licentiousness which his example made respectable; nor for the horrible calamities of that intestine discord, to which Greece was a prey: a double curse impending over liberty, under so many manifestations. The genius of Demosthenes seemed lent to Greece only to illuminate the close of her dispensation of liberty. Six centuries later, the sublime Longinus, preserving in the palace of Zenobia the simplicity and dignity of an Athenian citizen, and writing in an oriental court of the ancient glories and existing degradation of his countrymen; has proved to us too truly the utter extinction of the ancient spirit of Greece. And when Justinian,—whose reign witnessed the ruin of so many of the noblest institutions of antiquity,—closed in the year 529 those schools in which philosophers had taught for ages the doctrines of Plato, Aristotle and Zeno, there was scarcely left a Greek, worthy to bewail the lot of his country. The spirit of erudition, it is true, still remained. Perhaps the longest and the most illustrious era of learning—an era of fifteen centuries, reaching from the dawn of Eu-

ropean civilization to the utter dissolution of society in the middle ages—was that of the Greeks. But what did books avail when men were extinct? Or what could learning do, when genius seemed utterly annihilated, and all the nobler faculties of the mind dormant for centuries? This fearful degeneracy of the Greeks, terminating only with the utter ruin of the Eastern Empire, is one of the most extraordinary and mournful phenomena in the history of mankind. A degeneracy without any adequate cause; becoming constantly more abject amidst the highest motives, the noblest monuments, and the most glorious reminiscences; “the sublimest meditations of philosophy and the noblest inspirations of liberty” were alike incapable of rousing the national mind, or quickening the popular heart. The two most fearful of all political truths seem established by her destiny; first, that no decayed empire can ever be restored; and second, that it is always in the possible order of events, for the human race to recede even from the loftiest height of civilization, and to sink back even into an inconceivable degradation.

It is however no small alleviation of these truths, to reflect, that, on the other hand, results the most stupendous, may be effected by means apparently the most inadequate. Greece contained six independent states within the Peloponesus, and nine others without the isthmus of Corinth; those within, having, if their territories had been nearly equal, not above 35 miles in length and 23 in breadth, each, upon an average, and those without, on the same hypothesis, an average territory of 28 by 17 of our miles. So that the whole territorial extent of Greece, was less than that of any two of our States of the first class. In Lacedæmon, there never were, at any one time more than 39,000 freemen; for Lycurgus divided its entire territory into that number of equal shares, and allotted one share forever to the family of one citizen. And in Athens there were, as Plato and Demosthenes both affirm, but 20,000 freemen; the number was the same under the Anchorship of Demetrius Phalerius, and Athenæus himself computes only 21,000. But Athens and Sparta were the leading and principal commonwealths of Greece.—With a territory so limited and so divided, with a population so inconsiderable, and with all other resources answerable thereto, did these little States, for 1200 years, if we count from Cecrops to Alexander, defy the world,—and then under Alexander and united with Macedon, actually conquer it. And for twenty two centuries more, since the era of Alexander, they have occupied a larger space in the history of mankind, and exerted a greater influence over the destinies of the human race, than many of the most powerful empires of ancient or modern times. What lessons may not freedom draw from this magnificent illustration? What benefit has she not derived from these overwhelming facts!

The Roman era, next encounters us; an era, and a people amongst the most remarkable and the most widely influential, of all that have figured on the theatre of human action. If the world had not actually seen the tremendous events of their story pass before its eyes, they would scarcely appear capable of belief. Throughout their whole ascent, up to the very pinnacle of glory, one august

immutable idea, seemed to direct every public decision and to control every personal desire. From the very beginning they undertook to conquer the world and to civilize it, and they almost did both. The grandest and most extraordinary conception that ever ruled the fate of a people; the most wonderful in its nearly complete success; and perhaps most astonishing of all, in its influence upon the causes, the manner, and the effects of their decay. It was not Kingly Rome, nor was it the Empire that actually subdued the earth: it was the *Roman Republic*. It is *liberty*, such as liberty then was—every where aggressive, irresistible, triumphant. Liberty, which in Greece had been victorious in defence, now become equally victorious in assault; liberty scattering throughout all nations, in the footsteps of the Roman legions, what she had won under the invincible banners of the Greeks; heaping contempt on all that had despised it before; crushing to atoms, all that had oppressed it; not only acquiring consistency, energy, and self-reliance, but universality and terrible predominance. It was the era of armed, gigantic, all conquering liberty; fulfilling the predestinated counsels of God, and erecting the last and greatest in the cycle of universal empires.

In Rome, however, liberty was a general, not a private blessing. The state was every thing, individual man almost nothing. Freedom was public, not personal. Roman liberty was in its very origin public, and municipal. The Roman conquests were conquests of cities; the republic was, in truth, a league of cities; the empire itself only supervened as the directing power over these municipalities; and when the the Roman world fell, the elements into which it resolved itself were neither nations, nor citizens—but municipalities. The effects of this peculiar state of things were in many ways remarkable; but on the nature, the growth and the preservation of liberty, absolutely incalculable. These elemental portions of the Roman State, survived every shock of those Barbarian inundations that desolated the ancient state of Society; during the subsequent ages of feudality, we find them in a state of constant and almost universal revolt against oppression; and to them, beyond doubt, are we principally indebted for the revival of the liberties of Europe.

The decay of Rome, like that of Greece, bestowed on liberty important lessons, indeed precious fruits. Perhaps amongst the first, this great truth, that the undue limitation of freedom, is the chief element in its own decay. Too few enjoyed it, to be able to preserve it. That old doctrine of the Pharisees—the *fear of the people*—destroyed, first, the people themselves—and then all who distrusted them. Again, this, that what freedom is exchanged for, is never got; but on the contrary, that the imaginary blessings for which men barter it off, uniformly perish with it. The Romans surrendered theirs for internal peace, and external security; and the result was that all the dangers of the state and all the dishonour of her arms, could not rouse their cruel, imbecile and luxurious tyrants, to more than distant and timid efforts; and the hostile mobs of greens and blues in the chariot races at Constantinople, shed more social blood than all the factions of the people in all the agitations of the forum. Historians inform us that in the year 532 of the Christian era, one of

those horrible bands continued in absolute possession of the capital, and deluged its streets and palaces with blood, during five whole days, upon a quarrel originating in the public sports, amongst ruffians who heard without emotion, that the barbarians were desolating the fairest provinces of the empire.—But the ruins of so much greatness cover better things than these. Let us mention the Justinian code; a boon to liberty as great as was ever bestowed upon her—though given by an absolute prince, in a degenerate age. By it, a kind of fixation was given to public liberty, which became engrafted upon the civil person, the state itself. It united forever the idea of liberty, with the ideas of law and public order, and made them consociate, congenital. It fixed the old Roman notion, of the power of society above that of the state strictly considered; reducing the idea of the government below that of the community itself; and thus embodied and perpetuated to the utmost extent, the real principles of Roman liberty. How transcendent these achievements are, and how related to the present subject, they alone are capable of duly appreciating who reflect that even in those states we are accustomed to call the most civilized, repeated examples can be produced of ages having elapsed, without leaving behind one single trace even of the exercise of one power of government properly so called, much less of any function performed by society. For a period of four hundred years, from the end of the ix. to the end of the xiii. century, it will be perhaps impossible to discover the least trace of the exercise of any sort of legislative authority, in the history of the French people.

The most extensive territory and the most numerous population ever united under the same sway, was the Roman world. But along the entire frontiers of this immense empire, extending in a circle across Europe, Asia, and Africa, dwelt barbarous tribes, driven back and kept at bay, but ready to take advantage of every error and every weakness to re-possess their ancient homes, or to conquer new abodes. In the decline of the empire, these savage hords, actuated by a common and almost simultaneous impulse, fell upon every frontier province; making at first transient inroads, then permanently occupying the fairest lands, then anew inroaching upon other states; increasing as they advanced, thus working their desolating way from every quarter towards the heart of the empire, and subverting in their career the whole order of ancient society. For eight centuries this terrific conflict between barbarous and almost disorganised freedom on the one side, and corrupt but still powerful civilization on the other, filled the earth with blood, with crimes, and with the wreck of all previous institutions. The contest and the catastrophe, are the most mournful and remarkable in human story. And it is alike marvellous to behold the audacious courage, the enduring fixedness of purpose, the unconcerted and yet fatal unity of movement, of such multitudes of savages, directed through so many ages, to an end so extraordinary; and to contemplate that tenacity of life, that strength of discipline, that power of moral force, even when they all were in decay, which could endure such calamities, resist such attacks, make such efforts, and support such sufferings for eight hundred years before the work of destruction could be fully accomplished.

These daring savages are the true founders of modern society. To them we are indebted for all those ideas, which place individual liberty above every notion of public organization; which impel us to love personal freedom even above country itself; which place man above the state, almost above society; which set liberty, as in value out of comparison even with public order; and in whose estimate, personal rights are more sacred and precious than rights of property. This last point, we may pause to remark, seems to be the very hinge of contention in all modern societies, not really free; and the political agitations of England with a suffrage allowed to one man in six, and the convulsions of France with a suffrage of one man in three hundred, explain the nature of the principle in contest, and the probable issue of popular demands, so ardently pressed and so long refused. To these barbarians moreover we owe many of those institutions which practically establish these great ideas, and infuse their spirit into our modern societies; the universal principle of election; the responsibility of all authorities, even to the highest; the absolute relativity of all political duties and obligations. Vast as these benefits are, the personal endowments which those remarkable men have handed down, are probably not less signal. Their indomitable energy, their heroic self-reliance—their daring enterprise and personal independence, shining forth with a lustre undiminished by the lapse of centuries, have in this distant land and in the midst of passing generations, given to their descendants incessant triumphs, in all directions and over all obstacles.

What may be called indirect benefits, conferred on liberty by the barbarians, were neither few nor small. To them was owing the restoration of the municipalities, after they were corrupted and decayed. By driving back the affrighted population into them, and then by interposing between them and all aid from without, they were the instruments, at least, of creating a multitude of small republics scattered over Europe, and of perpetuating even after their own destruction, both the principle and model of ancient freedom. This was signally true of the free cities of Italy; in which the spirit of liberty was as conspicuous as that of chivalry was amongst the Franks, or that of erudition amongst the Greeks of the same age. Thus Attila, 'the scourge of God,' as he delighted to call himself, was in the general sense already stated, the real founder of Venice, which justly and proudly called herself the eldest daughter of Rome. For while the Empire yet stood, and before its citizens were utterly corrupted, the inhabitants of those rich plains of Italy which skirt the mouths of its greatest rivers, fled before the devastating march of the king of the Huns, and in the lagunes which choke the outlets of the Adige, the Po, the Brenta, and the Tagliamento, laid, in the year 452 of our era, the foundations of that queen of cities, which for fourteen centuries was one of the chief lights of Europe. Born amid the convulsions of expiring Rome, and perishing amid those of the French revolution, one extremity of her epoch reposes upon the grave of ancient civilization, and the other terminates in the cradle of modern liberty; a glorious link uniting the grandest dispensations of man.

By their fate, too, have these fierce nations taught us, and perhaps

served liberty. First; by the allowance of an aristocracy, then by its immense increase, and finally by its becoming successively landed, hereditary, feudal; a plain and precious lesson that freedom must ultimately perish amid such institutions. Yet by a fortunate development, the germ of liberty was preserved amidst that very destruction; for while the people perished, the Barons became the people; and this very morselment of society, in which it passed over to the domination of the feudal system, afforded the basis of its modern re-construction.

In our descent along the track of ages, we come next upon that feudal system; a system in regard to which the learned have been more divided, than about any other which occupies so large a space, and has exercised so great an influence in human affairs. As the Roman world was first a republic and then an empire in which cities were the elements; so the feudal system, was in a large sense, a federation of castles. The first outward effect of such a condition of society would be to remove portions of the people from the large cities to the neighbourhood of the castles, and thus create a kind of rural population. The first interior effect of feudal life would be on domestic manners, and especially on woman. So that liberty might be said to gain a larger basis; and to be rehumanised.—The principle of property also, was fixed, if not restored by the feudal system. Two fruits of this principle were temporary, and were both of great importance. The first sprang from the use of property as a political element, counterbalancing force; the second from the influence of the landed aristocracy, as a protection against kings on the one hand, and priests on the other; from both of whom they more than once preserved the liberties of Europe. A third fruit of the restoration of this principle of property, was the establishment of the right of inheritance; which gave liberty again a hold upon the soil, that by our modern laws is made absolute, perpetual, and distributive.—But the great doctrine of liberty which the feudal system made legal and sanctified, is the right of armed resistance; the right publickly to bear arms; the right upon our own responsible discretion to use arms; the right at our own proper peril to appeal to their decision. A right without which, all other rights of society are utterly defenceless. A right, in whose full and stern exercise, the world has seen two great nations bring two mighty princes to the block; and this wide republic tear herself, by open force, from the grasp of insolent power, and and stride forward to the first rank of nations.

The indirect advantages won by liberty, from this singular social development, were also considerable: and that both by its existence and by its overthrow. It is extremely curious to observe what a tendency there existed in the human mind for ages together towards universal empire; and then to observe how suddenly and how absolutely this tendency ceased. The general diffusion of feudality over Europe, seems to have been the period, and was probably the subordinate cause of the final abandonment of those schemes, which had been so repeatedly attempted, and had so signally failed, after the subversion of the Western Empire. The feudal system placed society in a posture of universal isolation and defence; the very posture

of all others the most incompatible with great, concentrated, and sustained efforts by particular states or princes. In this innumerable multiplication of centres of influence and points of support, not only were the refuges of freedom multiplied, but her chances of a successful issue were increased in a like proportion. The diligent student cannot fail to be struck, in contemplating these remarkable facts, with the singular prophetic declarations concerning the mode in which the nations should subside after the destruction of the Roman empire; with the extraordinary condition of human affairs and opinion, when the period arrived; and with the remarkable revolution in both, which brought the facts and the prophecy into strange and exact accordance.

This system perished from the force of its own master principle; thus confuting by a practical demonstration of the most prodigious extent, the reasonings of some philosophers about the origin and nature of the social compact. Universal morselment and isolation is not the natural state of man; it is totally artificial, intolerable except under ceaseless external pressure, and contains in itself the elements of destruction. In this case, that very destruction conferred on mankind these lasting benefits, that those rights which had been private become thenceforward public; those gains, general, which had before been individual. Society was left in such a posture that in whatever manner the social system might be reconstructed, personal and associated rights, that is, private and public liberty, were in a condition to make terms, and offer battle. A most signal monument of this important truth has come down to our own days, in what is called the treaty of Constance, concluded in the year 1183, between the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and the general league of the free cities of Italy; a treaty which terminated a long and dubious contest, by confirming and ratifying all the privileges and immunities of the free corporations; and which has been justly considered so important an article in the jurisprudence of the middle ages, as to be commonly annexed, along with the *Libri Feudorum*, to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. Perhaps we ought to add an instance still more remarkable and occurring several centuries later, in the famous league of Cambay; in which the Emperor of Germany, the kings of France and Aragon, the Pope of Rome, and nearly all the princes of Italy, united in a confederacy against the single city of Venice; and failed in every permanent object of their conspiracy. It may be here permitted to call attention to the extraordinary revolution in the position of cities, with reference to liberty and to the general order of society, which the progress of civilization has produced: a revolution which has reduced these ancient and powerful combinations which once defied kings and ruled over the surrounding rural populations as vassals, into a condition, where they scarcely enjoy the influence to which their relative wealth, populousness, and importance entitle them. It is a striking proof that modern liberty, as compared either with that of antiquity, or that of the middle ages, is essentially general, popular, personal.

It is a singular phenomenon that the universal execrations of mankind have been heaped upon the feudal system. Every other condition of society, and form of human association has found advocates

and defenders. None has been so hardy as to speak of this, even with forbearance. An eloquent historian and acute philosopher has assigned probably the true reason, one at least in a high degree excusable, for this general detestation. It was an institution of mere power; an authority of naked force; and that in its simplest, most obvious, personal form. It claimed nothing from legitimacy, nothing from any moral influence, nothing as of hereditary right, nothing as by grant, nothing from previous consent. It held and claimed by force, possession and power. A claim abhorrent to man in every form in which it has ever been put forth; eternally resisted where the means have been found; and capable of being enforced at all, only in peculiar conditions of society.

From the 5th century, Europe began to revert to barbarism; and after convulsions and horrors without a parallel, protracted through the six succeeding centuries, the work of destruction was at last complete. War, ignorance, and ceaseless devastation, had effaced almost the last trace of culture; and of all the glories of antiquity, nothing remained but the dust and fragments. So thorough was the work of ruin, and so horrible the darkness, that Europe seemed struck with affright at its own utter disorganization, and apparently considering the permanent existence of society impossible in such a condition, and life itself hardly a blessing in the midst of ceaseless and insupportable calamities; the western nations were seized with an almost universal presentiment that the world itself was on the eve of being destroyed. It has been well remarked, that there is ground for astonishment that a general belief of this nature did not bring about its own dreadful accomplishment, and deliver over the west to hopeless famine and universal extermination.

The course of Providence must have its glorious way. Man cannot eternally set aside its decrees, nor extinguish the recuperative force of nature. The day star will rise and rise again with healing under his wings, and vivify and enlighten the perishing nations. After the fall of the Western Empire in 478, another Rome rose upon the confines of Asia; and for a thousand years longer, shed over the Eastern world a dim light, at which, before it totally expired, the lamp of European knowledge was lighted afresh. Thus the ages that were to come, became after an orphanage so destitute and pitiable, inheritors to illustrious ages buried so long before, and possessors of treasures, neglected, abused, and diminished, but still above all price. When Constantinople fell, in 1453,—and with it, the Eastern Empire and the last representative of the Cæsars, European civilization extracted from her ruins, greater blessings than her continued independence would have conferred, and her learned pilgrims scattered in fresh and anxious hearts, light and thought that had long ceased to quicken the spirit of the Greeks. Already, however had the finest minds of reviving Italy received their polish and imbibed an unction from the incomparable models of free Greece. And it is precious at once to the scholar and the Christian, to recall, that Petrarch and Boccaccio were both imbued with Greek learning, (the one directly and the other through the intervention of Leo Pilatus,) by one of the prosecuted Vandois of Calabria, Barlaam of

Gieraci. The dawn of reviving letters fell soonest of all on the truest children of God, and sent forth its earliest gleams, from their humble asylum.

It must not be supposed however, that even in the ages of deepest gloom there did not remain isolated lights, sometimes even clusters of them, to illuminate the surrounding darkness; still less that the influence of Greek literature or even of ancient learning was the constant, much less the sole cause, of that mighty movement at the birth of modern society—which occurred at the epoch of the revival of learning. The Tribune Rienzi was the cotemporary of Petrarch and Boccaccio; Dante was before them all; and a century before him was Abelard, who flourished at least three centuries before the subversion of the Empire of the East. Perhaps it is not going too far to assert, that every age whose records have descended to us, contain proofs of the existence of those who contended for the freedom of thought, even when outward liberty was extinct. And it is pleasant to suppose, that the great names which have come down to us, upon the stream of time, are but scattered examples, whose record has escaped the general wrack of multitudes not less deserving the gratitude of mankind. In the same manner, a multitude of causes conspired with the restoration of ancient science and letters, to constitute and create, as well as to direct, and qualify, that great era, which we justly call the revival of learning. The spirit and institutions of chivalry had refined the spirit of man. The grand and protracted events of the crusades, fraught with so many and so great calamities, had nevertheless restored to the Western nations a feeling of brotherhood, and had created in the conflicts of Europe with Asia and Africa, that necessity and spring of mutual knowledge and intercourse, out of which modern commerce, with all her riches and power, arose. The art of printing,—the greatest benefit ever bestowed by art upon thought; the true theory of the universe restored by Copernicus; the perfection, if not the invention of the mariners' compass; these great discoveries burst forth together in the centre, the north and the South of Europe, and opened up to man the deep treasures of his own individual being,—the riches and knowledge of all surrounding nations, and the light and the glory of the exterior universe. The human mind was thoroughly aroused from its long and dreary night of ignorance, stupor, and bewilderment, and emerged from its degrading bondage, bright, vigorous and free, like the unconquered Nazarite, from the vile bonds and heathen lap of Philistine Delilah.

The real progress of modern society, if not the very birth of all existing civilization, dates from this grand era. Centuries before, had witnessed only feeble attempts to resist decay, or successive convulsions bringing on successive destruction. From this period, man began in earnest to reconstruct his social state. A mighty revolution emancipated thought; others still more immense, in subsequent ages set free the spirit and then the person of man; and the whole united, conferred upon him, intellectual, religious, and personal liberty. The emancipation of the mind, was the first in the grand series. This was it. An irresistible impulse was given to free and bold inquiry. Sublime truths, and great ideas were every

where disseminated; some derived from the great works of antiquity; some springing up afresh in the minds of men; and all conspiring to elevate, to enlighten, and to enfranchise the human race. The friends of true learning, and the friends of true piety united against the oppressors of the earth. In the order of history as well as in that of nature, the mental revolution preceded the moral and the civil. Unfettered thought and inquiry, could not tolerate the permanent bondage of reason and conscience; nor these set at large, leave the will and person forever in chains. Knowledge, righteousness and freedom, should dwell in sweet and everlasting union.

Of all slavery under which man can pine, religious servitude is the most degrading and pitiable, the most galling and comprehensive. For while it necessarily draws after it, the bondage of the will, and the slavery of the person, it begins its work of ruin in the conscience and reason of man. "Religion and our native liberty, are two things which God hath inseparably knit together, and hath disclosed to us that they who seek to corrupt our religion, are the same that would enthrall our civil liberty." Throughout history, every false religion has shown itself prone to despotism, both civil and spiritual; a fact the more remarkable, since freedom is the indispensable condition of all moral government; and the alliance, therefore, between true religion and liberty, is at once natural and necessary. Fatally as men have misconstrued or rejected these obvious and eternal truths, so deep is the instinct of them, and so uniform, that wherever liberty has been denied, the human race has sought a shelter or a substitute in religion only. And thus far at least, has this reliance been gloriously repaid, that liberty has won from religion this sacred, accepted, and unquestioned truth, *that there is a law above all human laws!* A truth pregnant with the temporal destiny of man, concealing in its deep and ample folds the issues of his being, and by itself strong to uphold his fainting hope and drooping courage, when nothing else was left.

But not only has man been prone to false religions; he has been prompt also to corrupt the true. In the Hebrew commonwealth, from the giving of the law, down to the days of Herod—personal liberty flourished the most when ought else flourished, and failed the latest, in the successive failures of all the glories of the Jewish state. In all the changes of their civil polity, under the mild aristocracy of elective Dukes, under the dictatorship of the Judges, under their monarchy, and even under the distant and limited dominion of the Roman Senate, the Hebrew was personally free. The Bible is indeed the very text book of regulated freedom; and the church of God affords the best of all models of personal and public liberty. And yet these institutions were not only corrupted and perverted, but learned men have laid down as upon a chart, the fact and the progress of decay. It is not of the doctrinal only but also of the political perversion of Christianity, they speak, when dividing its downward career into great eras, they have said, that its first and pure period, its *Democratic* period reached from Jesus to Constantine, that is from A. D. 1, to 325; its second or *Oligarchic* period, from Constantine to Mahomet, that is from A. D. 325 to 604; its third or

Monarchic period from Mahomet to Hildebrand, that is from 604 to 1073 ; its fourth, or *Despotic* period, from Hildebrand to Luther, that is from 1073 to 1517. During this long and horrible declension—it was not only the hierarchy that was corrupted, and the church that was oppressed ; the world itself was swept onward to ruin, and every barrier broken down and overwhelmed. A succession of isolated but illustrious witnesses against the horrors of their times, were scattered along the course of centuries, for seven hundred years before Luther ; and Claude of Turin, Arnold of Breccia, Waldo of Lyons, John Wiclif, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, stand like mighty landmarks to attest the progress of the horrible inundation. The most powerful princes of Europe, had in vain attempted to withstand the current of papal corruption and domination. The scholars of the middle ages, and even those of the era of reviving letters, led by Gerson and Clemangis, and followed by nearly the whole body of the schoolmen, were utterly impotent even to divert a flood, which they lacked both force and courage to stem. The church itself, assembled in its great councils, seemed to have retained no power, except to augment the general volume of the waters of bitterness. And the only two attempts deserving to be called popular, which were made during these ages of darkness, to save Europe from utter ruin, were signalised at the distance of two centuries from each other, by the almost total destruction of the Vaudois and the Bohemians—two of her bravest and best nations.

At the appearance of Luther, no doubt, many things had combined to weaken the consideration of the Roman see, and to sap the foundations of its authority over the human spirit ; and many indications existed to prove that a deep and mighty revolution was brewing in the heart of man ; and that the human race was approaching one of those grand catastrophes, which mark the progress of its development. What Dante and Petrarch were to poetry, Michael Angelo and Raphael to the arts of design, Bacon and Descartes to philosophy, Copernicus and Galileo to astronomy, Columbus and Vasco da Gama to what may be called the science of the earth ; such was Luther to religion. Great, simple, honest, courageous—he proclaimed with irresistible force, and with an unction unknown for ages, the great truths of God. The nations listened, believed, lived ; and by the appointment and the power of God, this obscure and humble monk became the director of the grandest revolution in history except only that at the first planting of Christianity.

The light in which it is here designed to present the memorable reformation of the sixteenth century, is that of a wide and vast revolution, bringing on the spiritual emancipation of the human race ; a mortal and triumphant conflict for religious liberty. Failing when attempted three centuries before by the Albigenses, from the mere weakness of its interest ; failing again at Constance, two hundred years later, by the division of its friends—Huss and Jerome and their heroic followers Ziska and Procopius Rasa, demanding a popular revolution—while John Gerson and his learned coadjutors would have only a legal reform ; it succeeded at length, by reason of the firm, unanimous and daring efforts of all the friends of true religion, solid learning, and real freedom. Oh ! what lessons of patience, heroism,

union, wisdom, forbearance, and intrepid hardihood, has this long, bloody, dubious, and victorious struggle, taught to liberty.

The benefits of this blessed reformation have been increasing over the earth for above three centuries; and yet who can even now estimate their extent, or conjecture what would have been the present condition of man, if it had miscarried? If any one will but contemplate the progress of society since that event, and consider the political developments, the increase of knowledge, the growth of states in wealth, power, and security, the increase of liberty, and the general progress of man in the career of civilization; he will see, even in this general view of the subject, that it is impossible to exaggerate the blessings and benefits conferred by it. But let us only penetrate beneath the surface and survey these grand results in their germinating principles; we see at once that general education is the eldest daughter of the reformation, before which nothing like popular education ever existed; that the cultivation of a vernacular literature in every part of Europe, except Italy, grew up and spread with it, and thus there necessarily followed from these two causes, the general diffusion of knowledge; that to it we owe the emancipation of reason and of conscience, as much as we do that of thought to the revival of letters; that by it the grand principle of Christianity,—the equality of every soul in the presence of God—has been perfectly restored, and the audacious usurpations built upon a contrary principle, all subverted; in short, that its ultimate and magnificent dowry is nothing less than an open Bible and free institutions, for the whole family of man. Oh! heritage too long deferred; for even yet “the voice of the bride calleth, and all creatures sigh to be renewed.”

We next encounter the political revolutions of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, at which we will but glance as we pass rapidly over them. As the grand movement of the 16th century was against spiritual despotism, so those of following centuries have been directed against *civil* oppression. Though later, they were produced by causes not altogether dissimilar, and were far more inevitable after the occurrence of the former, than it was independently. Indeed there was not only a *common end*, but even a *common day*, to all the most remarkable of them: and when the student of history reflects that on the 4th day of July 1519, Luther, though he knew it not, laid at Leipzig the corner stone of the liberties of Europe; that on the 4th day of July 1642, English liberty was born with the glorious commonwealth; that on the 4th day of July, 1672, those events were decided which settled the fate of the House of Orange, and drew after them the liberties of Holland, the deliverance of Europe from a second subjection to popery, and the English revolution of 1688; that on the 4th day of July 1776, the American Congress proclaimed the great principles of freedom and independence, which may yet emancipate all nations; he may be startled into a conviction that freedom has its cycle; which, though disturbing forces have long obscured, and do yet shake it, is still real, and will one day be fixed as the unshaken revolutions of nature by which it is thus recalled and sanctified.

There is no revolution of modern times by which liberty has not gained. By them institutions positively bad, have been subverted,

and the force of implacable enemies been weakened or crushed. Principles which are true, have been more or less extensively established, and so new foot-holds have been won, and the basis of operation greatly enlarged. The catastrophe of Charles I., and that of Louis XVI., as well as the result of the American revolution, established in the blood of kings and the fate of nations the principle of responsibility; and the labours of Milton and the blood of Sidney teach us with undying eloquence the source and end of government. Social justice can never again be dis severed from public and private liberty, till Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, and the Declaration of Independence pass into oblivion. The perfection of the principles of representation and federation; the great idea of defined and written constitutions; the grand conception of delegated, limited, separated powers; the final and successive rejection of the principles of monarchy, oligarchy, and aristocracy; the immense enlargement of the basis of freedom; the absolute demonstration of the union of the highest security and prosperity, public and private, with general liberty; these are fruits of the revolutions of the last two centuries. Let us admit that we have warnings too. If the fate of Rome proves that liberty cannot endure with a narrow basis; that of the French republic shows not less clearly that it cannot continue unless the public morals correspond with the extent of the enlarged basis. And every popular movement, from the beginning of the world to the present hour, demonstrates in its rise, in its progress, and in all its results, the inherent and implacable hatred to liberty, which with relentless ferocity, pervades and actuates all institutions which are not themselves free. Let us beware therefore how we are seduced, as well as how we are betrayed. The very excesses of liberty are not without an instinct of justice and a sentiment of grandeur. Her very errors are full of strength and dignity; and the phrenzy even with which she sometimes tears to atoms and scatters in fine dust, her own venerable safeguards, when they have been polluted and defaced, may be palliated, if it cannot be justified, by the grand ends she proposes. Indeed it is not too much to say that the entire progress of the human race is capable of being indicated, by the relative amount of liberty enjoyed at each successive period, far more accurately than by any other criterion; and the great and lasting monuments of our kind, have, out of all proportion, been erected by the labour, the courage, and the genius of the free. If any one will compare the progress of the human race since and before the reformation; since and before 1642; since and before 1776; if we will but contrast what has been done for man by the smallest free states, compared with the greatest of those which have lost their liberties, it is inevitable, that although liberty may not be the whole of civilization, yet without it, civilization can neither advance nor perfect itself; and though it may be justly chargeable with occasional excesses, yet they have neither been so great, so frequent, so unprovoked, nor so fatal, as the excesses of power which have always preceded and produced them.

We have already observed that the human race has made all its great conquests by occasional and violent exertions. This, however, is not all; nor is it perhaps the most singular manifestation which is

every where exhibited in the vast period, and amidst the mighty events at which we have glanced, and from which we have culled. The human race has only been found capable of those great exertions upon which its advancement has been suspended, when subject to some simple and absorbing sentiment, or some intense and paramount excitement; and what is deplorable, though not perhaps strange, these seem not to have been always right in themselves, nor when they were so, complete in their issue. The intense spirit of patriotism, was the governing impulse of antiquity; then came the heroic ages, which gave birth to civilization; then the bright and romantic spirit of chivalry, the warlike religion of the middle ages; then followed that wild and fierce enthusiasm which kept its vigil by the cradle of modern liberty. Now we are in the midst of this great and pervading spirit of freedom, which has taken possession of the human race—and roused up its eager and ardent hopes. It must have its course. It must do its work. But it is a fatal mistake to suppose, that work must necessarily be equal and uniform; much less that it must result in general success. It may be, as in many kindred instances, universal defeat!—It will probably be an extremely diversified result. Therefore its friends have a great work to perform: a sacred deposit is committed to their hands. Let them keep alive this glorious spirit. Without it, models of institutions are nothing; learning and the arts are nothing; the press itself is nothing, as to their efficacy in sustaining and illustrating this grand development of the human race; and when the characteristic impulse and sentiment of our era perish, the glory and the hopes of the era itself must perish with them. For what is country, or fame, or power, or riches, or hopes, or recollections—where man exists no longer? And what is man when forsaken of that which makes him great and excellent?

Let then the children of liberty—true and real, just and absolute, safe and universal liberty, all over the earth—rouse up their hearts and nerve themselves for the conflict. God is with us, if we be true to him. If we flinch or faint, we only involve ourselves in the ruin of those we forsake.

Whatever others may do, our part is fixed—is most peculiar. Our times, our country, our institutions, alike call us to a glorious destiny. Let us fulfil it. We are hereditary freemen. The blood of the Celts, the Normans, the unconquered Saxons, before whom Cæsar and Charlemagne alike recoiled, mingle their heroic currents in our veins, along with that great barbaric stream which Rome herself could not withstand.—These were our primeval sires. After them, the founders of English liberty. And then the men of '76.—Heritage,—descent,—and destiny, alike glorious! Whoever else are slaves, necessity is laid on us to live free, or not at all.—Whoever else forsakes the cause of liberty—here at least shall her name be known, her cause cherished, her voice obeyed. While our country abides in her strength and loveliness, men shall say of her, "*it is the place where the free dwell.*" And when her glory and her excellency are gone, they shall say "*it is the place where the free perished!*"—

CONTROVERSY WITH THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAINS OF THE "ARCH-BISHOP OF BALTIMORE."—NO. IX. OF THE PROTESTANTS.—HATRED OF THE CHURCH OF ROME TO THE BIBLE.*

WE objected against the Church of Rome *that she obstructed the general circulation of the Scriptures*. This was the 5th objection under the 1st head of our No. 1.; and we carefully put down not only the precise nature, and extent of this *obstruction*, but the *authority* (and it is the very highest) on which, we made this statement; all which the candid reader will see by turning to the No. itself. In the beginning of No. v. of our "Lord Eccleston's" priests, (this is the title by which the Saints in France credit our learned Prelate with his share of the money sent to papise our poor, benighted city;) say of our said objection that it "*is a remarkable instance of ludicrously grotesque and turgid exaggeration;*" and a little lower down, "*this is palpably untrue.*" Let the literature and the manners of these gentlemen pass, though both explain to us the state of papism. Our business is with the truth and nature of the obstruction disputed between us, viz., the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome, in regard to the general circulation of the Scriptures.

Our priests have no occasion to be over careful of what they assert; for in the *first* place Rome has a nack of *expurgating* books, so as to have proof from the same author, in different editions, for and against nearly all propositions; *secondly*, if more is asserted than is true, if it is for the good of the church, the end justifies the means; *thirdly*, if the case goes even beyond this limit, one of our priests can easily confess to the other and get absolution, and return again to the charge; and *fourthly*, it is obvious enough from their manner of writing that they expect their people to read only one side—that is their own,—which we believe is the fact almost universally with them.

What is the *fact* in regard to the circulation of the Scriptures among the papists of this or any other country? What is the *fact* in regard to the encouragement given by papal priests, to their flocks, to possess and read the word of God?—What are the facilities afforded by the Church of Rome to her people to obtain the Bible? What is the fact, in regard to the knowledge of the word of God, possessed by the mass of papists?

*The progress of the Papal controversy in this country has been very extraordinary. In the early stages of it, the papists utterly denied every statement of the protestants which was supposed to contain any thing that the existing state of public sentiment would not approve; and then as the public mind became familiarised to the contemplation of the thing, it was, by little and little, first countenanced as not very bad, then as pretty good, as really true, as absolutely of Divine authority! A perfect example is afforded in regard to the circulation of the Scriptures. It is but a year or two since we had to prove that Rome opposed the circulation of the Word of God; and now Romish priests openly burn hundreds of copies of the Bible, and Romish prelates defend the horrible outrage: and all this in free, protestant, Christian America! Is it to be wondered at, that we tremble for the fate of our country, when the laws and the people permit such horrible impiety—perpetrated in open day—to go unpunished?—[Ed.]

There are *Temperance Societies, Tract Societies, and various other societies* among the papists. *Is there any Bible Society?*

The priests make great efforts to build churches, erect schools, convents, mad-houses, &c.; *what efforts do they make to circulate the Scriptures among their people?*

The papists have prayer-books, and beads, and various implements of their worship; *but how many of them have the Bible?*

Never was there a more unblushing attempt to deceive the public, than that by these priests to prove that they and their church are not opposed to the general circulation of the Scriptures; and that too in the face of a community which knows that the papists as a body do not in fact possess the Scriptures, that they will not accept of them when offered to them gratuitously, that they are profoundly ignorant of them, that their church has not even provided them with an English version that it will avouch, and that priests in this very city have actually been known to take Bibles that had been given to their people away from them, and in some instances even to burn them.

So much for the *fact*. Now what is the *law* of the case.

On the the 29th June, 1816, Pope *Pius VII.* directed a Bull to the Primate of Poland, expressly to condemn Bible Societies and the indiscriminate circulation of the Scriptures; in the course of which he denounces the Protestant Bible, and all attempts to circulate it, in the most unmeasured terms. But further than this, he explicitly cites and enforces the *Rules of the Index*, by which the general circulation of *all* versions in *any* vulgar tongue is prohibited, until the version is approved by the Apostolic See; and all such circulation, even then, declared to be highly dangerous. *Now we demand what English version is approved or can be circulated?*

The same Pope, in another Bull, dated the 3rd of Sept., 1816, and directed to Stanislaus, Arch-bishop of Mohileff, reiterates his former denunciations and says in terms: "You ought carefully to have kept in view what our predecessors *have always prescribed*, namely, that if the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue were permitted every where without discrimination, *more injury* than benefit *would thence arise*." More than this, his holiness says to the offending Archbishop that he expects him plainly to say, that in his improper recommendation of "the perusal of these divine Scriptures" he "*had not respect to all the faithful indiscriminately, BUT ONLY Ecclesiastical persons, or at most those laymen who in the judgment of their Pastors, were sufficiently instructed*." In this Bull, the Pope cites the Decree of Trent, which our priests say is antiquated—and the Bull *Unigenitus*, which we will quote presently.

On the 18th Sept., 1819, Cardinal Fontana, *Prefect*, and C. M. Pe-dicini, *Sec'y.*, directed a circular from "*Rome, Court of the Sacred Congregation*," &c., to the Irish Prelates, against *Bible Schools*; in which one of the chief allegations against the schools is that "*Metho-dists*"—"introduce Bibles"—into them!

On the 3rd Oct., 1836, "† *John, bishop of New York*," fulminated a prohibition against the "*New York Catholic Society for the promotion of Religious Knowledge*," in which he cavalierly tells the members of it, that "the church"—in the the words of Pope Alexander

IV."—"in the most positive manner prohibits *all laymen*" from discussing the Catholic faith!

As late as the year 1840, *Messrs. Rule and Lyon*, English Missionaries, were expelled from Cadiz in Spain, by the procurement of the Papal Bishop, who in his *Pastoral Address* to the *Alcades Constitutional* of that city, accuses them of the enormous crime of circulating not only "*David Bogue's Essays on the Divine Authority of the New Testament*," but also "*The Sacred Bible translated into Spanish without any note of Catholic authors, and THEREFORE PROHIBITED not only by the Church, but by her Majesty, and commanded by the Government to be seized.*"

This has been for ages the doctrine of the Church, as we will now prove.

The *doctrinal* system of the Church of Rome, is entirely changed since the Reformation of the XVI. century; and is now thoroughly imbued with Pelagianism. The Bull *Unigenitus* which contains the official recognition of this final doctrinal apostacy, settles also the question as to the indiscriminate circulation of the word of God. Among the propositions attributed by that Bull to *Father Quesnel*, and condemned by it, are several, viz., from 79 to 86 relating to the Holy Scriptures. We quote two: "79. *It is useful and necessary, at all times, in all places, and for all sorts of persons to study and know the spirit, piety and mysteries of the Holy Scriptures.* 80. *The reading of the Scriptures is for everybody.*" Of these, and the like truths, *Clement XI.* and the Church of Rome say, they "*condemn and reject*" them, "as false, captious, shocking, offensive to pious ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, injurious to the Church and her practice, contumelious, * * * seditious, impious, blasphemous," &c., &c.

By the order of the Council of Trent, an *Index of Prohibited Books* was published; that is a stout volume, containing a list of such books as the Church of Rome prohibits her people to read. Many editions of this book have been printed—and new prohibitions are constantly made, as good books are published; for the best books ever printed—including the Bible—are set down as prohibited in this volume. But as a further help to the faithful, certain *Rules* are prefixed to this enlightened volume, which prohibit by wholesale. In one of these *Rules*, translations of the Old Testament are allowed *only to learned and pious men*, and to them only as an aid to understand the Vulgate; and translations of the New Testament, are prohibited altogether, if made by heretics. In another Rule (4) the sense of "*holy mother*," is plainly declared to be, that "*it is manifest from experience, that if the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of man will cause MORE EVIL THAN GOOD TO ARISE FROM IT!*" On which account she proceeds to put the strictest limitations upon it; limitations which restrict the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue, (*yea, even their own Vulgate thus translated*),—to such persons as can get a *written permission* from their Bishop by the advice of their Confessor!!

In the 2nd chapter of the IV. Session of the Holy and Œcumenical Council of Trent—it is decreed, if any one shall print, circulate,

sell, read, or even keep "any books relating to religion," which have not been licensed and approved by the Bishop, or other ecclesiastical superior—and which the person so printing, &c., shall not have obtained license concerning; all such persons are under the penalty of *Anathema*, and are subject to the punishment decreed by the last Council of Lateran, viz., a fine of 100 ducats and the forfeiture of the books, in order to be burned! For the meaning of their *Anathema*, see the curse of Bishop Conwell in our No. vii.

Now let it be remembered, that in their *creed*, (see our No. i.,) every papist "promises and swears true obedience to the Roman Bishop;" and professes and undoubtedly receives all things delivered, defined and declared, by the sacred canons and *general councils*, and PARTICULARLY by the *holy Council of Trent*."

What then, we now, ask, are we to believe concerning the "*Doctrine and Practice*"—of our priests—who, with these, and a thousand similar proofs before their eyes, can attempt to prove that the Church of Rome, is really the friend of the Scriptures and of their general circulation? These men swear they receive with undoubting faith all things decreed by the Council of Trent. Well, that council not only prohibits, but punishes the indiscriminate circulation of the Scriptures. And they coolly say, this is an antiquated canon not followed by any Catholics! Then, gentlemen, why swear to it? Again, these gentlemen swear true obedience to the Roman Bishop. Well, pope after pope down to our own days, forbids the general circulation of the word of God. And our priests in reply, boast of the multitude of times these prohibitions have been disobeyed! Again, these gentlemen swear that they abide by "the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all churches." Well, this mother and mistress forbids in the most formal and reiterated manner, the indiscriminate circulation of the Bible. And our gentlemen, modestly say, these were "*certain temporary and local restrictions upon the indiscriminate perusal of some translations*;" but happily even these have been removed!

Truly, herein is a marvellous state of case;—and having the testimony of our learned priests on *both* sides of it, viz., in their *creed* which they swore to on one side, and in their newspaper article, to which they did not swear on the other; we cannot be so rude as to credit their word against their oath; especially, as every fact in the case is palpably with their oath, and against their word.

But suppose we admit, with our priests, that Rome is truly in love with the Bible, and is sincerely desirous of placing it in the hands of all her people; then a very serious difficulty arises, and needs to be explained. For if Rome was justified in doing certain acts in the darkness of the Reformation, which are no longer to be justified—where is the *universal faith* gone? and what has become of her boasted *infallibility*? A church that is the same everywhere and in all ages—ought not to talk about "*antiquated*" canons, and "*local and temporary*" restrictions. A church that can't err—ought surely to know what to do with the Bible—if with nothing else. Now, is the "*Doctrine and Practice*" of Rome, in regard to the most important of all subjects, viz., the holy revelation of God—radically altered

—nay, reversed? If so, the Church has erred. If not, the priests have deceived the people. Either way their cause is lost.

Suppose, however, that the common people in the communion of Rome—are allowed to keep and to read the Bible—in their mother tongue. What then? The priests plainly say, (see their No. v.,) that “no *obligation* is incumbent on the flock, that is, on the laity” —“to study the Scriptures;” a saying which, if it be true, renders it useless for the people to possess the Bible; but which being flatly against God’s word—is proof only, that the priests know nothing about the Scriptures themselves. (See *John* v. 39. *Isaiah* xxxiv. 16. *Luke* xvi. 29. *Acts* xvii. 11.)

Suppose again, that the people perform a work of *supererogation* (their Church teaching them that they can do *more* than God requires;) and so being really allowed to have the Bible in their mother tongue, they set about its dilligent study as a rule of faith and life. Behold at every step insuperable difficulties which their Church has placed as stumbling blocks in the way of men, whom she had beforehand blindfolded. Let us calmly look at few of them.

In the first place, the cardinal doctrine of the Reformed Churches is the right of private judgment; the right to examine, to decide and to believe according to our own conscientious sense of the thing submitted to us. But Rome rejects this principle as the very incarnation of heresy. And yet why need a man keep a Bible, if it is not his duty to read it; or why read it, if he is not at liberty to believe and obey it, according to its simple and obvious sense?

In the second place, Rome insists, that her people shall not only abstain from believing what she does not believe, but she requires them also to believe what she does believe. That is, let us read and study the Bible, as we may—we must find in it, just what the church says she finds in it. But who is this Church? *This is the third time we have begged our Archbishop’s Vicars, to show us this one thing.* And what does she teach? And where is the proof thereof?

The third difficulty is of the like kind; for Rome obliges her people to understand the Scriptures according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. Who are the Fathers? *This is the third time we have asked for light on this subject?* And after the humble Christian knows their names—how is he to get at their cart-load of writings?—and how is he to reconcile their endless disputings and oppositions to each other—so as to make a great library of Latin and Greek books agree with the Bible—before he dares to trust God himself, as to his own meaning?

And so too of the fourth, fifth and sixth difficulties. Rome swears her people to receive traditions, the holy canons, and decrees of councils. (See *Creed in our* No. 1.) Now what is tradition; and where can a man find it? Which councils are general; and what have they decreed; and which of their decrees are not “antiquated” nor yet “local and temporary?” And as for canons—who can tell which are genuine and not forged—or who can reconcile them,—when doctors, universities, popes, saints, and councils differ about them?

To put a Bible in a plain man’s hands, and tell him, you are not obliged to read it at all, but if you choose to do so, you will lose

your soul if you don't understand it according to tradition, the fathers, the canons, the councils, and the Church—all of which *helps* to his knowledge are utterly beyond his reach; this is merely to say to the man—the Bible is a very dangerous book, and you had better let it alone. And this is precisely what Rome has always said to her people about God's blessed word; that word which was given as a light to our feet and a lamp to our path, and which all the righteous have found to be true and perfect altogether.

The reasons which have actuated the Church of Rome, in keeping the people as far as possible in ignorance of the word of God, are too obvious to be mistaken. Ignorance and superstition vanish in proportion as the Scriptures are read and believed by men. The Bible is the clearest and most palpable book of controversy ever written against the Roman Antichrist, and his Synagogue of Satan. The priests say (in their No. v.) that parents keep out of the hands of their children, books which they judge to be unsafe. We thank the gentlemen for the suggestion, and for the admission it contains. And no considerate man can doubt that this is the very ground on which "*mother and mistress*," as she calls herself, Rome forbids her children to read what God has said, except as she allows them, or to believe it except as she expounds it. We have no "*Doctrine or Practice*," which we suppose the Bible does not contain and enforce; therefore we cannot, out of fear for our religion, dread the Bible; and therefore out of love for the Bible, we can and do rejoice to give it to all men. The priests hold and teach "*Doctrines and Practices*"—which they say are, in part at least founded on the Bible, and for the rest not opposed to it; and yet their church hates, depreciates and conceals the Bible. Now which party, according to common sense and right reason, may be supposed to be in accordance with the Bible? When a cause is on trial, no man kills or drives away his own most important and most favorable witness!

Was there ever greater impertinence or more audacious arrogance than for the priesthood of Rome to say to men,—stand by,—you cannot understand God,—we will tell you what he means? Was there ever more frightful impiety—than for them to say to us, resign your reason and conscience into our keeping, and we will be responsible for your souls? Was there ever more daring blasphemy—than for them to say to God—thou canst not explain thyself to thy creatures, we will do it—thou hast made an imperfect Bible, we will complete it—thou hast put forth a dangerous book, we will restrain its evil influences!

The first and fundamental point of controversy between papists and Christians, regards God's precious truth. What is the inspired word of God—for whom was this revelation made—what is the mode of spreading the knowledge of it—what is its own efficacy and use? These are questions absolutely fundamental; and the differences in regard to them which separate papists and Christians from each other—constitute systems which are wholly irreconcilable. Nothing is more certain than that Papism and Protestantism cannot both be of God, any more than that it can be good in God to give a revelation intended for the whole world, and also good in man to conceal that revelation from his perishing fellows.

THE FUNERAL OF THE MASS.

CHAPTER VIII. *continued.*—*Containing answers to the Objections of the Romish Doctors.*

OBJECTION III. 11. The third objection was proposed at Nismes, anno 1657, by the Jesuit S. Rigant, thus: God doth communicate, or can communicate to the creature in a finite degree that which he possesseth in an infinite degree. For example, God hath an infinite power whereby he can do all things at once; therefore he communicates, or can communicate to the creature a finite and limited power, whereby it may do divers things at once, as appears in a man, for he can see, hear, talk, and walk at the same time. God hath also an infinite wisdom and knowledge, whereby he knows all things at once; therefore he communicates or can communicate to the creature a finite knowledge, whereby it may know divers things at once. And even so God hath a virtual infinite extent, which is called immensity, whereby he fills all things and all places at once: Therefore God communicates or can communicate to the creature, viz. to a body a finite extent, whereby it may fill divers spaces, and occupy several places at once. Whence it follows that Christ's body may be in divers places at the same time, viz. in heaven and in the Host.

ANSWER. 12. To this I answer, that as God cannot be in two places (for example, in heaven and upon earth) without being in all those places that are between both, (for then he would be distant, and separated from himself) so Christ's body cannot be in two distant places, viz. at Paris and at Rome, in heaven and upon earth in the Host, without being in all those places that are between both, for then it would be distant and separated from itself, which is impossible, as hath been sufficiently proved. Therefore, seeing Christ's body is not in all places between Paris and Rome, and between heaven and earth, it follows that it is not in heaven and upon earth in the Host, nor at Paris and Rome in consecrated Hosts. So that to make a creature, for example, the body of Christ, partaker of God's extent or immensity, it is sufficient that as God, by his infinite extent, occupies all places, so Christ's body should, by its infinite extent, occupy some place. But if to make it partake in a finite degree of this divine attribute of immensity, it must be in divers places, yet it is sufficient that it be in divers places successively and not at once; or if to make it partake of this attribute it must be in divers places at once, yet it is sufficient that it occupies them by its several parts; for example, that the head be in one place, and the feet in an other, &c. In a word, that it be without discontinuance or separation, as God is every where without discontinuance. Thus the learned M. Bruguier then answered, and much better, but I cannot remember his full and complete answer.

OBJECTION IV. 13. The fourth objection is this: If divers bodies may miraculously be in one and the same place, then it also follows, that one body may miraculously be in divers places, there being no more difficulty or impossibility in the one than in the other. But divers bodies may miraculously be in one and the same place, for Jesus Christ came into the room where his disciples were, the doors

being shut, which he could not have done, if his body had not penetrated the doors. Besides, it is said that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and consequently Mary was a virgin both before and after his birth, which could not have been if Jesus Christ had not penetrated her belly and come forth without fraction or overture. Lastly, Jesus Christ penetrated the stone that was laid on his sepulchre when he rose again; and it is said that he penetrated the heavens when he ascended.

ANSWER. 14. To this I answer, first, That it is not said that Jesus Christ came in, the doors being shut, for these are the words, *The same day, when it was evening, and the doors having been shut for fear of the Jews, Jesus came, &c.* which words do indeed shew the time when Jesus came in unto his disciples, but not the manner of his entry by penetration; but if the word be translated, *the doors being shut*, and that they do import that the doors were not opened by any body, yet they do not exclude the opening of them in the twinkling of an eye by the divine power, since we have examples of this in holy Scripture; for Acts v. 19, we read that the Apostles went out of prison, though the doors had been fast shut, but it is said, that *the angel of God opened them.* And Acts xii. 10. *The door of the prison opened to St. Peter of its own accord;* that is, without being opened by any body. And so it is said that Jesus Christ entered, *the doors being shut, or having been shut;* which excludes the opening of them by any body, but not the opening of them by a divine power in so short a time that it was undiscernable.

Secondly, I answer, That the Virgin Mary was a true virgin both before and after her delivery, if by being a virgin be meant not to have had the company of a man; but it is certain that Jesus Christ came out of the virgin's belly by opening her womb; for it is said, St. Luke ii. 22, 23, that *Joseph and Mary carried Jesus Christ to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord; as it is written in the law, every male that openeth the womb, shall be holy unto the Lord.*

Thirdly, I answer, That Jesus Christ did not penetrate the stone that was laid on his sepulchre; for it is said, St. Matth. xxviii. 2. *That the angel of God rolled it back from the door of the sepulchre.*

Fourthly, I answer, That what is said, Heb. iv. that Jesus Christ penetrated the heavens, we must understand it improperly, in the same manner as it is commonly said that an arrow penetrates the air; that is, the air gives way to the arrow that passeth through the air; and so Jesus Christ penetrated the heavens, because the heavens gave way to his body, and not that the heavens and his body were in one and the same place.

15. All the Romish doctors agree with us, that modal accidents (which are nothing else but the manners of the being of substances, as action, passion, relation, figure, &c.) cannot be without a subject, no not by the power of God himself. But all the objections by which they endeavour to prove that the accidents of the bread and wine may exist without a subject (that is, without their substance,) do prove the same thing of modal accidents too. So that I shall not stay now to repeat those objections, with their answers, which are set down at large in my dispute about the Eucharist.

OBJECTION V. 16. The fifth objection is drawn from Mal. i. 11, in these words, *From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the*

same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place shall they offer incense to my name, and a new and pure offering: where, by this new and pure offering, nothing can be understood but the sacrifice of the mass; because by this offering we cannot understand prayers, alms, contrition of heart, and other good works, which are sometimes in Scripture called oblations and sacrifices, for the Prophet Malachi promiseth a new offering. But prayers, alms, and other good works, were common amongst the Jews; and besides, they of the Reformed Church do believe that all the actions of the faithful are polluted, and the prophet speaks of a pure and clean offering. Again, by this offering which Malachi speaks of, cannot be understood lambs, bulls, and such like animals, which were wont to be sacrificed in Solomon's temple; because the prophet promiseth that it shall be offered in every place, even amongst the heathen. Lastly, by this offering cannot be understood the bloody sacrifice which Jesus Christ offered on the cross, because that bloody sacrifice was offered but once upon mount Calvary in Judea, and the prophet speaks of an oblation that shall be offered in every place: Therefore, by this offering must be understood the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, under the species of the bread and wine, which is nothing else but the mass.

ANSWER. 17. To this I answer, first, That by the offering whereof Malachi speaks, must be understood that spiritual worship and service which believers should perform unto God under the New Testament, which is comprised in that sacrifice which they offer to God, both of their persons and religious actions; and this is the reason why St. Paul, Rom. xii. 1, speaks thus, *I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.* And chap. xv. 16, speaking of the grace that was given him of God, he saith, *it is given him that he should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.* Whence it appears, that by this oblation, whereof Malachi speaks, we must not understand the offering of Christ's body and blood under the accidents of bread and wine, but the offering up of the persons and religious actions of those that should be brought unto God by the preaching of the gospel, and particularly the Gentiles.

18. Secondly, I answer, that in the whole passage of Malachi above cited, the words *new offering*, are not to be found, but only *clean offering*. And though a new offering had been there spoken of, yet I say that things may be said to be new, when, being spoiled and corrupted, they are restored and made sound again. But the service of God, which had been corrupted under the law, was re-established by Jesus Christ and his apostles under the gospel, so that all things were made new; a new time, viz. the time of the preaching of the gospel; a new people, viz. the Christian people; a new place, viz. all parts of the world, and not at Jerusalem only; a new prayer, viz. the Lord's Prayer; new sacraments, viz. baptism and the Lord's Supper; and new preaching, viz. the preaching of salvation by Jesus Christ.

19. Thirdly, I answer that the oblation which is offered unto God under the gospel, is pure and clean; the service which is performed

to him, according to his word, is pure: the preaching of the gospel is pure; in a word, the Christian religion is pure, though there be many failings in those that profess it. And although the faithful that present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, be compassed about with many infirmities, and that their religious actions be accompanied with divers failings, yet their persons and works may be said to be pure and clean in Jesus Christ, in whose name they are presented to God; so that although they cannot of themselves please or satisfy God; yet as they are members of Christ, they are reputed holy before God; for it is these Peter speaks of in Epist. 1, chap. ii. 5, *who as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.* And so our sacrifices are a pure and clean offering, but it is through Jesus Christ, who covers them with his purity and holiness, so that the defects of them are not imputed to us. To this I add, that besides the perfect purity which we have by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, we have also a purity begun by the Holy Ghost; of which Paul speaks, Rom. xv. 16, in these words, *that the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost:* for that which God hath decreed, Jesus Christ hath purchased, and the Holy Ghost hath begun, is reputed by God perfect and complete. And Paul shews clearly the truth of what hath been said, 1 Tim. ii. 8, in these words, *I will that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting.* And Ephs. v. 25, 26, *Jesus Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself, a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish.*

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT OF THE THREE KINGDOMS OF ENGLAND, IRELAND AND SCOTLAND; WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN, AND OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS THEN, AND AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

It has been the fashion of papists, English prelatists and tories, and all the haters of true religion and regulated freedom every where, to revile and vilify 'The Solemn League and Covenant.' And as this matter has been industriously attended to for nearly two hundred years, and these sentiments are deeply ingrained into an immense part of English literature, it is no small matter to stem such a torrent of lies. But if a generation should ever arise that has sense and spirit enough to relish the prose writings of Milton, and grace enough to receive in simplicity the doctrines of the reformation and of the Westminster standards; then the *Covenant*, and those who drew it up, bore it to victory, and then sealed it with their blood, will become once more objects of interest and admiration.

Having been called, during the past year, in the discharge of a high public duty, to examine critically and somewhat at large, the history and the monuments of the era of the *Covenant* and the Westminster Assembly; we are ready to confess that every idea we had

before received, came short of what appears to us to be due to the glorious old Puritans; a name, let us say, which is even more perverted from its true sense by our Congregational brethren when they appropriate it to themselves or their ancestors, than would be the word *freeman*, if some one should say it was synonymous with the word *Yankee*.

We gave, in our last No., in the Report of the Standing Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, some information touching the Covenant; a Report which found so little favor with our late General Assembly, they would not even order it to be recorded, much less printed, as is usual with such papers, in the appendix to the Minutes. Very well; we are thereby only the more prominently and singly responsible for the sentiments of the Report. We print below the *Covenant* itself. Our readers are aware of the difference between the *National Covenant*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*. It is the latter which we now publish.

On the 22d of June 1643, the Scottish Convention of Estates met at Edinburg; and on the 2d of August following, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland assembled in the same city. The Parliament of England and the Synod of Westminster sent up commissioners to these bodies, to desire from them respectively, aid in the civil war, and the presence of Scottish commissioners in the Synod. The persons sent up were, according to Neal, the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armage, Sir Harry Vane, Mr. Hatcher, Mr. Darley, and the Rev'd Messrs. Marshall and Nye. The Assembly of the Kirk advised "that the two nations should enter into a perpetual covenant for themselves and their posterity, that all things might be done in God's house according to his will;" it appointed delegates, as requested, to the Synod of Westminster; and it recommended, unanimously, that the English Parliament should be aided in the war against King *Charles I.* The reasons given for this last advice, were these: 1, Because the war was for religion: 2, Because the protestant religion was in danger: 3, Gratitude for former assistances at the time of the Scots Reformation, required a suitable return: 4, Because the churches of Scotland and England being embarked in one bottom, if one be ruined the other cannot subsist: 5, The prospect of uniformity between the two kingdoms in discipline and worship, will strengthen the protestant interest at home and abroad: 6, The present Parliament had been friendly to the Scots, and might be so again: 7, Because they could not confide in the royal declarations, promises, or acts, having so often found *facta verbis contraria*.—(*Rushworth, vol. 5, p. 472. Neal, vol. 3, p. 57.*) The Convention of Estates took the advice thus deliberately and unanimously tendered, on what it must be confessed, were both sound and sufficient reasons; and the Scottish people entering boldly into the contest, decided it for the Parliament and against the King of England. In return for this service, Cromwell conquered the Covenanters, and Charles II. hung them. A fair sample of English love-tokens.

The Solemn League and Covenant covered the third point of the advice of the Assembly, as the entering upon the war and the sending of commissioners to Westminster did the other two. On the 17th of August 1643, the Covenant was read by its author, *Alexander*

Henderson, in the Scottish Assembly; and was on that very day unanimously and enthusiastically approved by that body, and by the Convention of Estates or Scottish Parliament. On the 25th of September 1643, it was subscribed by the Westminster Assembly, and the Commons House of the English Parliament. On the 1st day of October, being the Sabbath, it was read from all the pulpits within the bells of mortality of the city of London, and subscribed by the people. On the 15th it was taken by the House of Lords. On the 29th it was ordered to be sworn to and subscribed all over Scotland, by an act of the Committee of Estates. On the 2d of February 1644, the English Parliament directed it to be taken throughout the kingdom, by all persons above the age of eighteen years. On the 29th of January, it was ordered by the Commons House, that it should be read publicly in every church and congregation in the kingdom on every day of fasting and public humiliation.

If ever there was an act which could be called *national*, this was one. If ever there was an instrument which could be said to embody the ruling sentiments of a generation, this must be allowed to be one. And if there were no reasons beside these to commend it to the respectful consideration and careful study of all subsequent ages, these are surely enough; and such a generation as that was, all past ages cannot match, and few that are to come, will, we fear, ever again look upon one like it.

There is a very remarkable, and in many respects minute resemblance between the state of affairs in Great Britain at the present time, and that which existed immediately before the breaking out of the civil wars of the xvii. century, which resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy. Then, as now, the wildest and most preposterous doctrines and pretensions, were set up by the dominant party in the Anglican church. Then, as now, popery was rampant in Ireland, and her murderous principles swept over that devoted land, as they are threatening to do again. Then, as now, the party in England favourable to liberty, was hunted down and galled to madness. Then, as now, the English aristocracy, as if bent on its own perdition, drove furiously over all barriers and all land-marks. Then, as now, the English government undertook to subvert the Church of Scotland, and to trample on the dearest spiritual rights of the most religious people in Europe. Who shall venture to say that another *Henderson* may not arise, another *Hampden*, another *Leslie*, *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell*? Have men forgotten the fate of *Laud*, of *Strafford*, and of *Charles Rex*? We incline very seriously to the opinion that there is full as much reason this day, to expect the causes now at work to produce catastrophes as memorable as those of the xvii. century, as there was this day two hundred years ago to have anticipated the events which so soon followed. The alternative presented in Ireland is virtually the same as in 1641; and though the papists may again massacre a large portion of the protestant population, they will be ultimately put down. The question in England, is again between high church tyranny and superstition on the one side, and Puritanism, dissent, and liberty on the other. And in Scotland, we again hear '*Christ's crown and covenant*' the rallying cry against the perfidious and insulting domination of English Tories and high church-men.

In such a remarkable re-appearance upon the stage of human affairs, of those ancient principles and combatants, it cannot fail to occur to every reflecting mind, that deep and permanent causes must be at work, and that in the absence of disturbing influences of the most powerful description, the effects which have been formerly produced are extremely likely to occur again. It is in this view that such documents as that which we now re-print, assume peculiar importance, and challenge the attention of thinking men.

"A solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

"We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty, and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace, of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices, of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof in all places especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption, are of late and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies; we have (now at last) after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings, for the preservation of our lives and our religion, from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

I. "That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction, and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II. "That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, prelacy (that is, church-govern-

ment by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

III. "We shall, with the same reality, sincerity, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties, of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences, of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

IV. "We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any factions or parties among the people, contrary to the league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect shall judge convenient.

V. "And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and has been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall, each one of us according to our places and interests, endeavour that we may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done on all the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

VI. "We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king; but shall all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed.

"And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his Son, Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof, we profess and

declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the cause of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves and all others under our charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be a deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to the Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to join with the same or like attestation and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.”*

IN WHAT YEAR OF THE WORLD DID THE SAVIOUR BECOME INCARNATE?—SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DIFFICULTY OF SETTLING THAT QUESTION—AND ON THE MORAL AND PROPHETIC VALUE OF IT.

WE have some reason to suppose, that the unreserved manner in which we have, on several occasions, spoken of the difficulty of settling the chronology of all events which are long past, and therefore the strong evidence of ignorance and presumption which is afforded alike by positive assertions and denials concerning the exact chronology of prophetic events not yet accomplished; has been considered unguarded, by persons who have not attentively examined the subject.

Let us suppose, for example, that in deciding when some future event will certainly occur, or in deciding that it will certainly not occur within a given period, some part of our reasoning is based on the assumption that the predicted event will be in such a year of the world; or that it depends on other events which had relation to the lapse of time since the creation of the world; or that it depends in any degree on the exact relation of the present, or any past or future period to the creation of the world; then if it is in fact true, that we are utterly unable to determine with tolerable accuracy in what year of the world we are,—it manifestly follows that total uncertainty must rest upon all dates that depend upon this one; and to assert or to deny

*Rushworth, vol. 5. p. 478.—Neal, Hist. Pur., vol. III., p. 59.

with positiveness any thing on such a ground is proof only that he who does it, is no scholar.

Now we propose to illustrate in the present paper, the extent of the uncertainty in which all the labours of learned men have the question—*In what year of the world was Jesus Christ born?* And in a second paper the like state of uncertainty in regard to the question, —*in what year of the Christian era do we now live?* The general impression seems to be that the latter question is positively settled, and the former one approximately with a great degree of certainty. Both ideas are unfounded; and it might help to make us all more modest, if we could be clearly taught how ignorant we are.

Let it be remembered in the outset, that there are commonly allowed two eras founded on the Hebrew text of the Old Testament Scriptures, for the date of the birth of Christ; one called the *vulgar era* which places it in the year of the world 4000; the other allowed to be more accurate, fixing it in the year 4004. According to the Samaritan text, as commonly held, the true era would be 4700. If we follow the Septuagint version as commonly understood, it would be 5872. Even allowing the Hebrew to be correct—still here is ground for hesitation and great modesty.

But when we get to the heart of the subject, putting aside such magic words as “*commonly understood*,” and try to ascertain what learned men have really taught on this subject; we shall find very little reason to conclude that any thing has really been “*commonly understood*,” touching it. After perusing the following table, the reader will perhaps conclude, with us, that if some modern interpreters of prophecy had studied more, they would have written less; and that if those who draw arguments for the continued duration of the earth, or for its speedy destruction, from the positive chronology of the past, would examine the subject, they would admit that an approximation to truth is all that is possible in the case. Such as may desire to look farther into the matter are referred to the *Bibliogr. Antiquaria* of FABRICIUS; STRANCHIUS *Breviarium Chro. lib. iv.*; LAMPE'S *Præloquium* to the ΠΕΡΤΑΣ *Dissertationum Biblico Chronologicarum* of HOTTINGER; CHERREAU *Hist. du Monde, lib. 1.*

Rabbi Lipman, (according to Vortsius, Rabbi David Gautz, p. 271,) places the birth of Christ in the year of the world,	3616
ISAAC ABARBANEL, the great Jewish Expositor,	3630
Rabbi Abraham Ben Dior,	3660
Chronocon Hebræorum, or Juchasin R. Abraham Zacuth,	3670
Rabbi Jason Nosen,	3734
Rabbi Nahasson, de Cyclo Paschali, (according to Genebrard,)	3740
Rabbis Gerson, Ben Levi, and Abraham,	3754
The <i>Seden Olam</i> ,	3758
Hieronymus a Sancta Fide, Paulus a Sancta Maria, Lyranus, Rabbi David Gautz, Georgius Venetus, Galatinus, and many others,	3760
Rabbi Levi on the xii. ch. of Daniel,	3780
Some of the Talmudists, quoted by Genebrard and Scotanus,	3784
Julianus, ex Hebraica editione SS. Bibleorum,	3834
Andreas Helwigius,	3836
BEN ARIAS MONTANUS, the celebrated editor and scholar,	3849

Jacobus Gordonus, as cited by Riciolus,	3880
William Perkins,	3901
The Biblia Regia, as Scotanus asserts,	3919
Johannes Espagnæus,	3927
Gerhardus Mercator, JOHN LIGHTFOOT, Hugo Brughtonus,	3928
David Pareus,	3928
Matthæus Beroaldus, according to Spanhem,	3929
Theodore Van Theuynen,	3936
Ribera on the xx. ch. of Rev.,	3937
Paulus Alphæ, Commentary on Daniel, edited by Vætius,	3938
D. Hieronymus, in Quæstionibus Hebraicis,	3941
Joannes Carion, in Chron,	3944
Robert Bailly,	3945
JOSEPH SCALIGER, Sethus Calvisius, Ubbo Emmius, Christophorus Helvicus, Jo. Hen. Alstedius, Petrus Laurenbergius, Reinoldus Frankenbergeus, Joh. Behmius, Nic. Mullerius, Jo. Micrælius, Christianus Schotanus, GEOR. HORNIUS,	3947
David Origanus, Joh. Argolus, Frid. Hildebrand, Ishmael Bullialdus, Ægidius Stranchius, Jo. Jonston, Magnus Celsius,	3949
Petrus Lombecius, FRID. SPANHEM, Hieronymus Vecchiettus, Antonius Pagi, Samuel Basnage, Henricus Kippingius,	3950
Cornelius a Lapide, Torniiellus, Paulus Forosempronienis,	3951
Hieronymus, Beda, Hermanus Contractus,	3952
Jo. SLEIDANUS,	3953
Cornelius Cornelii, Vincentius Belloracensis,	3954
Jo. Georg. Herwortus,	3955
Horatius Tinsellinus,	3956
PHILO de Tèmporobus, Jac. Haynlinus,	3957
Phil. Lonsbergius, Hen. Wolfius Tigurinus,	3958
Alphonsus Salmero, Jo. Picus Mirandulanus,	3959
Jo. Lucidus, Abrahamus Scultetus, Petrus Bogdanus, M. Guazzus, Jo. Boulæsius; to whom Ricciolus supposes Dolionus and Avicenna should be added; and Scotanus adds Philo the Jew, erroneously as we suppose,	3960
F. Matthias Chefneux, Augustinianus,	3961
The Abbot of Ursperg, Sixtus Senensis, Pantaleon, Candidus, Picus Mirandulanus, Wolfgangius Lazius, David Chyrtæus, Cummanus, Flinsbachius, MARTIN LUTHER, PHILIP MELANTHON,	3962
Jo. Funecius, Alphonsus Testatus, Jo. BUXTORF, Jo. Herelius,	3963
C. S. Longomontanus, Petrus Balliscerdus, Cour. Peucerus,	3964
GHER. MERCATOR, Petrus Opmeer,	3966
Henry Bunting, H. Bard, Andreas Sœlmatter,	3967
Gualtperus, BULLINGER, Elkstormius,	3969
Abra. Bucholzerus, Elias Rensner, Henricus Pantaleon, CORNELIUS JANSENIUS, Chris. Matthiæ, Urbanus Cheoreus, M. Z. Buxhornius, Matthæus Dresserus, Henr. Altingius,	3970
LOMBARD, Krentsheim,	3971
Theophilus—if we can trust Imbonatus,	3974
Theodore Bibliander,	3979
Dionysius Petavius, Jo. Clericus,	3983
CARDINAL BELLARMIN,	3984

Joh. Culverius, according to Imbonatus (but Cheoreus and Stanchius say that Culverius fixes on 3970,)	3985
Carolus Borillus,	3989
Thomas Beverley,	3992
Jo. KEPLER, in the Rudolphin tables,	3993
Jacobus Capellus,	3998
Henricus Maskampius,	3999
Henry Harvillæus, Jac. Tirinus, Abrahamus Calorius, Saure- sius, Gul. Hælius, M Antonius Capellus, NATALIS ALEXANDER, TILLEMONT, Jo. Franc. Budeus, Isaacus Lauberchius.— <i>This is what is called the vulgar era, in universal use,</i>	4000
Jacobus Gordonius, as quoted by Imbonatus and Vætius,	4002
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, as interpreted by some, (but Imbonatus interprets him as fixing on 4163, and Scotanus, 4192,)	4003
JAMES USHER, Ed. Simpson, Laur. •Eichstadius, Jo. Whis- ton.— <i>This is what is commonly called the true era,</i>	4004
John Wickman, Jo. Harduin,	4005
Joh. Clunerus;— <i>Epitome Historiarum,</i>	4006
Thomas Lydiat,	4007
Campregius Vitringa,	4010
Benedict Pererius, Conrad Powell, Erasmus Reinhold,	4021
Henry Philip, Gul. Langius,	4040
Jo. Jac. Hofmann,	4049
XANTES PAGNINUS, Augustinus Tornielus, Chris. Beroldus,	4051
Jac. Salianus, HENR. SPONDANUS, Jo. de Bussieres,	4052
Gabriel Bucelinus,	4053
PHILIPPUS LABBEUS, Phil. Brierius, Henr. Sameicus,	4054
Horatius Scoglius,	4055
RABBI MOSES MAIMONIDES, Jas. Blancanus,	4058
Jo. Baptista Ricciolus,	4060
Jo. de Roa, Davila,	4072
Michæl Mæstlinus,	4079
Arnold de Pontæ,	4088
Gilbert Ginebrard, (according to Scotanus, 4421,)	4090
Francis Ribera,	4095
Lud. Capellus,	4102
Joannes Brentius,	4121
Nicholaus Vignier, in the Bibliotheca Historica,	4128
Thomas Mavenda,	4133
Lou. Condomannus, Christianus Ravius,	4140
Matthias Wasmuth,	4141
Ricciolus, supposes the Hebrew and the Vulgate to fix it at	4184
Marianus Scotus,	4193
The author of the <i>Examini Chronologicæ,</i>	4200
The Astrologer Edurican, as cited by Imbonatus,	4320
AURELIUS CASSIODORUS,	4697
Origen, on Matthew,	4830
Ado Archbishop of Vienne, (but Imbonatus quotes Ado as fixing on the year 4270,)	4832
Metrodorus,	5000
St. Epiphanius, in the Second Nicene Council, (but Scotanus quotes him as adopting the year 5029,)	5001

Gregorius Turonensis,	5150
Certain Arabian scholars quoted by Ginebrard,	5185
Paulus Orosius, (cited by Allatius ad Eustathium Antioch,)	5190
Sigebert, Isodore Hispalensis, (and Philo Judæus according Ricciolus,)	5196
Philippus Bergomas, Alphonsus Pandulphus,	5198
EUSEBIUS CÆSARENSIS, Orosius, Beda, the Roman Martyrology, CARDINAL BARONIUS, (following the LXX. as understood by him,)	5199
Vincentius Lirinensis, S. Julianus, Pomponius Gauricus, Sansorinus,	5200
Paulus Forosempronienensis, J. NAUCLERC,	5201
Isidore, lib. v. Originum, (but Scotanus understands him to adopt the year 5210,)	5220
Rabanus Maurus,	5296
Christophorus Lauretus,	5302
Albumusar, the Arab Astronomer,	5328
Isidore Pelusiota, Lucas Tudensis,	5336
Peter de Alliaca and many Talmudists,	5344
ST. AUGUSTIN, as reported by Genebrard, and the Chaldeans, if Ricciolus is to be credited,	5351
Isidore Hispalensis, according to Stranchius,	5410
Victor Giselinus, in his Corrections of Sulpitius Severus,	5419
Sulpitius Severus,	5469
Theophilus ad Autolycom, according to Allatius and Maximus, Monachus,	5491
The Church of Alexandria, Panodorus Ægyptius, (as Syn-cellus asserts,)	5493
Q. Julius Hilarion,	5497
The Ethiopians generally,	5499
Theophanes, Julius Africanus, Hippolytus, the Maronite Christians, Glycas, Georgias Monachus, the Oriental Chronicon, the Gospel of the Pseudo Nicodemus, Nicephorus of Constantinople, Euty chius of Alexandria,	5500
Georgius Syncelles,	5501
Nicetas, according to Allatius (but according to Ricciolus three years later,)	5503
Nicephorus Callistus,	5505
Cedrenus, the Persians generally, if we may trust Ricciolus,	5506
The Alexandrian Chronicon,	5507
The Greeks generally, of the present day. The ancient Church of Constantinople. The Muscovites commonly. The Bulgarians. The MS. Greek Astronomer quoted by James Capellus. Grabe on the Septuagint,	5508
Epiphanius Cyprius,	5509
Theophilus of Antioch, according to Ricciolus,	5515
Another Nicephorus, according to the same,	5520
Eustathius of Antioch in Hexæmeron,	5531
The Sicilian Calenders, according to Imbonatus, (but according to Stranchius 5608,)	5535
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, as understood by Ricciolus,	5555
Craconius, according to Voetius,	5580

Isaac Vossius, (but Ricciolus, Cheoreau and Imbonatus understand him as rather preferring 5590,)	5598
CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS,	5624
RICCIOLUS, following the LXX. as understood by him,	5634
Nicephorus of Constantinople, according to Ricciolus, and after him Imbonatus,	5700
Lactantius,	5800
Philistratus,	5801
Paulus Pezronius,	5868
The Tabulæ Alphonsinæ in the Codex of Ricciolus,	5984
The other Eusebius, quoted by Imbonatus,	5990
CYPRIAN, SUIDAS in <i>φαλαγγ</i> ,	6000
Julian Archbishop of Toledo,	6011
Onuphrius Pauvinius, (according to Voetius, 6363,)	6310
J. MULLER, Regiomontanus and Alphonso, King of Castile, in the tables of Muller, (but Ricciolus, Chevreau, and Imbonatus, say, 6984,)	6484
Lucas Gauricus, according to Voetius,	6984

We have ventured to print in small capital letters, some of the most illustrious names in the preceding list.

The reader will at a glance perceive that it contains few names younger than a century; on this, as on every account, the list is imperfect. It is drawn from the labours of learned men;—we do not give it as the result of our own. But the more imperfect it is—the more obvious is it, that the subject is obscure and perplexed.

We are not aware that it is a matter of any serious moment to determine the precise length of time from the creation of man to the era of the incarnation of the Lord Jesus; nor do we by any means assert, that the point is as utterly incapable of being ascertained with reasonable probability, as the first glance at such a table as the foregoing would lead the reader to suppose. We merely mean to illustrate the folly, in a case like this, of such men as Mr. Miller, Mr. Dowling, Dr. Weeks, and the like, uttering bold assertions upon a point in regard to which the most learned men of all countries, ages and creeds have presented the result given above. Of what value is any argument, pro or con, which goes to prove or disprove the near approach of the end of the world, if that argument assumes as its basis the fact that the incarnation took place in the year of the creation of the world 4004; when, according to probable conjectures of very learned men, that event may have occurred 388 years nearer to the creation, or 2980 years farther from it—or at almost any intermediate year of these 3368 that are disputed?

The truth is, we know almost nothing at all about the exact chronology of ancient events. No dependence can be put in the chronology of the ancient heathen nations; and no European nation ever had a chronology at all before the time of the Persian Empire; and whatever they now have of ancient times, is merely the result of subsequent reasoning and conjecture. The records of the Jews are our only safe guide through the chronology of the old world; and how difficult it is to settle, even with their aid, the exact period of events in all their relations—they know the best who have attended most to the subject. There is not, that we know of, a solitary fact

or doctrine of the Bible, that renders it important that the precise interval between the creation and the incarnation should be distinctly stated and clearly known; but there are views of the divine economy, which render it probable that it would be purposely left in obscurity.

What we suppose is established by this paper is this—that so far as any light is pretended to be shed on the future, by arguments drawn positively from the age of the race of man, upon it; or relatively from the interval between the creation of man and the incarnation of Christ; all such attempts are mere charlatanism, on both sides; and so far as such arguments and facts go, there is nothing to hinder that the world should end immediately,—nor any thing to prove it might not continue, just as it is, for a period indefinitely long. We submit, also, but with great diffidence, that it conduces to render plausible an opinion we have sometimes considered not wholly destitute of a colour of truth—though we believe, and candour obliges us to admit, it is not commonly held; to wit, that men could perhaps teach others nearly as well, if they would first learn a little themselves, of the particular matters they suppose they are called to handle. This, however, is so bold a speculation, that we would not, by any means, be considered as risking ourself upon it, in an age in which so large a proportion of the instructors of men have manifestly arrived at an opposite conclusion; and when the labours of such teachers are so obviously acceptable and edifying to the public.

ON THE APPLICATION OF COLD WATER AS A REMEDY FOR SCALDS AND BURNS. BY MAXWELL MC.DOWELL, M. D., LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND.

Rev. and dear Sir,

You have, more than once, politely asked me to furnish you with a communication for your periodical, and although you allowed me the privilege of selecting the subject from my professional pursuits; yet I have not heretofore complied with your request from an apprehension that I might not produce a paper that would be entitled to its pages. At length I have decided upon making you acquainted with a remedy that has, under my direction, been uniformly successful as a cure for *scalds* and *burns*.—The first case occurred nearly forty years ago when I resided in York, Pa.—the patient was my “other self.”—She stepped into the kitchen to give some directions for preparing tea.—The water in the kettle had boiled, and the kettle was placed by the servant, on the hearth.—The patient in stepping across the hearth, by some means upset the kettle and poured a part of its boiling contents upon her right ankle and foot.—I was fortunately at home when the accident occurred, and without permitting the *stocking* to be removed, had her foot and ankle immersed in a bucket of *cold water*. In a few seconds after the foot was placed in the *cold water*, she was entirely relieved of *excruciating* pain.—This case occurred in the summer, and I found it necessary to change the water frequently—a return of pain always admonished me of the time that

a change of water was necessary.—and uniformly, in a few seconds after the foot and ankle were immersed in the fresh supply of *cold water*, the pain was removed.—The time of taking tea arrived and my patient sat at table and poured out tea with her foot and ankle placed in the bucket of *cold water*.—She felt so perfectly free from pain that she thought it was not necessary to keep her foot any longer in the water.—I allowed her to remove her foot from the water; but a return of pain made her very willing to immerse her foot again in the *cold water*.—The time, however, arrived when the cold application was discontinued, and the patient experienced no return of pain.—I considered that the remedy had then completely performed its office.—The wet stocking was removed, the limb wiped dry, and there was not only no blister to be seen, but there was not the *slightest blush* of inflammation perceptible.—The cure was perfect, as the case required no further attention.—The next case was my servant girl; also a scald from boiling water on one of her feet and ankles. Fortunately I was at home when this accident occurred.—Without permitting the stocking to be removed, I had her foot immersed in a bucket of *cold water*.—This case occurred in the winter, and instead of changing the water, I kept a *snow ball* constantly floating in it.—The application of the *cold water* was continued till the patient could remove the limb from it without experiencing pain, which I consider to be the true criterion to decide that the cold water application has been continued long enough.—The wet stocking was removed, the limb wiped dry as in the former case, not the *semblance* of a *blister* was perceivable.—The case required no further attention, and we were not deprived of her services *one hour* after the *cold* application was laid aside.—The *cold* application was continued in the cases that I have stated, nearly *three hours* before the desired effect was produced.

The next case occurred in this city.—The patient was Mrs. Sterrett. This case occurred in the winter, about thirty years ago.—My patient undertook to prepare a domestic remedy commonly called “taffy” for her daughter, a young girl who was affected with a slight cold, accompanied by considerable hoarseness. My patient had placed the molasses, in a soup plate, upon a bed of hot coals for the purpose of boiling it. As soon as she thought that the molasses had boiled a sufficient length of time, she had the plate, with its contents, placed upon a bank of snow that was near the back door of her dwelling.—In a few seconds after the plate was placed upon the snow, she found it sinking at a particular part of its foundation and apprehending that she was about to lose her preparation, she suddenly stepped forward for the purpose of restoring the plate to a level; but when she was in the act of placing her fingers under the sinking edge of the plate, a sudden depression poured the boiling contents into the palm of her hand.—A messenger was despatched for me, and I saw her in less than an hour after the accident had occurred.—I found her in great agony, and had her hand immediately immersed in a basin of *cold water*. I kept a *snow ball* constantly floating in the basin—removing a portion of the water as the basin became full.—In less than a *minute* after her hand was immersed in the cold water she was comparatively relieved from pain.—I sat beside her nearly *five hours*, taking care,

that the water, in the bason, should be constantly supplied with a floating *snow ball*.—In the course of that time, I frequently requested her to remove her hand from the water; but an immediate return of *severe* pain induced her to place it in the water again. It was now drawing near night, and as I believed I had fully convinced her of the value of the remedy, I ventured to leave her after directing her to place the bason of cold water on a chair at her bed side—to make frequent attempts in placing her hand in her bosom; but if a return of pain was the consequence of these efforts, I requested her to stretch out her arm and immerse her hand in the *cold water*.—Her husband Mr. Benjamin Sterrett, could supply the water, with a floating *snow ball* during the night.—Perhaps the directions of a physician were never more strictly attended to, than were mine on this occasion.—When I visited her the next morning, I found her perfectly relieved, not the semblance of a blister nor even unnatural redness on any part of her hand—the fingers capable of performing their usual motions with perfect freedom and ease.—She informed me that she had frequently, during the night, endeavoured to place her hand in her bosom; but a return of pain prevented her from retaining it there, and when she immersed her hand in the *cold water*, she fell *asleep* with it in that position. The cure in this case was complete, and it required no further attention.—My patient must have continued the cold application to her hand between *ten and twelve* hours before the desired effect was produced.

The next case occurred about five years ago. The patient was Henry, a son of Mr. Alexander L. Boggs, who was at the time of the accident about four years old. On the evening after the family had taken tea, a servant bearing a small tub of *boiling* water, was just about entering the room and at that particular moment, Henry, about to leave the room, ran with all his force against the servant by which means a large portion of the boiling liquid was poured into his bosom. A messenger was dispatched for me.—I found the little sufferer seated on his father's knee, almost *frantic* with agony, indeed I expected every moment to see *convulsions* produced.—*Unfortunately* they had taken off his clothes, and in doing so they removed a portion, about the size of a quarter dollar, of the protecting covering of the body, (the *CUTICLE*)—They covered his breast with *raw cotton*, which I had *immediately* removed as I consider it the most *unphilosophic* application that can be made to a *scald* or *burn*.—What is the condition of a part *scalded* or *burned*? and is there not in such cases an excessive quantity of *heat* (*CALORIC*) introduced into the part affected? Is it not a matter of the *first importance* to have that excessive heat removed as speedily as possible? Now it is well known that *raw cotton* is an imperfect *conductor* of heat. The application of that article, therefore, must tend to confine the enemy in the part injured and thereby assist it in carrying on its disorganizing operations. As there was no vessel at hand in which my patient could be immersed in cold water, I had recourse to a different mode of applying my remedy. Having obtained a large portion of old soft *linen* and directing a bucket of *cold water* to be placed near me, and I charged the *linen* with cold water, and having pressed it, so as to prevent water from passing to any uninjured part of the body, I applied the *wet linen*

to the part scalded. It was delightful to find the little sufferer, in a few minutes, placed in a state of comparative ease by the cold application. The whole of his breast from the *collar bones* to the *pit of the stomach* was red as scarlet. When the temperature of the wet linen was changed so far that a sense of pain returned—the linen was again charged with *cold water* and applied to the breast, which very soon removed the pain. Unwilling to depend upon any nurse to apply the remedy during the night, I attended to him myself, and whenever pain returned, I applied the linen, charged with *cold water*, to the breast, and in a few seconds the pain was removed, and my patient dropt into the arms of sleep. The beneficial effects of the remedy, during the night, were very obvious by the increase to the intervals that occurred between the renewed cold application; so that before day appeared, the cold application was discontinued, and my patient was perfectly relieved. The only attention that the case now required, was the frequent application of sweet oil to that very small part which had been deprived of its natural covering (the *CUTICLE*) by removing the clothes of the little sufferer. In the course of the next day after the accident occurred, my patient was running about *playful and brisk*.

The next case that occurred was, about four years ago, a burn from *gun-powder*. My patient was also a son of Mr. Alexander L. Boggs—the son that bears my name.—He and some of his schoolmates were amusing themselves with *gun-powder*, in the back yard of his father's residence, during the christmas holidays. On one occasion, my patient placed a considerable portion of the powder on the pavement, in a circumscribed spot, and when in the act of placing a match to it, held his face immediately over it, and a small distance from it. The flash of the powder stript his *eye brows* and *eye lashes* of every particle of hair that they had possessed, and produced great agony throughout the whole of his face. His mother recollecting the remedy I had made use of, when her son Henry was scalded, made my patient dip his face in a bason of *cold water*, while a messenger was dispatched for me. When I arrived, I found my patient in great agony—his face extremely red and very little white perceivable in the ball of his eye—the vessels of the part being so completely filled with *red blood*.—In this case, the remedy could not be *uninterruptedly* applied.—I sat beside him to direct the application of the remedy, and to encourage him to persevere in the use of it. I kept a small lump of *ice* constantly floating in the basin of water and made him dip his face in the water and keep it in that situation as long as he could conveniently suspend breathing, and then raise his face out of the water for about half a minute.—I sat beside him *at least four hours*, applying the *cold water* in the manner I have stated.—At the expiration of that time, the cold application was discontinued, and there was not a *blister* nor the *semblance* of a *blister* on any part of the face which had been assailed by the excessive heat. The cure was complete.—All pain had vanished, and there was no necessity for liniment of any kind. His eyes could not comfortably bear their accustomed degree of light; but I did not find it necessary to confine him to a dark room.

The next case, was a scald from *boiling water*. The patient was Mrs. Leche, wife of Mr. David Leche, dry goods merchant. This case occurred about three years ago. A small tub of boiling water had been placed, by a servant, in a narrow passage, leading from a back room to a front room in the second story of her dwelling.—The tub was placed in the passage *after dark*.—My patient in going along this passage without a light, set one of her feet in the hot water. *Unfortunately* she drew off the *stocking* and brought with it of the protecting covering of her ankle (CUTICLE) a portion as large as the *palm* of my hand.—The part affected was enveloped by *raw cotton*. She sent to her apothecary for a supply of the liniment composed of equal parts of *flax-seed oil* and *lime water*, and then dispatched a messenger for me.—I found her in extreme agony, and very unceremoniously, I took off the cotton.—She had not applied any part of the liniment to the tender part.—Here however was a case that seemed to forbid the application of *cold water* to so tender a part.—A few moments' reflection brought me to the conclusion that the principles which governed me, in the application of my remedy, in cases of *scalds* and *burns*, would bear me out even in this case. I, therefore, had my patient's foot and ankle immersed in a bucket of *cold water*. The result proved that I was correct; for in a few seconds after my patient's foot was placed in the cold water, she was *comparatively* free from pain. The cold application was continued till, when it was laid aside, my patient did not experience a return of pain.—I then directed the *liniment*, which she had obtained from her apothecary, to be applied to the part that had been deprived of its CUTICLE—the ankle gently bound with soft *linen*, and the limb placed in a *horizontal* position. I consider the liniment, as a *first* application to a *scald* or *burn*, almost if not quite as objectionable as *raw cotton*.—The *oil* in its composition must tend to *confine* the excessive *heat* to the part injured.—Now I think I am warranted in saying that if I had been near enough to Mrs. Leche to *prevent* a *removal* of her stocking, when the accident occurred, the case would have terminated as favourably as those I have already stated.—Her confinement to her chamber, however, was a very small portion of time, compared with what I have witnessed in cases of scalds or burns, where the cold application was not used.—I would like to see my mode of treating scalds and burns, fairly tried in those severe cases that occur in steam boat disasters.—I would have the person scalded *immediately* thrown *overboard* without taking off a *single article* of clothing. Care must be strictly taken to keep his head above water, of course, otherwise casting him overboard would not be *literally* throwing him “out of the frying pan into the fire”; but the result would be equally fatal as it would be *drowning* a man to keep him from being *scalded to death*.—If the face of the sufferer has been injured, by excessive heat, *cold water* can be frequently thrown on it with the hand of the person who attends to keeping him afloat.—I fix upon no time for the *immersion* of the body in the water as that will depend upon the *degree* of heat applied together with the constitutional temperament of the sufferer.—I am of opinion that the plan recommended, in those severe steamboat *scaldings*, if judiciously carried into operation, and persevered in long enough, would cure

every case that was curable by *human agency*.—The application of *cold water to scalds and burns* is not a new remedy, and therefore did not *originate* with me.—My reading has not been very extensive—I have met with no writer who prescribes the remedy in the manner that I apply it.—I have studiously avoided stating the foregoing cases, in the language of my profession, as I hope they will be extensively read by persons who have not had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with *medical language*. I consider *cold water* applied in the manner that I have adopted, superior to every other remedy, in cases of *scalds and burns*.—The directions for the application of the remedy are very simple and easily recollected.—*Upon no account remove a single article of clothing from the person scalded or burned.*—*Continue the application of cold water to the part affected till, when it is discontinued, the sufferer does not experience any return of pain.* I hope the reader will not “throw cold water” upon my mode of treating scalds and burns because the remedy, in which I place *implicit confidence*, does not “smell of the shop.” All I ask is that ample justice may be done to my remedy by giving it a *fair trial*.

I am, Rev'd and dear sir, your friend,

MAXWELL McDOWELL.

The Rev'd Robert J. Breckinridge, D. D.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE INFLUENCE WHICH PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENTS EXERT ON THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

WE often use terms in so vague or peculiar a sense, as either to convey no definite idea at all, or else one that is partial and incomplete. Perhaps no terms have been more extensively subjected to this misuse, than those we must use to express our views in this article. What are physical causes? What is civilization?

It is not to give definitions, however, but to suggest several important considerations, on a subject but little attended to in the light in which we wish to present it, that we now purpose. And according to our notion, the causes whose influence we are about to signalise, are all properly speaking physical causes; and the subject in regard to which they are exerting a most powerful but unobserved influence, is the progress of man, in the great science of personal and social development.

I. The world is, to all practical intents, continually and rapidly becoming smaller. The United States are not above one tenth part the physical dimensions they were thirty years ago; and the globe we inhabit, is not half, perhaps not a fourth part the size it was at the beginning of this century: *Physically*, this is not true; but *physical causes*, in the strictest sense, have produced this astonishing result; a result whose influence upon the destinies of mankind are absolutely incalculable.

If we consider but two elements which make up this result, we shall see what is here intended. Human intercourse is rendered absolutely precise and certain, with a diminution of four-fifths of the

time formerly required; with an augmentation of at least a thousand fold in the force and capacity: and all this at a greatly diminished expense, and increased comfort. That is, New Orleans is now within *ten* days, instead of a *hundred* days of Pittsburgh: Albany and Buffalo may communicate with the same force as before, but with a capacity augmented almost beyond computation: New York and Charleston, are as near neighbours, for every possible effect of the greater influences of civilization, as New York and Philadelphia were, fifty years ago; and the seat of our Federal Government, is located, with reference to our most remote frontier, as favourably, as the capital of the most compact state in the union was at the era of our independence. This is true in a diminished degree, of most civilized states; and in a great degree also, of the whole world.

The influence of this result in every possible aspect, upon the peace, the glory, the union, the happiness, of these states; and of similar causes, upon the whole human family, in expediting the career, and establishing the conquests of civilization; must be great, immediate and permanent, beyond the sagacity of enlightened reason, or the fervor of excited fancy, to prognosticate or depict. The heart bounds and dilates, as it feels these proofs of the assured and speedy triumph of our race enter into it, from the very structure and order of things; and recognises in every effort of selfish aggrandisement, a new link in the great chain of human advancement. Peculiar and blessed destiny vouchsafed to man, at last; that even the evil passions no longer of necessity retard, but may absolutely advance the great interests of society.

We were struck with the reflections of a great and original genius, on a subject and an occasion somewhat illustrative of our present suggestions; and translate a few sentences, which the reader will find on pp. 184—6, vol. vi., of *Memoires pour servir a L'Histoire de France sous Napoleon*. Speaking of the war in *La Vendee*, he says, "If the opening of routes through the country is a great benefit of every administration, indispensable to the development of agriculture and commerce, it is not of less importance to the progress of civilization, of salutary knowledge, and of that community of interests which gives to a nation the aspect and the temper of a family. It is equally necessary to public order and security. No revolt, whatever may be its cause or its ramifications, can resist the repression of the government, when the communications are easy with, and between the points of insurrection. The war of *La Vendee*—that of the Chuanes—never would have been serious, if the western departments of France had been pierced with routes, like her eastern provinces. The Vendecans, enlightened like the Burgundians, would have hailed the revolution which annihilated the last remains of feudal servitude, and assured the political rights of the French. The civil war, the greatest scourge of a people, would not have soiled, during six years, the soil of Poitou, of Anjou, and of Bretagne, and caused floods of French blood to be shed by French hands. Without *La Vendee*—without these insurgent masses, armed in the name of God and the king, to combat liberty, the Convention would have had no pretext to order or sanction so great crimes; and it may be urged with force, that the promoters of the Vendean insurrection,

are responsible for the cruelties perpetrated in other provinces of France, upon the priests and nobles, by drawing daily upon these two classes, not the rage, but the vengeance of the revolution."

Having been seduced into so long an extract, we will venture to make another on the same subject, illustrating the opposite and more terrible evils which would have resulted, from the success of the insurrection of La Vendee; a success which might have been, and in reality, but for the crooked and cruel policy of England, who laboured not for the triumph of La Vandee, but for the ruin of France—would have been complete. The extract will be found on pp. 201—2, of the same vol. of the remarkable work already quoted. "They (the Vendeeans) needed nothing but a general-in-chief, especially a prince, to make of them an army of conquerors. If the royalist chiefs had not had the itch for command, if they would have united their forces, there can be no doubt, that all the west of France would have detached itself from the republic. It would then have become necessary for the Convention to withdraw its armies from conquered or occupied countries, to subdue the departments covering the five provinces of Normandy, Bretagne, Maine, Anjou, and Poitou: and it is difficult to say, what evils such a complication of efforts might not have brought upon the cause of the revolution. Foreign enemies would have resumed the aggressive. They would have been seconded by the Vendecans. England, which then ruled absolutely the counsels of Europe, would by her marine, have been put in communication with all the coasts of France, from Nantes to Rochfort—and at the head of this great contest: and much of the destinies of France, would never have emerged from the womb in which they were still shut up."

Striking illustrations of the dangers which have been subdued, the security which has been attained, the strength, repose, power, and unity of societies, won by the silent and resistless operation of those great physical causes; which are diminishing the compass, concentrating the force, homologating the elements, and increasing the activity of states.

II. The second fact which has struck us, in meditating on this subject, is, that the available force of each individual person, has become greater, and is daily becoming greater still than it was before; and this in a ratio fully proportionate to that already suggested in regard to communities; and for reasons as obviously physical.

In commerce we comprehend at a glance the difference between the Spartan money, in great bars of base metal; and the monetary system of the middle ages, and of modern states, in a low condition of trade and finance, viz., a purely metallic currency, of the precious metals; and that admirable and comprehensive system of credit belonging to the highest state of modern civilization—and which, though perverted by the greedy and dishonest, or decried by the shallow and ignorant, is the surest index, element and instrument, yea the very end of all riches, personal and national. We see the progression, at a glance—and comprehend the effects, personal and social, of such a movement.

So in war—the perfection of the instruments of combat, from the club of the savage, up to the heavy, two edged sword of the Roman legion—the *bouie-knife* of antiquity, which reveals to any man who will look upon that murderous and resistless weapon in the hands of a brave man—the total secret of the conquest of the world, by a village of lewd robbers and vagabonds: and from thence, the vast advance produced by the invention of gun-powder, which subverted the ancient order of society, and restored the long lost physical equality of man; and then, the perfection of fire-arms, changing once more, the whole art of war, and rendering all *local* defences as contemptible and useless, as all *personal* ones had become, by the invention of powder—and doing thus for states, what it had done for persons: and finally, the application of steam to the art of war—destined to revolutionise once more, all the principles of national security, and we trust to abolish war, by making it too fatal, too expensive, and too horrible to be endured. Here, as before, we see in merely running the mind over the subject, the whole force of the idea at once.

There is a moral force applicable to all these truths and conditions, no doubt; and when applied, it must always exceed all physical elements, beyond all definable proportions. Cæsar, with 22,000 men, would with any imaginable condition, triumph over Pompey, with double his force, supposing their force alike: Alexander would never fail to conquer the world with 30,000 men—if opposed by such commanders as he subdued: and so on, without any definable limits. Still more obvious is this, where the moral and physical forces are more in contrast; and there is no apparent reason why 100,000 Englishmen should not keep 160,000,000 of Hindoos in slavery, to the end of time—boasting all the while, that their empire is free! But we speak now of a different condition of things; a condition in which the moral element is operated on by the physical, and its own progression augmented, and its force increased, relatively to itself, by physical means.

That labour which, if performed at all, it required a thousand men to accomplish, is now performed by six men, with the help of an engine: what an augmentation in the force of each of these six men! That delicate and difficult operation, (no matter which of a thousand you select,) which it required years of patient industry to acquire, and in the very acquisition, perhaps, the health, or the perfection of sense was impaired; can now be done more accurately, more expeditiously, more abundantly, by *any* man, without almost any previous expense of time, labour, and health, with the help of a simple machine: wonderful augmentation of force in the most delicate and tedious details, by which the best years of the best men are saved, and the commonest man made capable of what only the gifted could perform! That journey to the ends of the earth—no matter on what errand of business, curiosity, health, mercy, or science—can be performed in a small fragment of the time, but lately required, and with a certainty, a comfort, and in many instances, a cheapness answerable to the saving of time. And so of a million of things, in a million of ways.

And it is curious to see how the facts go before, not science only, but even imagination. In 1825, or about that time, we remember that the problem of locomotion by steam power on rail-roads, was the subject of much discussion throughout the world, embracing all the theory and learning about friction, curves, vertical and lateral generation of steam, its power, &c. &c. The late Dr. Buchanan of the west, who was a man of some science as well as sagacity, deceived by the pompous pretensions of Perkins, and believing his ridiculous statements, actually supposed and stated that he had discovered a mode of using steam by means of some arrangement of capillary tubes, by which it would be perfectly easy to fly through the heavens: and yet at the same time constructed a locomotive to run on land, which he proposed should advance only by help of a cog-wheel, to run in a track laid down to receive it. And about the same time, a mechanic named Bruen, of Lexington, Ky., constructed a small locomotive, and a track in a large upper room; which was visited, not only as a curiosity, but which, after being seen by persons of the best sense and soundest attainments, was looked upon as a thing inconsistent with some of the best established principles of science. And what is more singular still; in 1836, and again in 1837, the writer of these lines had occasion to cross the Atlantic ocean; and both going and returning, as also before and after both voyages, had repeated conversations, at sea, and on both sides of the Atlantic, on the subject of navigating the ocean by steam; and this with all sorts of persons—embracing men of science, sea-faring men, practical mechanics, and men of letters; and we do not remember to have conversed with a single person who had any confidence—even so late as May 1837—that the project, then much agitated, ever could succeed to any useful extent: but on the contrary, were often laughed at, for expressing a confident belief, that within ten years from that time, the Atlantic would be crossed with certainty and regularity in two weeks, and perhaps occasionally in ten days. Indeed the science of Europe was as incredulous as the rest; and it will remain a curious and lasting memorial of its imbecility, that just at the moment it pronounced the thing impossible—a company of enterprising, but unlettered men, did the thing itself, with perfect success!

The whole impression we are trying now to make is this, that the amount of time, skill, knowledge, wealth, activity, zeal—in one word, *force*—possessed by each individual, is far greater in value and efficacy, than formerly; and this without considering the positive quantity increased;—and the whole as a mere result of purely physical causes. Man may be said to be actually elevated in the scale of existence—and to have become more efficient and important, as the result of causes usually deemed blind, or at least uncertain. Blessed evidence of his high destiny; and of the working together of all things to achieve it!

III. The next great element which the subject suggests, is the surprising but undoubted fact, that human life is positively increased in its average duration; the average life of man is actually increased in length; and innumerable facts go to show that this increase is still progressive.

Sweet and consoling truth. Bright and enduring evidence of the returning smiles of God; and of the decreasing power of sin and its

curse and wo. Life, the first emanation from God—the great forfeit for disobedience; ceaselessly curtailed through long ages of ignorance and misery, till it seemed ready to be reduced to so low a standard, that the imbecility of infancy and the inanity of decline would leave hardly a narrow zone of vigorous years—filled up by the tears of the good that nothing had been achieved, and that nothing was left to repair the irrevocable past; life, even the chief of all temporal blessings, and the means by which all other blessings can exist, this precious boon, has recurred upon its long downward career, and is travelling back along the great descent.

To illustrate this important truth by a single example, we may state, after Dr. Gregory, that in the same districts in the city of London, in which 30,811 deaths occurred in 1740; only 28,606 occurred in 1832; although the population was immensely increased, and although the latter year was that during which the cholera prevailed as an epidemic.

The secondary causes of this great physical change, are as striking and remarkable, as itself; they are partly moral, no doubt, and partly mixed; but are to a considerable extent also, purely physical. It may be interesting to suggest some of the more important, without special reference to such a classification.

Perhaps the most important of all, is the increased comforts of civilized life, especially as it regards the articles of food and labour. We are sensible that it is impossible to speak with precision on this subject; for, it is not easy to say what are comforts in view of human production and longevity; and moreover, many facts seem to prove, that a very low condition of civilization, a scanty variety and perhaps supply also of food, and many hardships are consistent both with long life and excessive productiveness; as may be proved by the examples of the slaves of this country, and the peasantry of Ireland. It cannot, however, be denied that certain states of society are friendly, and others hostile to both the elements which go to make up this mass of increased human existence; and facts indisputably prove that the state of man as at present existing, is as compared with the past, highly favourable to life. SISMONDI, in his beautiful History of the middle ages, has clearly shown the melancholy fact, of an extraordinary depopulation of Europe, at two periods at least, when there was no sufficient apparent reason for such an occurrence; the first time was about the age of Honorius, and the second towards the close of the first dynasty of Frankish kings. And the Archbishop of Mecklin, better known as the Abbe DE PRADT, has as clearly proved, in his *'Europe after the Congress of Six-la-Chapelle,'* that the population of all Europe, and of France in particular, augmented in a steady, and even an accelerated ratio, during the whole period of horrible carnage from 1789 to 1815. Astonishing facts; and strongly illustrating the truth, that it is man's personal and social, not his political and civil condition—that so powerfully controls this subject.

Another reason, perhaps, for the increased and increasing average length of human life, is to be found in the general state of disease, and the progress of medical science in modern times. Most of the worst forms of malignant and contagious disease, have been in a great degree subdued by skill, mitigated by some radical change in itself or in the circumstances which formerly engendered it, or by a

good Providence withdrawn from amongst the scourges of humanity. The small pox, which for ages periodically decimated the human race, is no longer a terror in civilized countries; the yellow fever, lost, with the notion of its contagiousness, the greater part of its frightful character; and the plague, that standing opprobrium of medical science, seldom assails man except in the deep recesses where oriental filth, despotism and fatalism unitedly hold with her their dark orgies. The cholera, and some other forms of disease peculiarly fatal or disgusting, do, indeed, still afflict and consume our species; but in a large estimate, it must be allowed, that the skill of the medical profession is gradually gaining the mastery; and that by a general dissemination of true principles for the conduct of health, and a decided advance in the successful treatment of disease, human life is evidently prolonged. For our part, we are ready to confess, that our expectations are sanguine, we might almost say, confident—that a day is coming, when by reason of superior civilization, comparatively few causes of disease will exist; and these, by reason of that robust purity which hereditary moderation and virtue will produce, will seldom act with serious force; and when they do, will be readily mastered by an advanced state of medical knowledge. Indeed we see no reason to doubt, that there exists in nature, or may be compounded by art, the means of cure for every possible form of disease; nor that a skill so consummate may be at last attained, that all these remedies may be known and applied: in other words, that a state of knowledge so perfect may be reached, that men will die, chiefly if not alone, from old age or from casualty.

The last source of the increased average of human life, which need be suggested at present, is the improved morality of the world, both publicly and personally considered. The rare occurrence of war, and the more humane mode of conducting it; the more general prevalence of the forms if not the substance of justice, and the consequent security to person, to property, to virtue and to life; the gradual spread of religion, surrounded and illuminated as her pathway always is, by a more dim and yet a beautiful light, shining beyond her actual influence, and under a thousand forms and names, shedding blessings upon man; and perhaps amongst the best of these the extensive disuse of intoxicating drinks, and a wide diffusion of a spirit of active sympathy for the innumerable calamities of the poor, the sick, the oppressed;—thus in a thousand ways, silent and obscure, but most efficient, is the life of man prolonged, from generation to generation, by personal and by hereditary morality. Delightful thought; that even in a world of sin, goodness is that which lingers the longest with us!

When we have spoken of the length of human life as being increased, we beg to be understood, not as meaning that the limit is pushed beyond the promise of God, or that it will be; but only that more and more reach it; that more and more come near it; that the actual mass of life is augmented, to the whole as such, to an innumerable multitude of particular individuals, and doubtless ultimately will be to every one. What a different world shall we have, when *seventy* years, instead of *seven*, shall be the average of human existence; and that under the improved condition of society indicated under the two first sections of this essay?

IV. We will suggest but one more physical cause, as in our opinion exerting at the present time, a very powerful influence on the progress of civilization. It is found in the fact, that there is a gradual but steady increase, in the rate of births, to a given amount of population, throughout those portions of the human family to which our preceding observations apply. A multitude of facts diligently collected, in various countries, by persons competent to such a work, leave no room for doubt, that the actual productiveness of the human race, is greater than formerly; and that this augmented ratio of increase seems decidedly to sustain itself.

A result of this description, in itself purely physical, may flow from a great variety of combined causes, moral, physical, and mixed; some of them quite apparent, some not obvious to a superficial observer, and some, it may be of the most powerful, not discoverable in the present state of our knowledge. For political economy, is the youngest of the sciences; and that especial portion of it which concerns population, we must say, with great deference to Mr. Malthus, is the darkest, and if his savage ideas are correct, the gloomiest of all parts of practical knowledge.

The more general prevalence of marriage; the contracting of marriage at an earlier period of life, and the gradual decrease of polygamy; the increased duration of human life, thus lengthening the period of fruitfulness, with the increase of medical knowledge and general morality, which confirm the general health, and thereby augment the vigour of that already increased period; the enlarged comforts of the poor, the decreasing excesses of the rich, and the gradual conformation of society upon a model favouring the general equality of mankind; the increasing intercourse of nations and ranks, opening up a wider range for the marriage connexion, and pushing more remotely in the same degree, the chances of barren marriages; the movement of the human race, by way of general change of abode, that spirit of migration so remarkably characteristic of our age, by which a new impulse is always given to population, both in the abodes they leave, which are more rapidly filled up, and in those to which they go, which they fill up in turn, by an augmented increment:—these and similar causes may be adduced to account for the important fact under consideration.

But it is the fact itself which concerns us at present. And this, added to those already suggested, presents the subject in a most impressive manner. For if in reality human productiveness be actually and sensibly increased; if these beings find the average duration of their lives decidedly prolonged; if they find their force in these increased numbers, and for this enlarged existence, individually magnified to an incalculable extent, by the circumstances which surround them; and if besides all this, their combined power, when gathered into states, is still farther immeasurably augmented, by every thing which can give compactness, homogeneity, activity, intelligence, rapidity and power, to human associations;—then it does seem to us, that not only are new and mighty changes in progress around us, but that the full and perfect development of man individually and socially considered—that is, the absolute reign of a perfect civilization—is a thing now inherently certain and capable of positive proof, from the physical progress of things—if that progress were not disturbed.

And any effectual denial of these conclusions, must reach to the whole length of denying the beneficial nature of social life, at all; that is, the very tendency of man to the social state, and his capacity for happiness and improvement in it.

We have some times feared, that the great degree to which the mass of human society, and especially the church of God, has been excited by other efforts and considerations; may have somewhat obscured that great department of benevolence which regards the strictly temporal necessities, cares, and sorrows, as well as the mere temporal advancement of mankind. Many examples might be adduced to illustrate our meaning. The office of deacon had but lately fallen into almost universal disuse in our churches; our jails and penitentiaries are incomparably more numerous and splendid than our alms houses, and yet the latter are, no comparison, more crowded; uncivilized tribes, in every quarter of the globe, go on to decay and perish, notwithstanding their conversion to Christianity, and there is great danger, if not a strong probability that large portions of the earth will become depopulated of its ancient inhabitants, although they are converted to Christianity. A striking lesson that religion and civilization are not the same; that they may exist separately, in a high degree of development; and yet that the temporal felicity and glory of the human race require their union. It is strange that these truths should ever have been forgotten; since they are not only written on every page of human story, but it is one of the first boasts of Christianity, that it is perfectly fitted to every possible condition of man—while one of its highest active duties is, that we make it known to every creature.

SHORT NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Puseyism Examined. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne. Messrs. Taylor & Co. of New York, and Mr. Hickman of Baltimore, have published this striking discourse of one of the most gifted men of our age. We are not at all surprised at the spread of semi-popery in the Episcopal church: indeed the common argument for prelacy conducts by a short and direct route to Rome. Moreover, did any age ever see a pure prelatial church? If so, where? When?—We have very little doubt that the Episcopal church both in England and America, is just as pure this day, as either of them ever was, or perhaps ever will be; nay we believe the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States has a larger proportion of pious people in it, than any prelatial church ever had before. The condition of these churches for two centuries past, has been one of general formality, and deadness to religion—with here and there a pious minister and

flock. Now the prevailing condition is one of rampant churchism. But is this any worse? A church absolutely torpid, suddenly rouses up; and its first impulse is to break furiously off towards Rome, instead of towards Zion. But spiritually, it is no worse off than it was before.—Indeed this result is both natural and reasonable; it is a high and conclusive demonstration of the carnality of the church; but nevertheless, it is a palpable proof of the utter incompetency of its former and commonly received doctrine to satisfy the heart, or to guide it. Puseyism sets before men a tangible system; clear, positive, and as it promises, effectual. That, as a system, it is utterly false, every child of God has, or ought to have, in his own spiritual experience, the most positive evidence. But they who have no true knowledge of God and of Christ—no deep insight into their own state and wants, may be, and are naturally deluded into the re-

ception of this, just because it is a clear and intelligible way to save people while they are utterly carnal, and are determined to remain so. So the whole thing strikes us. That Puseyism is utterly and essentially popery, stripped of its gross and more degrading features, and shorn of some of its more plausible grounds and arguments, we have not a particle of doubt; and our belief is, that the final benefits of the present movement in the Episcopal Church of this country will be essentially reaped by the Romish church—which being in bad odour itself, is thus helped, by a *via media*, which must at last end in its own, old, wide, beaten road to destruction. We are also well convinced that no hope is left for the pious and sound portion of the Episcopal church, but in open, resolute, and immediate battle. If they are true to themselves, to the truth, and to our common Saviour, they may arrest the spread of this new disorder; but if they prove timid and faithless, however *true churchmen* they may thereby prove themselves, they will only, by the same means and to the same extent, show themselves *false Christians*. The whole matter affords a new and most extraordinary proof of the so much boasted "*unity and purity of the church*;" another manifestation of the efficacy of Prelacy in preserving and perpetuating the religion of Jesus. It is extremely striking and gratifying to observe the absolute unity with which all truly converted people, of whatever denomination of Christians, testify against this wild, shallow, insolent, and pernicious fanaticism of Tractarianism; a thing perfectly contemptible in the rational grounds of it, and equally superstitious and impious in its spiritual pretensions.

The Burning of the Bibles, &c. By John Dowling, A. M., &c. Philadelphia, 1843. By Nathan Moore. The introductory chapter by Dr. Brownlee, is very good—like all from his pen. The defence of our common version of the Bible will possibly, do good, to persons who have never read any thing else on the subject. And the proof that a large number of Bibles were burnt at Chazy, Clinton Co., New York, during the autumn of last year, by the procurement of a papal bishop and some impious priests, is complete; an act for which they deserve the execration of

every being that has a soul; and the pretended and apostate church which not only countenances but inculcates such proceedings, the settled detestation of every creature who is not in open and implacable hostility with the great God whose messages of mercy are thus treated. Surely the vengeance of heaven will at last overtake such atrocious depravity.—Of the value of the book before us, as a contribution to the papal controversy, the reader can judge when he is informed that its author admits (p. 69.) that "*until within a few months past*," he was amongst the great herd of indifferentists. What estimate a man could put on a controversy like this, that should induce him to suppose that in a period like that, he could produce a book touching any part of it, which could be worth publishing; would be a great mystery to us, if the same signal modesty had not several times already demanded our admiration.

The Zincali; or an Account of the Gypsies of Spain. By George Borrow, &c. Philadelphia: Campbell & Co. 1843. More cheap literature; and a very curious book—full of information which the general reader in this country will find it difficult to procure any where else; and interspersed with narratives which, for our part, we are free to say we hardly believe, and with theories which are some times very odd, and some times very plausible. If one could be only assured that the facts stated in the book are implicitly to be relied on, it would be an extremely valuable acquisition to our philological as well as our historical knowledge.—Mr. Borrow estimates the Gypsies in Spain at present, at about 40,000; and states it as his opinion, that they are rapidly diminishing. Their language he pronounces a daughter of the Sanscrit, and supposes it may contain about 4000 words, at present—but believes that it is rapidly ceasing to be a spoken tongue; on which account the large vocabulary and the written specimens contained in this work are the more valuable. The Gypsies have been nearly four centuries and a half in Europe—and have every where and always declared themselves to be of Egyptian origin; and still declare the same fact. But men learned and unlearned have undertaken to prove the contrary; and amongst the rest, Mr. Borrow first proves against many opinions that these people

are a race to themselves and have a language of their own; and then he tries further to prove that their original tongue was, as above stated, Sanscrit, and the people themselves from India. The former propositions, we think, he makes good: the latter, we doubt about; and moreover we exceedingly doubt Mr. Borrow's competency to discuss them. The man appears to be half a Gypsy himself, and therefore while competent to the former part of the investigation—not incompetent to gull his readers as to the latter. Upon the whole, it is a book that engages the attention, and rewards a careful perusal; both of which are hazardous statements in regard to most cheap literature.

Papal Rome as it is, by a Roman, &c. This is a book, which, we would suppose, will be very generally read by those who take any interest in the papal controversy; and we do not see how it can fail to produce a deep impression. Its important and most interesting portion embraces the personal narrative of its author *L. Guistiniani*, a Roman priest, who in the midst of the errors and corruptions of popery, and in the city of Rome itself—was led by God's providence and grace to renounce the superstition of which he was a minister, and finally to become a true follower and zealous minister of the Lord Jesus. There is interwoven with his story, a large amount of information as to the nature and influences of popery, and the present condition of the city and people of Rome—which will be new to most readers, and interesting to all. Considering the great exertions which are now made to spread the religion of Rome in this country, and the extreme ignorance and indifference which exist in the country generally upon the subject; it appears to us that a work of this sort is peculiarly timely, as it opens to us the fate we may expect if we permit the plans of the papists to succeed.—As very much of the interest of books of this description depends upon the confidence the reader may repose in their genuineness, we take pleasure in saying that having known *Dr. Guistiniani*, for several years, we consider him both a perfectly competent and an absolutely unimpeachable witness, in all that he asserts in his little volume.

Apostolic Baptism, &c. By C. Taylor, Editor of *Calmet's Diction-*

ary. New York. *Besier* 1843. The conduct of the Baptists in this country, like that of the Episcopalians, in a measure reduces all other Christians to the necessity of a perpetual controversy with them. For by holding and constantly and ardently preaching, that immersion is the only valid mode of Christian Baptism, and by practising close communion, they virtually deny the claim of all besides themselves to the rights, or even the name of Christians. It is one thing to contend that a particular ordinance ought to be administered in a particular form; and it is quite another thing to say that ordinance is invalid if it be administered in any other way. So it is one thing to contend that ordinances of a particular kind are portions of ecclesiastical discipline or order; and wholly another to act, as if in the absence of the least particle of what we judge to be proper in their administration, the entire foundation of the Christian character and hope of men is removed. To us, even if it were proved that baptism by immersion was the method practised by the apostles, nothing would be more inconsequent, absurd, and offensive, than to say it follows therefrom that all not immersed are not baptized; or even that all not baptized are therefore not the children of God. But if we can allow a man to be good enough for Christ to accept him eternally, shall we dare to say we will not even commune with him occasionally? Yet this is the common doctrine and practice of the Baptist societies in America. And we must say, while we deeply regret the increasing extent and fury of the controversy about the mode and the subjects of baptism, that we are not at all surprised at it; nor shall we be astonished if the Baptists continue to urge their exclusiveness as they have of late years done—that they will at last isolate themselves completely from the balance of the Christian community; an event, it seems to us, every way to be deprecated, and laying a grievous responsibility on all who aid in bringing it to pass.—This little book of Mr. Taylor has been about five and twenty years before the public; and, as far as we know, no one has ever attempted to answer it. Considering the zeal for this controversy which has so long pervaded the Baptist churches, this is nearly the same as saying they consider it incapable of being answered. We confess we suppose it is; and that in all fairness, it ought to have

put the matter at rest, with persons of learning and reflection.

Father Clement. A Roman Catholic Story. Campell, Phil.—Hickman, Balt. &c. &c. 1848. More cheap literature; and a very striking book of its kind. The Edinburg Review, one of the highest authorities in literary criticism, has lately condemned the whole class to which this story belongs, and by name refused to except it. We shall not fear, nevertheless, to say, that it is a kind of writing which has long enough been devoted to evil ends, and that, if at last any good can be made of it, we see not why it should not be done. As for this particular work, which is the production of a Scottish female, as we understand, we feel sure no one will read it without being both deeply interested and stirred up in regard to one of the most frightful and degrading superstitions

that ever enslaved the human spirit. The work deserves the more respectful consideration, as God has very remarkable used it. It was by means of it, casually met with in Rome, that *Dr. Guistiniani*, as he states himself, was first led to those studies and investigations which resulted in his renouncing popery. And we happen to know personally, that it was by means of it, that the late *Dr. John Breckinridge*, thirteen or fourteen years ago, was first involved in those personal relations to papists which afterwards brought him so prominently before the public, as almost the earliest champion of Protestantism in controversy through the press, and upon the rostrum, in this country. A book capable of being made the instrument of results of this sort, can be no ordinary affair; and so the reader will find if he will peruse it.

BUSINESS NOTICES, &c.

New Subscribers.—The Rev'd Oscar Harris, Basking Bridge, N. J. from January and back Nos. sent.

Payments.—Rev. Sam'l Steel, Hillsborough, Ohio, \$2,50, for 1843.—John S. Scott, Esqr. Columbia, S. C., \$5, for this year and next, and the No. written for sent.—Thomas Trout, Esq., Charleston, S. C., \$10, in full to the end of this year; we regret the irregularity with which the Nos. have been received by Mr. T., and will, according to our habit in all such cases, supply him with the missing ones without charge, as far as we have them, which is probably very nearly the whole that are lost.—Mr. C. J. Davis, Reading, Pa., \$5, for 1842-3.—Mr. Wm. D. McNair, Sparta, N. Y., \$8, in full to the end of this year.—Rev. R. T. Berry, Georgetown, \$1,874, in full to the end of this year.—Rev.

Dr. John T. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn., \$9, which over-pays by \$1,50.—John Preston, Jr., Esq., Helena, Arkansas, \$5, in full to the end of 1843.—Rev. James A. Lyon, Columbus, Miss., \$8, less 50 cts. postage, in full to the end of this year.

Discontinuances.—In the month of May we sent a bill for \$16,25 to *Mr. Thomas Reid*, of Mobile, Alabama;—under date of June 1st, the P. M. directs us to discontinue—"cause—*Refused*:" but how about the \$16,25, Mr. Post Master?—P. M. Macon, Georgia, for Rev. J. W. Tally—"Reason, *not wanted*:"—we cannot say as much about the \$10 he owes us.—Rev. R. B. McMullen, Knoxville, Tenn, \$3, less 50 cts. postage, which, as per his statement, is in full, to the present time, and stops.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

AUGUST, 1843.

No. 8.

THE DISRUPTION OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.—ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.

WE presume every reader of this periodical is aware that at the late meeting of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, that body was rent by an open schism. The two parties called respectively *Orthodox* and *Moderate*, into which that venerable church has been divided for above a century, have at length come to a final and violent rupture. We have examined with care and minuteness the sources of information within our reach, touching the progress and termination of this protracted and important controversy; and have endeavoured with calmness and candour, to make up our opinion on the subject. And what we now propose, is to make a few intimations of the impression which we have derived from the whole case, and to give a condensed statement of it which may be of use to such as have not the means of a thorough examination of it. That the event to which the controversy has been brought, is one of immense importance in itself, and extremely likely to be fruitful in results still more impressive, few will doubt, who derive any wisdom from the lessons of the past, or have any faith in the uniform operation of moral causes or the enduring force of national characteristics.

It is the ordination of heaven that the wheat and the tares should grow together, as long as the world shall be the field of evangelical effort: that good fish and bad should be drawn together to the shore as long as the gospel net is cast into the turbid waters, and the servants of the Lord continue fishers of men. That churches allied to the state, corrupted by its patronage, and enslaved by its carnal policy, should be liable, in an aggravated form, to evils of this description, would seem to be amongst the plainest conclusions of sober reason: and that they have been, is one of the clearest facts established by history. Whatever may be the advantages, real or supposed, which national establishments of religion enjoy, nothing can be more obvious than that the very principle of their existence, and the whole scope of their operation must increase the difficulty of a strict and wholesome discipline. The notion that the state should grant money, and not examine into the manner of its being expended, is inconsistent with the first principles of civil polity—much more of free government: but if, by the very fact of its endowment, the church becomes subjected to the oversight of the state, then one or the other of them must determine the limits of this oversight; and the force

of the first principle as well as the possession of power placing this determination absolutely with the state, there can be no alternative in any advanced stage of civilization but that state endowed must be state ruled—that is corrupt Erastian churches. Again, where the rites of religion become *civil* rights, which they do of necessity in every national church, it is impossible that the supreme power can lay aside the authority and oversight necessary to guard the security and regular enjoyment of these rights, on the part of the people; and thus every portion of ecclesiastical discipline, or in other words, the spiritual execution of ecclesiastical laws and ordinances, becomes a subject of civil control. So that the spiritual independence of an established church is not less a figment, than its spiritual purity.

The established church of England, under the temporal popery created in the person of Henry VIII., and perpetuated in that of his successors on the English throne, sunk down into a helpless and hopeless Erastianism, and became and continues the mere creature of the English Parliament; by which, and by the authority whereof, its faith is enacted and may be changed,—its prelates are appointed and may be discharged,—its tribunals are altered, abolished, or restored,—a layman, a matron, a girl or a baby, becomes its head as chance may dictate—and its discipline is conducted according to the good pleasure of godly legislators, who whether they be papists, churchmen, dissenters, or infidels, depends wholly on the chances of popular elections, in which party spirit, family influence, secret frauds, and open bribery, perjury, and corruption are most religiously blended. The church of Scotland revolted, from of old, against the measures which would have reduced her to a similar condition. John Knox, Andrew Melville, and Alexander Henderson, with their illustrious fellow labourers, from the commencement of the reformation in Scotland through the administrations of Mary of Guise, Mary Stuart, the Regencies, James I. and Charles I, kept up the contest with various success, until along with the head of Charles fell all the enemies of the Church of Scotland. The Protectorate of Cromwell—the greatest and the best man that ever raised himself from a private station to supreme power—was a period of general toleration—and therefore of general abhorrence to all who believed, as of faith, in religious establishments. Then came the fierce and bloody persecutions of Charles II., whom those loyal but deluded Scots restored; and the open popery of James II.; and then the glorious revolution of 1688, which placed William of Orange on the British throne, and finally established the national, covenanted, Presbyterian church of Scotland.

We may pause here to note what the reader will perhaps consider a trivial and accidental circumstance, but which is at least curious. The Scottish papers inform us, that on the morning of the memorable day on which their national church was virtually dis-established, as the nobles, and gentry, and scholars, and clergy of the land were crowding around the Royal Commissioner to the Assembly, the Earl of Bute, at the palace of Holyrood, and as the splendid cortege was about to commence its procession towards the spot where the great sacrifice was about to be offered up; suddenly a loud crash arrested the movement; and it was found that the portrait of William of

Orange had slipped from its hangings amid the grim ranks of dead sovereigns which crowd the walls of that ancient abode of royalty, and fallen heavily upon the floor of the great hall of state! Who can tell what kings may fall, and dynasties be changed, as the remote consequences of that day's work? The house of Hanover came by revolution, to the throne of England; and of all its supporters, the Scottish Presbyterians have been the most loyal. The house of Hanover, may yet wander in exile and beggary in the footsteps of the house of Stuart, whose spirit it has imbibed; and the Presbyterians of Scotland, betrayed alike by both, may yet make the analogy complete.

The legislative union between England and Scotland, accomplished during the reign of Anne, was based, on the part of the Scots, on the fundamental condition that their church and religion should be preserved inviolate, as then established; and from that time, this became a part of the coronation oath of every English sovereign. But before the death of that feeble princess, this condition was virtually set aside by act of Parliament, and the ancient discipline and rights of the church rendered null, in many points deeply affecting its prosperity and purity, and amongst the chief in the matter of patronage: that is, in plain terms, depriving the congregations of the right of electing their own pastors, and vesting the power of appointing them, in public or private persons, in corporations, or in the crown. Before this, the inherent vice of all religious establishments had so wrought that the *Moderate* party was predominant in the Scottish church; that same party which from the days of Anne, has connived at patronage; the most of whom became placed ministers by virtue of it; and amongst the first signal acts of whose restoration to power after the disruption of the Assembly in May last, was the repeal of the famous act restraining patronage, commonly called the *veto act*.

We need do little towards recalling the evil consequences which the long and firm supremacy of the *Moderate* party inflicted on the Scottish church. The withdrawal of Thomas Boston, the expulsion of the Erskines and Fisher, the deposition of Gillespie, the emigration of Witherspoon, and many other events, fruitful of such prodigious results, must be familiar to every enlightened reader; and the whole conspire to prove how deplorable must have been the condition of true religion in the establishment, when for a century together its most godly sons were harrassed in its bosom, or driven from its communion, and when its most trusted and honored divines so read the gospel of Christ as to overlook the doctrine of his vicarious atonement, and hardly observed that it inculcated the necessity of regeneration.

It must be borne in mind that the *Moderate* party in the Church of Scotland, is responsible for every disruption and secession that has befallen that venerable body; and this, by itself, should cover them with shame. Just a century after the first secession, the *Orthodox* party became the majority in the church; and its accession to power was marked by an immediate and thorough change in the spirit and policy of the establishment, and by the commencement of large and earnest efforts to purify and extend it. The church entered with vigor into the various benevolent enterprises of our age, and began again

to struggle upwards to her stand—her ancient and glorious stand—at the head of the reformed churches. Amongst the early acts of her reviving evangelism was the noble effort at church extension, which produced two hundred new churches and congregations within ten years; and the *veto act* of 1834, already mentioned, by which under certain restrictions, the right of Christian congregations to reject unacceptable presentees was asserted and guaranteed. Both of these proceedings involved the church in a fierce collision with the civil power; and by means of them, especially, has the recent disruption been accomplished. By the church extension project, which was so eminently blessed of God, a large number of ministers, called technically *quoad sacra* ministers, became connected with the Presbyteries without being placed in parishes which had a legal existence or recognition; and these men, the *Moderate* party contended and the civil tribunals held, could not sit in the courts of the church as by law established; which was at once to say that the church could not grow except by and according to act of Parliament, and that not only the ordaining and settling of ministers, even where no right of patronage was contended for, but even the composition of church courts, were matters coming under the control and decision of the municipal law. As to the *veto act*, it was contended by the *Moderate* party, and held by the courts of law, that it was *ultra vires ecclesie*, a matter beyond the power of the church to interfere in any way with the rights of patronage, which were adjudicated to be vested and patrimonial—and to be conclusively settled by act of Parliament; and all this in such a form and to such an extent, not only that the temporalities were forfeited by a refusal to induct the presentee, but that both presentee and patron might, by process of law, and by fines and forfeitures, pains and penalties, compel the church courts to induct. This was just making the church a creature of the civil power; and was simple Erastianism in its most naked and absolute proportions.

A controversy of ten years, brought the parties together at the General Assembly in Edinburg, in May last, on grounds such as we have now briefly stated and deduced. There were three courses left open to the *Orthodox* party, which was still the majority of the church and of the General Assembly. They might recede; they might secede; or they might disregard the law and take the consequences. The first course was impossible. It was inconsistent alike with all the professions, and with the settled principles of the party. The third course, it seems to us, was the one which naturally and properly became them, under the circumstances and with their opinions. For they held to the necessity and scripturalness of religious establishments, and still profess, in their new condition, the same doctrine. And as to the necessity of obeying the instituted tribunals, it really seems to us, that whether men contend against the infallibility of popes, as they did in the first reformation in Scotland, or against the infallibility of kings as they did in the second, or against the infallibility of judges, as they do now, the fundamental principles involved are just the same; and men had as well suffer, and may be as clearly called to suffer in the one case as in the other. And besides, we cannot but believe that THOMAS CHALMERS, in the Tolbooth, or in the Pillory, even like poor old Leighton with his ears

cropt and his nostrils slit, could have shaken the earth to a degree that he never can as Moderator of the *Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland*. However, the *Orthodox* party elected the second alternative; and fully resolved to maintain the doctrine of Christ's absolute headship over his blood bought church, and the order and laws of his kingdom as really *jure divino*, they made before-hand, all the necessary arrangements, and when the time arrived, executed their firm and self-devoted purpose with a solemnity, a dignity, a grandeur never surpassed.

The Moderator, DR. WELSH, preached in the High Church, from Rom. v. 14; and then the Assembly moved in a body to St. Andrew's Church. Instead of constituting the Assembly, the Moderator then read a protest, in which were set forth in detail the grounds and reasons upon which he and those holding his views, judged the body then convened, to be no true Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland; upon which they were convinced it was no longer possible, as the laws stood, for a free Assembly to be convened under them; upon which they were satisfied that no hope remained that the British Government would alter these laws; and upon which they had come to the conviction that they were required by faithfulness to Christ, to separate from the establishment rather than submit to the terms required or implied if they should remain in it. Having read the protest, he threw it upon the table, and slowly left the house, followed by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Candlish, Sir David Brewster, Alexander Dunlop, and the elite of the ministers and elders of the church of Scotland, amounting in all to one hundred and ninety-three commissioners of the Assembly. Having sallied forth, they went in solemn procession, amid the tears, the prayers, and the acclamations of the vast multitudes who thronged the streets of the time honored capital, to the great hall at Tanfield, Connonmills, where they were greeted with renewed bursts of enthusiasm, by the thousands who awaited their coming. Having entered the hall—the Assembly was constituted with prayer by the Moderator, and upon his motion, according to the practice of the Scottish Church, Dr. Chalmers, whom he eulogised in terms almost extravagant, was elected his successor by acclamation, instead of vote. And thus was constituted on the 18th of May last, the first General Assembly of "*The Free Presbyterian church of Scotland.*"

A very slight acquaintance with the progress of religion, of letters, of science, and of society itself in Scotland for the last fifty years, must convince every one, that the first men of that nation in every department of knowledge, of effort, and of excellence, have directed this movement. A list of nearly two hundred names, of which the first (after the Moderator's) is, *Thomas Chalmers*, and the last, *David Brewster*, and the rest worthy of such an association, is a thing for a world, rather than a single city—a century rather than a single hour to exhibit. Of that list of names, the larger part are known to Europe; very many to civilized man; and not a few will live forever. If any cause was ever ruined by human testimony, that upheld by the *Moderate* party and the English Government is undone. If any cause was ever sanctified by human approbation, the name of *The Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland* is already become immortal.

What portion of the ministers, elders and people of the establishment will adhere to the new organization, it is impossible for us to determine. Our present information comes no farther down than to the ninth day after the disruption. Up to that time, above four hundred ministers, and two hundred probationers (licentiates) had adhered to the protest of the seceding commissioners. That the great body of the common people who have heretofore worshipped in the establishment, are already with the Free Church in heart and mind, there seems to be every reason to suppose; not the least emphatic of which is the immense contributions—exceeding \$1,100,000, already made to promote its objects. But, when it is considered, that it is the avowed purpose of the new church, to present its cause, its principles, and its claims in every parish and neighbourhood of Scotland; and that it goes forth upholding the ancient, precious, hereditary faith of the church, the covenant and the martyrs—proclaimed afresh by men who have first sealed their testimony by the greatest and the noblest sacrifices; that it does it to the very people, in maintenance of whose important and sacred rights, it has suffered the loss of all things—and this people the most fixedly national and Christian of any that exists; there seems no ground to question that the movement must become, if it is not already, in the fullest sense, general, popular, national. Nay all experience and all philosophy are at fault, if it is not—humanly speaking—the *people* of Scotland who have already communicated this vigour and enthusiasm to their ministers and elders; and if they do not go before them, in every step of the gigantic revolution which has long worked, and is now completely organized. Long before any man proposed the enactment of the *velo act*, tens of thousands had left the establishment to avoid the curse and wo of patronage; and tens of thousands more endured it only for lack of remedy. And if a day of martyrdom shall come again—which is not unlikely—it will be in the ranks of those “common people,” who from the beginning have “gladly heard” our Master—that the first, the most, the latest, and the readiest sufferers for the good cause, will still be found.

There seems to be no doubt that the great body of the nobles, gentry, and landed aristocracy of Scotland adhere firmly to the establishment—the *Residuary Assembly*, as it is very expressively called. In most instances their opposition to the *Orthodox*, and to the new church, appears to be most decided; and in many cases, they have gone so far as to refuse to grant land upon any terms, on which churches may be erected, and have descended to the baseness of discharging tenants, work people, and even domestics, because in their souls and consciences, they preferred the ministrations of the evangelical preachers and the principles of the free church. There is, doubtless, this allowance to be made, that the aristocracy hold the greater part of the church patronage in their hands, and that the upper classes of society, in all countries, seem doomed to religious ignorance and error. Of all the Scottish nobility, the only family that has openly adhered to the Free church, as far as we observe, is that of *Brædalbane*, a branch of the illustrious house of Argyle, whose blood has flowed so freely, both on the scaffold and in the field, for the honour, the independence, and the faith of Scotland. The pre-

sent marquis of Brædalbane, who may be called, in a certain sense, the head of the Orthodox interest in Scotland, is a descendant in the right line, of that heroic Lord of Lorne, who two hundred years ago, stood foremost amongst the gentry of his age and country, for the defence of his bleeding church and betrayed people. The impulse of our spirit is, to abhor all privileged orders, whether they be of hierarchy or squirearchy; but where God raises up such men as the good Coligni, the brave Lorne, or the generous Brædalbane to stand for his name, we rejoice the more as the mercy is so rare. And in this particular case, we gratefully record the covenant keeping faithfulness of God, who, now that the nobles of Scotland seem resolved once more, if it be possible, to ruin and degrade their country, has granted grace to a "very small remnant" of them,—(and they the seed of his chosen ones, who even in a day of trial darker than that which now lowers over men, were found faithful)—to be found still true to Christ and to his blood-bought church.

The impression which this important event in the church of Scotland, may make on Christians of other churches and names, is a matter of much interest. We believe we are justified in saying, that with few and comparatively unimportant exceptions, the people of God, in all countries, will, in the degree that they understand the subject, sympathise with the *Orthodox* in Scotland. There are indeed, causes still in operation, which may prevent that cordial testimony in their behalf, which could be desired. The chief of these, perhaps, is connected with that miserable and fatal doctrine of church and state, to which these excellent men still cling, even in their disestablished condition. The address of Dr. Chalmers, on taking the Moderator's seat, contains a distinct, indeed a vehement testimony in favor of this principle; a testimony, almost ludicrous when it is considered that it was in favour of the very thing which had brought upon him and his brethren the very evils they were engaged in contending against; a testimony, we must say, as ill conceived, as ill argued, as ill expressed, and as ill timed, as any ever rendered by a wise man. That such conduct and notions must tend to perpetuate the alienation which has so long been felt between the church of Scotland and all churches hostile to this principle, and especially such as continue to feel its baleful influences; is equally to be expected and deplored. Nevertheless, there is enough of common ground, and it is firm enough and precious enough, occupied by the Free church, and by all truly orthodox churches, not only to justify but to require them all, in faithfulness to Christ and to the fundamental doctrines of grace and salvation, to hail with joy this nearer approach of the Scottish church to the general sentiment and condition of the purest reformed churches, and to hold out the hand of fellowship, and lift up the voice of welcome to our venerable sister, as freeing herself from the load under which she staggered, she begins afresh the glorious race which is set before her. Perhaps above all other churches, the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, is the most bound to bear a bold and cordial witness for the Scottish brethren and their righteous cause, in this hour of trial. Their faith, their order, their principles, their very standards, are all ours: from their church and land, many able ministers, many noble Christians,

many timely gifts have been received by us; and the period is still recent, when in the midst of our own troubles, the Church of Scotland guided by the very men now driven by the British government from her bosom, stood openly forward in face of earth and heaven, with her clear and spontaneous testimony to the precious truths for which we were then contending. Who can tell how far this fidelity may have operated in our behalf with men, and in the behalf of those who gave it—with God? Who can tell how far her present example may stir up other churches? or how far the future condition of other churches may be affected and determined by the manner in which they treat the present subject and acquit themselves on the present occasion? All things work—yea they work together—and that for the good of them that love God. And events like this, become operative causes, which work with an energy which human wisdom cannot fathom. The church of the living God throughout the world, needs to be thoroughly stirred up, and all its scattered members and branches to be brought into a more perfect sympathy with each other, by being brought into a more perfect union with their common head; and here is one of its most powerful sections, manfully asserting one of its most distinctive, yet one of its most neglected and obscured doctrines—the sole and supreme headship of the heavenly King. It is as if the followers of the Lamb and the children of this world began in earnest to draw off and apart, in readiness for the great and perhaps final controversy.

The influence of this disruption and the consequences which will probably follow it, upon the British Empire, and by it remotely upon the destinies of the human race, presents a subject of contemplation as vast and as complicated as can well be imagined. All political parties in England, seem alike indifferent, ignorant or hostile to the rights of the Christian people of Scotland. The Whig government and the Tory government, agreeing in nothing else, are like Herod and Pontius Pilate, of one accord against Jesus of Nazareth. It is a very curious circumstance that on the very day (the 18th of May) and perhaps at the very moment when the proceedings of successive English administrations were producing their inevitable, perhaps intended effects in the subversion of the Scottish establishment, a scene was enacted in the house of Lords, which displayed in the clearest light the position and principles of all the parties to the controversy. Lord Brougham, who more than any other man controlled the law judgment rendered by the house of Lords against the church of Scotland, rose and read a letter from Mr. Cranston, now Lord Corehouse, who as a Scottish judge had decided every thing against the Orthodox—which letter was expressly written to exonerate its author from the charge of believing “that the unacceptableness of a presentee to the parishioners, or his not preaching in a way that they thought edifying, was in itself a relevant objection, or could be listened to all by the church courts.” And the Earl of Aberdeen, the great leader of the more reasonable portion of the aristocracy and the Moderate party in the legal attempts to compromise this church question, rose and denied that he had even “said acceptableness was necessary, but meetness and suitableness, of which the court was to judge and not the people.” The crime, therefore, of the orthodox

is their endeavour to restore to the people of God the right to have pastors with whom they could conscientiously be satisfied, and to sit under a ministry by which they might be edified; and the utmost length to which the wisest and most amiable of their opponents have gone, is to propose that the courts of law might be so far authorised to interfere, as to require patrons to present ministers, who, in the opinion of these courts, were suitable persons! Here are the three opinions in broad contrast in London, at the moment of their joining in remediless conflict at Edinburg. The right of a private person, on his own irresponsible discretion, to force upon a Christian people, a religious teacher of whose qualifications he, the patron, is the sole judge: the propriety, as a measure of peace and policy, of investing the courts of law or those of the church, jointly or severally, with power to decide on the fitness, merely, of the proposed pastor: the absolute and inherent right of the people of God to decide on the acceptableness of the minister who is to be placed over them. The last is the doctrine of the Free Presbyterian Church; the second of the wiser portion of the Moderate party; the first of the Scotch and English law courts, of the British Government and of the Residuary Assembly and the Kirk of Scotland as now established. And it is these opinions which now enter the open field, and the issue of whose conflict will decide the fate of Christianity in Britain. It seems to us absolutely clear, that a contest of this description is fully expressed when we say, that the triumph of Christianity must necessarily subvert the Residuary Church of Scotland, and overthrow, or essentially change the constitution of England.

It is to be remembered that the very same difficulties which have controlled this subject as one connected with the question of establishments, equally attach to it when it is contemplated in connexion with the question of toleration. The Free Presbyterian Church has, therefore, by no means escaped the dilemma of disobeying Christ or the state, by leaving the establishment. Every government has precisely the same right to decide what it will tolerate, as what it will establish; and upon what conditions it tolerates as well as upon what it will establish. It did therefore seem to us, as already intimated, that seeing the doctrine of those who have left the Scottish establishment was so decidedly favourable to a law church; it would have been the natural course of conduct, for them to have fought the great battle for Christ's headship, where they stood: and that, declining to do this, was a virtual admission either that they were liable to the charge of schism, or that religious establishments are so inherently adverse to the independence and the purity of the church, that they are not worthy to be suffered for, are incapable of reformation, and easily become snares to the consciences of the faithful. Without pressing such considerations farther, and without assuming that the present aspect of things in Britain, indicates the near approach of actual persecution; it is still obvious, that the same principles upon which the cause of the church of Scotland has been adjudicated through all the courts of the realm, must equally draw under the power of the civil magistrate all the temporalities of all denominations of dissenters; and if so, then their spiritual independence is at an end, or they must abandon every temporality after the example of the recent abandon-

ment of the establishment. The spiritual court must settle the spiritual cause, and this must draw after it the temporalities, as an incident; or the civil court must settle the temporalities, and this must draw after it the spiritual statutes as an incident. No other practical solution of the difficulty has yet been found; and to us there seems to be no other. In the late troubles of the Presbyterian Church in this country, we openly and at an early period assumed this ground, and predicted, in reliance upon its impregnable truth, the results which followed—and which according to the current of American decisions, must always follow—notwithstanding the folly of such judges as Mr. Rodgers. In England, and, as it seems to us, in all countries of law churches, the opposite result—that namely which is now realised as to the church of Scotland, must be expected always to occur; and that even as it regards non-established churches, though possibly not so inevitably nor to the same vexatious extent. Difficulties of this sort, have already commenced with some of the secession churches in Scotland; and the Wesleyans in England have perceived, with characteristic sagacity, that they are liable to the application of the same principles which have broken up the Scottish church, and for this reason openly avowed, have boldly stood forth to advocate her cause. When it is considered how difficult, if not altogether impossible it is, in the existing state of society, to conduct the affairs of the church at all, without touching at various points, civil obligations, interests, and rights, it is easy to understand how readily the civil magistrate, acting on the principles of English jurisprudence as now established, may usurp the general control of every religious sect in Britain. Can such a result be avoided? Will it be endured? These are pregnant questions, and the practical solution of them will materially control the fate of the British empire.

For our own part, we try to contemplate with calmness these great and agitating events. We are not able to fathom the august designs of God, nor to comprehend his adorable ways. It is true, he is shaking the earth; but that earth deserves to perish. He is overturning, and overturning; but, by and by he will come whose right it is to reign, and then he will take the kingdom. It is our part to testify for him, not to act as his counsellor; to do his will, not to repine at his allotments; to watch for his coming, not to mourn over the methods by which he hastens his triumphant epiphany. Well do we know, that in his own good time and way, he will accomplish all his great and merciful designs, and that not the smallest of these is the preservation, the sanctification, and the ultimate glory of his church.

**AGITATION IN IRELAND: AFFILIATED CLUBS IN THE UNITED STATES:
O'CONNELL, REPEAL, ANTI-SLAVERY, AND POPERY.**

MR. O'CONNELL is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable personages of the present century. Possessed of uncommon talents, of extensive attainments, of great energy and sagacity; eloquent, audacious, farsighted and skilful in the management of men; he has exerted an influence, and produced effects, important and extensive beyond what it is possible as yet to estimate. An able lawyer, a wise

politician, a great statesman, a true lover of his native land, and an ardent friend of general liberty, we think he has clearly shown himself to be. These are great qualities, and high claims to the admiration of mankind. But the weak and offensive traits of his character are equally striking and numerous. The most shameless of all braggarts and liars—the most brazen faced of all bullies and cowards—the most sordid of all public mendicants—the most unscrupulous of all blackguards—the most unconscionable of all slanderers (*except Robert Wickliffe*)—the most reckless of all bigots; his evil points—when separately contemplated—exhibit him as thoroughly disgusting an object as the most corrupt public characters of the most corrupt ages of the world. It is not, therefore, at all surprising, that those whose position, interests or passions lead them to view him only in his evil manifestations, abhor and detest him, out of measure; nor that those who are benefited by his efforts, and who share his political principles and aims, should admire and love him with intense fervor. That Americans generally should find it difficult to make up a satisfactory and candid opinion of him, will not appear strange, if we remember that on the one hand he appears before them as by eminence the friend of Ireland and of liberty—two causes of profound interest to every American heart; and that on the other hand, he stands forward the reckless and malignant calumniator of our country—the detestable and almost solitary slanderer of Washington—the systematic advocate of sedition, disunion, and civil commotion in our republic.

The general and *avowed* ends to which all his efforts are directed, it seems to us, ought to commend themselves to every enlightened mind. Ireland ought to be free; for all men ought to be free. Ireland ought to be independent; for all nations are of right entitled to political independence. Ireland, at the very least, is entitled to equality with England and Scotland, in civil and political privileges. We certainly do not hesitate in asserting these propositions, as being in a general sense, out of all dispute.

But when it is considered that the political regeneration of Ireland is absolutely impossible—as much so as that of Mexico—while five-eighths of her people are little better than savages; the practical question to be decided, is very materially changed. When it is remembered that the independence of Ireland, is but another phrase for the massacre or exile of all its protestant population—being about three-eighths of the whole; the subject assumes a very dubious aspect. When it is perceived that the real question to be decided is whether the reformed people of England and Scotland shall restrain the ferocious and brutal turbulence and fanaticism of the Irish papists, or whether the latter shall give law to the former; the decision to which any rational and considerate person must come, is very far from being clearly with the Irish papists. The papal religion is not only inherently and universally, but as it asserts, by divine command, exclusive and intolerant; and this melancholy and unmanageable fact complicates inextricably, every question of civil liberty, in every land where they are the majority. If the question in Ireland was simply to grant equality of rights and privileges to men who would in turn grant the like to others; it would be impossible to hesitate a

moment about it. If the question put to the English and Scots was to allow Irish papists to rise to equality with Irish protestants; no difficulty ought to be felt, in granting the demand. But when the question presented by the whole conduct, principles, claims, pretensions, and religion of papists is, that papal supremacy shall supersede protestant supremacy in Ireland; then, the protestants of Ireland have a very different question to answer; and the friends of humanity, liberty, and civilization throughout the world have quite another subject submitted to their decision. We boldly assert, and appeal alike to reason, to history, and to philosophy for proof, that if the question is thus put—it is better to have protestant than papal supremacy. Better, because the protestant religion is by its first principles a merciful and tolerant religion—while the papal religion is cruel and bloody; better because papists are always and every where better off under protestant supremacy, than protestants are or ever were any where under papal supremacy. Bad as may be the condition of the papal population of Ireland—how much greater are their rights and privileges than those of protestants in Italy, Spain, South America—nay, even in France, where the law professes to place all religions on an equality? Did protestants ever make a general and indiscriminate massacre of papists? Do they incorporate it with their religion, that popery subjects men to be stripped of their fortunes and their liberty, to be scourged and to be burned? Ready as we are to admit, that the English government has cruelly abused and misgoverned Ireland for the greater part of the six centuries she has held and ruled it, in and by virtue of a solemn grant from the pope of Rome; still it seems to us clear that a very great part of the fault is to be attributed to the extreme difficulty if not utter impossibility of governing Ireland at all, either wisely or safely. And prompt as we are to admit the general justice of the claims put forward in the name of Ireland, at present, we are well satisfied that the granting of them, would entail ruin upon the whole protestant interest in Ireland, and be of exceedingly doubtful result upon the papal population of that unhappy country.

It is, however, absolutely certain that Ireland will not be allowed the claims set up on her behalf. They will never be granted by the Imperial parliament; and they can never be enforced by the Irish papists. It is perfectly idle to talk about a peaceable separation of Ireland from England; and it is perfect nonsense to say that independence for Ireland, is not the thing finally aimed at by the present agitation for the repeal of the union. The dismemberment of the British empire can never happen *peaceably*; and any man who really expects such an event, is a fit subject for bedlam. And on the other hand, what are the chances of obtaining by arms the repeal of the Union? Not the most remote! We very seriously incline to the opinion that in the event of civil war in Ireland, the three millions of protestants stand about as good a chance of victory as the five millions of papists. At a secret massacre they have no chance; in a political contest, of which universal suffrage should be the basis, just as little. But in open war the issue would be as likely to be for as against them. But does any man doubt, that the protestant population of Ireland look upon the present agitation for repeal, as essen-

tially a papal movement, for papal purposes? or that they will oppose it to the last extremity? If any does, he is sadly ignorant of the subject. But supposing it were otherwise; what can Ireland do in a contest with the remainder of the British empire? What could she do six centuries ago? What against Oliver Cromwell? What against William III? What in 1798? Yea, in 1798, when the wrongs of Ireland were a million times greater than at present—when 600,000 of her sons capable of bearing arms, banded together to redress her, and some of the noblest spirits that ever lived, stood forward to lead them: what, alas! but wo, was the result? The thing is utterly hopeless and absurd. Ireland is a country incapable of defence, except in open battle; a country without high mountains, great forests, broad rivers, or fastnesses of any kind. Its population is without arms, and ignorant of their use. The state of its agriculture is such, that in times of profound peace a third of its population beg bread two-thirds of every year. And the most powerful and warlike nation of Europe, is in twelve hours sail of half its ports. The most idle of all imaginations, seems to us to be the idea that Ireland is capable of tearing herself by force from British connexion.

We are aware that Mr. O'Connell and the repealers, pretend that their plan differs from both of those above mentioned: they do not expect to succeed exactly by the free consent of England—nor yet by open force: but they have discovered a new method which they call *passive resistance*, and are resolved to adhere strictly to *legal rebellion* against the government, till the English Parliament, worried out by ceaseless agitation, confusion, and turmoil in Ireland, will agree to make that unhappy country independent. This is surely a most hopeful plan. It is certainly very characteristic of the English, that they should give up any dominion they have once held; and doubly so when they are bothered into the measure. Certainly the exact way to make a bull-dog let go his hold, is to make his victim growl and struggle; which is just the account the repealers give of the relative positions and characters of England and Ireland. And what is this famous *passive resistance*? How is it to become effective? Why it is just shooting men from behind hedges instead of doing it in the open field: it is just burning down houses at night, instead of battering them down with cannon: it is just base, cowardly, treacherous, private and detailed murder, robbery, and arson, instead of open and manly revolution. For our part, we prefer the latter mode of doing business; and so we suspect do our countrymen; and they will decide accordingly when they come to understand the matter, and will reject with scorn and horror an appeal to their sympathies for robbers and assassins. Emmet, and Bond, and O'Connor, and Wolf-Tone, were gentlemen and soldiers; the world deplors their fate, and cherishes their memories. But O'Connell and his repealers denounce these heroic men, and propose to repudiate all that can be defended in their case, and to substitute all that is base in the place of it. Such is *passive resistance*.

This, then, is the cause, questionable, to say the least, as to its right—and absolutely hopeless as it regards success, in favour of which a systematic agitation against a government to which we are bound by treaties, is set on foot throughout America. An agitation whose

most probable results are, serious damage to the Irish, by exciting in them hopes which will not be realised, and urging them to excesses which will probably be punished; and causeless provocation of war between ourselves and Great Britain—war, without honor or glory, without a principle, an object, or a hope which can be justified either before God or man. As for the Irish—we can give them a home far better than their own; let us be content with this real benefaction bestowed upon the ignorant, the suffering, and the oppressed. And as for war with England, if we must have it—and we incline to think she will oblige us, first or last, to humble her pride and insolence once more—if we must have it, let it be for our account, and upon our own quarrel.

But our American repealers are in high dudgeon just now because O'Connell and the Irish repealers have lately issued a new denunciation of our country. But why is this! Has he not done the same often before? Has he not the same right to denounce slavery in America, as we have to denounce slavery in Ireland? Has he not the same privilege to call on naturalised Americans to subvert our constitution and dissolve our union, as we have to call on native born subjects of the British government to revolt and dismember the empire? Is it not just as competent for him to recommend a crusade against what he dislikes in America, as for us to agitate against what we disapprove in Ireland? Is he not as fully authorised to abuse the masters of American slaves, as we are to traduce the land-lords of Irish peasants? Really it seems to us, that he is far the wiser and more consistent of the two; for the cases are very nearly alike, in a great multitude of aspects. Indeed his bold and open proceedings and threats on this subject, go far farther than most things we have known of him, to convince us the man is at least, in earnest—and avows the real grounds of his conduct at home: whereas the shuffling and dodging here, seem plainly to indicate that the repeal movement in America does not avow the real objects of its authors. *How does it happen that all the leading men amongst our repealers here are papists? Many of them priests? Why do the protestant Irish in America stand aloof from the movement?* Is it possible that the American public can allow itself to be hood-winked by such shallow tricks? And are our political party leaders stark mad, that they forget there are twenty protestants to every papist in America? Men must be in a desperate plight truly when they expect to be made presidents, and governors, and what not, by courting American—Irish—repealers.

The repealers both in America and Ireland seem to be sadly misinformed in regard to the late abolition political party in this country. No doubt the hostility to domestic slavery, and the settled conviction that it ought to end, and that it must some day end, are more extensive in America than ever before. But as to any organised, political, anti-slavery party, we believe such a thing can hardly be said to exist on a scale worthy of consideration. We should suppose our old acquaintance, Mr. James G. Birney, the late candidate of the Abolition party for the presidency, had no more prospect of coming in that way to that office, than Mr. O'Connell has to come at the dismemberment of the British empire by his present operations; and this is little enough. And ill as we thought of the politico-abolitionists, we

must say they were a safer, a more candid, and a wiser party than these American repealers; and we should rejoice to see reason to hope that the latter would come to as early and thorough a ship-wreck as the former.

It cannot be denied that the condition of Ireland presents many difficult problems, and that dark clouds hang over the future. The British government is likely to have its hands full of trouble after a while; and what the issue may be, no man can venture to predict. Her immense expeditions to the most distant lands, her enormous and agitated possessions in foreign countries, her stupendous debt, her grinding taxation, her fierce, discontented, and starving domestic population, added to the settled and gloomy sense of wrong which is spreading in Scotland, and the nearly absolute dissolution of society which prevails to so great an extent in Ireland, present a mass of difficulties which may bring disaster in countless forms, and which, it is scarcely conceivable, can be all successfully solved. Yet the very magnitude of empires seems to impart to them a vitality proportionate to their bulk; and this stupendous monster goes on still to increase towards every quarter of the earth, to fatten upon every sort of aliment, to acquire strength under every condition of things. How far its avarice, its ambition, its rapacity are yet, in the inscrutable purpose of God, to be allowed to have way, no mortal can divine. But according to all the lessons of the past, it has not yet reached its culminating point, and even the convulsions which seem to threaten it, may, as often before, only develop its powers with greater force and unity, and make it ten fold more formidable to every thing, save the faction or the interest that may have force and spirit enough to seize the helm. Nothing seems to us more certain than that the papal interest in Ireland is utterly incompetent for an enterprise so daring; and that even if it were otherwise, nothing is more insane than for free and protestant America, to foster such an undertaking.

✠

CONTROVERSY WITH THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAINS OF THE "ARCH-BISHOP OF BALTIMORE."—NO. X. OF THE PROTESTANTS.—BLASPHEMY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME;—MORE ABOUT EXCOMMUNICATION.

THE priests lost their manners very early in this correspondence; afterwards they lost their temper, and abused us through several numbers; now they seem to abandon their cause, and instead of explaining their own "*Doctrines and Practices*," have, in their No. ix., commenced a regular attack on Protestantism. As we have not imitated their bad manners, nor caught the infection of their bad temper, so neither shall we follow them in their flight from the matter in debate. We intend to expose popery; and the priests may, if they please, give up the defence of it. As for their attacks on Protestantism, we are content to let them rave on. It is like a scotched serpent biting a file—to ease his agony.

In our VIII. No. we published the oath of their Bishops, the curse of Conwell on Hogan, and the Jesuit's Oath of Secrecy. In reply to the first, they say the translation is not accurate. To this we an-

swer—*make us, then, one that is.* The oath is so bad that any tolerable version of it is enough to cover all the Bishops with confusion. Let us have a translation, better than that of Barr.ow; or that must stand to overwhelm these vassals of the Pope.

As to their Jesuit's oath, they interpose a feeble negative, backed by a sneer at *Usher and McGavin.* We intend to give the Jesuits a separate notice, hereafter; meantime, let *Usher and McGavin* stand against our priests.

Our present business is with the blasphemous cursings of the Church of Rome. In reply to our publication of the curse of Bishop Conwell against Priest Hogan—our Archbishop and his priests make a double defence, thus: 1. That the curse was never uttered by Conwell. 2. That if it was, it is no proof against the Church of Rome. We find, in looking into the debate between Mr. Campbell and Bishop Purcell, that the latter adds plea 3. in regard to this same curse, viz., That it is no worse than God himself, of old, caused to be uttered. This is the patent mode of papal pleading: 1. I never borrowed the kettle; 2. It was cracked when I borrowed it; 3. It was not cracked when I returned it. So here: 1. There was never such a curse; 2. It is nothing to us, if there was; 3. It is a good curse, if it is genuine!

Now whether this sort of desperate and reckless blasphemy is good or bad, we are quite content to leave to the moral sense of our readers; simply remarking that by the *Canon Law* (Tom. III, *pars quinta*; *De Judiciis*, part II, *tit viii, sec. I*, paragraph ix, p. 569,) "ANATHEMA IS CONDEMNATION TO ETERNAL DEATH." It is not, therefore, in sport, that papal Bishops curse so terribly.

So too, whether or not a church that plumes itself on its *unity*, and boasts continually of its *infallibility*, can calmly disavow the most formal acts of its high dignitaries, officially and repeatedly performed; we can better judge when the priests give us a clear idea of what they mean by the Church of Rome. What is the Church?—Who is she? Where is she? *This is the fourth time we have asked for this information.*

Dismissing therefore pleas 2 and 3, let us apply ourselves to plea 1, viz., as to the *fact* of these horrible cursings, by the Church of Rome.

Will the priests tell us what their church means, by the *Anathema* so liberally used by so many of their General Councils and Popes? What do they mean when they say of so many millions of people, and say it so often—"Let them be accursed?"—We say, they mean what Conwell means against Hogan; and we can show scores of cases where Popes and Councils, have used *Anathema*, for things not only no worse than Hogan did—but even for things indifferent, uncertain, yea, and things positively good. Let any man read only the *Canons of the Council of Trent*, or the *Bulla in Cæna Domini*, and he will see the force of this argument, not only as a general one against Rome—but specifically to prove the high probability that the very curse in dispute was uttered by Conwell.

Again; this particular curse was published at the time and in the city where it is said to have been uttered; published extensively in the newspapers of that day, from one of which Campbell cited it, in the debate with Purcell; published in pamphlets written by papists—

one of which we have seen, and from some of which it has been several times republished; and yet no public denial was made of its genuineness, by any of the parties for years after its appearance; but many passages of the controversy, of which it was a portion, and which produced thirty or forty publications—imply the existence of this curse, and cannot be understood without. Every cotemporary circumstance, therefore, adds force to the general habit of the Church of Rome—proving this curse to be genuine and authentic.

Once more. Both the prominent actors in this extraordinary transaction still live. Bishop Conwell lives; and he has never publicly denied this curse. Mr. Hogan lives; and he asserts, as Dr. Brownlee of New York has published very lately and on personal knowledge, that the curse is genuine and authentic! This would seem to put the matter to rest.

But still further. Purcell says, in his debate with Campbell, and after him our priests repeat it, that the original of this curse, was a witty and obscene invention of *Laurence Stern*, the celebrated author of *Tristram Shandy*, &c. The gentlemen all saw and felt that a mere denial of the curse was not sufficient; they therefore clinched the denial by showing the original fabrication.—We think the gentlemen will be sick of their discovery, before they get a patent for it. *Laurence Stern*, quotha? Let us see; here is before us, the third edition of *Tristram Shandy*, London, 1769, dedicated by the author to *Mr. Pitt*. The whole matter therefore is of the last age only—and papal Anathemas are not yet four score years old!—Chronology is a very ugly thing to get round; and gentlemen who are absolutely sure they have got to the fountain head of a matter, would do well sometimes to add up their figures.

If our learned Archbishop and his priests will but step to the Baltimore City Library in Holliday street, they will there find the famous *Glossary of Sir Henry Spelman*; the edition is that of London, 1688; how long before *Laurence Stern* was born, we leave it to the priests to tell the public. On pp. 205 and 6 of the *Glossary* they will find a form of *Papal Excommunication*, which *Spelman* there says was drawn from the "*Textus Roffensis*" of WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, who was only about seven centuries before *Laurence Stern*, from whom he must have obtained the form of the curse, if our priests tell true. The form is in Latin; and we earnestly beg the gentlemen to make and print a literal translation of it. Meantime, we give what follows, as a translation; we find it on pp. 305-6 of "*Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery*," Edinburgh, 1785.

"By the authority of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and of the holy canons; and of the immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother and patroness of our Saviour; and of all the celestial virtues, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, powers, cherubims, and seraphims; and of all the holy patriarchs, and prophets; and of all the apostles and evangelists; and of the holy innocents, who in sight of the holy Lamb are found worthy to sing the new song; of the holy martyrs and holy confessors; and of the holy virgins and of all the saints; and together with all the holy and elect of God; we excommunicate and anathematize this thief or this malefactor N. And, from the threshold of the holy church of God Almighty, we sequester

him, that he may be tormented, disposed, and delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord God, *Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways.* And, as fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him be put out for evermore, unless it shall repent him, and he make satisfaction. Amen.

"May God the Father, who created man, curse him. May the Son, who suffered for us, curse him. May the Holy Ghost, who was given us in baptism, curse him. May the holy cross, which Christ for our salvation, triumphing ascended, curse him. May the holy and eternal Virgin Mary, curse him. May St. Michael, the advocate of holy souls, curse him. May St. John, the chief forerunner and baptist of Christ, curse him. May St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, and all other Christ's apostles, together with the rest of his disciples, and four evangelists, curse him. May the holy and wonderful company of martyrs and confessors, who by their holy works are found pleasing to God, curse him. May the holy choir of the holy virgins, who for the honor of Christ have despised the things of the world, curse him. May all the saints, who from the beginning of the world to everlasting ages are found to be the beloved of God, curse him. May the heaven and earth, and all the holy things therein remaining, curse him. May he be cursed wherever he be, whether in the house or in the field; or in the highway or in the path; or in the wood; or in the water; or in the church. May he be cursed in living; in dying; in eating; in drinking; in being hungry; in being thirsty; in fasting; in sleeping; in slumbering; in waking; in walking; in standing; in sitting; in lying; in working; in resting;—*mingendo; cacando;* and in blood-letting. May he be cursed in all the powers of his body. May he be cursed within and without. May he be cursed in the hair of his head. May he be cursed in his brain. May he be cursed in the crown of his head; in his temples; in his forehead; in his ears; in his eye-brows; in his cheeks; in his jaw-bones; in his nostrils; in his fore-teeth and grinders; in his lips; in his throat; in his shoulders; in his wrists; in his arms; in his hands; in his fingers; in his breast; in his heart; and in all the interior parts to the very stomach; in his reins; in his groin; in his thighs; in his genitals; in his hips; in his knees; in his legs; in his feet; in his joints; and in his nails. May he be cursed in the whole structure of his members. From the crown of his head to the sole of his foot may there be no soundness in him. May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, curse him; and may heaven and all the powers that move therein, rise against him to damn him, unless he shall repent, and make full satisfaction. Amen. Amen. *So be it.*"

While the gentlemen are in the Baltimore Library, we request them to look at a folio volume called—*Manuscripts of the Cottonian Library, 1802; on folio 54, Caligula B. II. 130*—they will find these words, "*Gavin (Dunbar) Archbishop of Glasgow; Letters of Censures against Insurgents—289.*" If, after this, they will carefully examine the *State Papers, published by the Commissioners, vol. iv. pp. 416-19,* they will find another pretty tough specimen of cursing, published from the Notarial Instrument above referred to, as one of the Cotton-

ian Manuscripts which was transmitted to *Cardinal Wolsey* by the Ambassador *Thomas Mignus*, in a letter dated *October 23, 1525*. We earnestly beg the priests to make and publish a literal transcript of this curse also, and in the meantime add one by another hand.

"Sequitur processus in vulgari sermone fulminandus ut laici et illiterati melius intelligant, et majori concutiantur terrore, &c.

"Good folks, here are my Lord Archbishop of Glasgow's letters under his round seal directed to me or to any other chaplain, making mention with great regret how heavy he bears the piteous, lamentable, and dolorous complaint that paces our whole realm, and comes to his ears by open voice and fame, how our Sovereign Lord's true lieges, men, wives, and children, bought and redeemed by the precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and, leaving his laws, are without cause part murdered, part slain, burnt, outraged, spoiled, and robbed, openly in daylight, and under silence of the night, and their houses and lands laid waste, and theirselves banished therefrom, as well church-lands as others, by common traitors, robbers, and thieves, dwelling in the south part of this realm, such as Teviotdale, Esdale, Liddesdale, Ewsdale, Nithesdale, and Annanderdale, which have been divers ways pursued and punished by the temporal sword and our Sovereign Lord's authority, and dread not the same. And, therefore, my said Lord Archbishop of Glasgow has thought expedient to strike them with the terrible sword of Holy Church, which they may not long endure and rest; and has charged me or any other chaplain to denounce, declare and proclaim them openly and generally accursed at this market cross, and all other public places.

"Herefor, through the authority of Almighty God the Father of Heaven, his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, through the authority of the Blessed Virgin St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Gabriel, and all the Angels; St. John the Baptist, and all the holy patriarchs and prophets; St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, and all holy apostles; St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, and all holy martyrs; St. Giles, St. Martin, and all holy confessors; St. Anne, St. Catherine, and all holy virgins and matrons; and of all the saints and holy company of heaven; by the authority of Our Holy Father the Pope and his cardinals, and of my said Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, by the advice and assistance of my lords, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and others, prelates, and ministers of Holy Church, I denounce, proclaim, and declare all and sundry the committers of the said unprovoked murders, slaughters, burnings, ravages, robberies, thefts, and spoilings, openly upon day-light, and under silence of the night, as well within temporal lands as church lands, together with their part-takers, assisters, suppliers, knowingly receivers of their persons, the goods robbed and stolen by them, all or part thereof, and their counsellors and defenders of their evil deeds generally, cursed, worried, aggregate and re-aggregate, with the great cursing. I curse their head, and all the hairs of their head; I curse their face, their eyes, their mouth, their nose, their tongue, their teeth, their neck, their shoulders, their breast, their heart, their stomach, their back, their belly, their arms, their legs, their hands, their feet, and every one part of their body, from the top of their head to the sole of their feet, before and behind, within and without; I curse them going, I curse

them riding, I curse them standing, I curse them sitting, I curse them eating, I curse them drinking, I curse them walking, I curse them sleeping, I curse them rising, I curse them lying, I curse them at home, I curse them from home; I curse them within the house, I curse them without the house; I curse their wives, their children, and their servants, participant with them in their deeds. I curse their corn, their cattle, their wool, their sheep, their horse, their swine, their geese, their hens, and all their live stock. I curse their halls, their chambers, their kitchens, their stables, their barns, their byres, their barnyards, their kailyards, their ploughs, their harrows, and the stock and houses that is necessary for their sustentation and welfare. All the malisons and cursings that ever got worldly creature, since the beginning of the world to this hour, might light upon them. The maledictions of God that lighted upon Lucifer and all his fellows, that strake them from the high heaven to the deep hell, might light upon them. The fire and sword that stopped Adam from the gates of Paradise, might stop them from the glory of heaven, until they forbear and make amends. The malison that lighted on cursed Cain when he slew his brother, just Abel, unprovokedly, might light on them for the causeless slaughter that they commit daily. The malediction that lighted upon all the world, man and beast, and all that ever took life, when all was drowned by the flood of Noah, except Noah and his ark, might light upon them, and drown them, man and beast, and make this realm burthenless of them, for their wicked sins. The thunder and lightning that ran down as rain upon the cities of Sodom and Gomorra, with all the lands about, and burned them for their vile sins, might rain upon them and burn them for their open sins. The malison and confusion that lighted on the giants for their oppression and pride, building the tower of Babylon, might confound them, and all their works, for their open robberies and oppression. All the plagues that fell upon Pharoah and his people of Egypt, their lands, corn, and cattle, might fall upon them, their farms, rooms, and steadings, corn and beasts. The water of Tweed and other waters, where they ride, might drown them as the Red Sea drowned King Pharaoh and the people of Egypt, pursuing God's people of Israel. The earth might open, rend and cleave, and swallow them alive to hell, as it swallowed cursed Dathan and Abiram, that withstood Moses and the command of God. The wild fire that burned Khora and his fellows to the number of two hundred and fifty, and other fourteen thousand seven hundred at once, usurping against Moses and Aaron, servants of God, might suddenly burn and consume them, daily withstanding the commands of God and holy church. The malediction that lighted suddenly upon fair Absalom, riding against his father, King David, servant of God, through the wood, when the branches of a tree freed him from his horse, and hanged him by the hair, might light upon them riding against true Scottish men, and hang them likewise, that all the world may see. The malediction that lighted on Holofernes, lieutenant to Nebugodonozor, making war and pillage upon true Christian men; the malediction that lighted upon Judas, Pilate, Herod, and the Jews that crucified our Lord, and all the plagues and troubles that lighted on the city of Jerusalem therefor, and upon Simon Magus for his simony,

bloody Nero, cursed Ditus, Makcensius, Olibrius, Julianus Apostita, and the rest of the cruel tyrants that slew and murdered Christ's holy servants, might light upon them for their cruel tyranny and murderdom of Christian people. And all the vengeance that ever was taken since the world began for open sins, and all the plagues and pestilence that ever fell on man and beast, might fall on them for their open robbery, causeless slaughter, and shedding of innocent blood. I dissever and part them from the church of God, and deliver them quick to the devil of hell as the Apostle St. Paul delivered the Corinthian. I interdict the places they come in, from divine service, ministration of the sacraments of holy church, except the sacrament of baptism only; and forbid all churchmen to shrive or absolve them of their sins, till they be first absolved of this cursing. I forbid all Christian man or woman to have any company with them, eating, drinking, speaking, praying, lying, going, standing, or in any other deed doing, under the pain of deadly sin. I discharge all bands, acts, contracts, oaths, and obligations, made to them by any persons, either of fidelity, kindness, or man-rent, so long as they sustain this cursing; so that no man be bounden to them, and that they may be bounden to all men. I take from them and cry down all the good deeds that ever they did or shall do, till they rise from this cursing. I declare them partless of all matins, masses, even songs, dirigeis or other prayers, on book or bead, of all pilgrimage and charitable deeds done or to be done in holy church or by Christian people, during this cursing. And finally, I condemn them perpetually to the deep pit of hell, to remain with Lucifer and all his fellows, and their bodies to the gallows of the Borough Muir, first to be hanged, then riven and rugged with dogs, swine, and other wild beasts, abominable to all the world; and as these candles go from your sight, so may their souls go from the visage of God, and their good fame from the world, till they forbear their open sins aforesaid, and rise from this terrible cursing, and make satisfaction and penance.

"Hæc est vera copia originalis processus lati et continuo ferendi, contra supradictes malefactores semper et quousque redeant ad gremium sancte nataris ecclesie abstinendo et debite satisfaciendo. Teste manu honorabilis egregij viri Magistri Ricardi Bothvile, utriusque juris doctoris, qui principalem processum ex mandato reverendissimi Domini Gawini Ecclesie metropolis Glasguensis Archiepiscopi fecit, in lucem produxit, et fulminavit.

RICARDUS BOTTHVELLE."

It is not to be wondered at, that even popish priests should blush for a church capable of such things as these. But let it be forever bore in mind, in the *first place*, that these are not isolated cases, but are mere specimens of hundreds like them, and are the necessary result of the faith of the Church of Rome, a faith which she constantly boasts, is unchangeable and infallibly true: and, in the *second place*, that the priests are ashamed of them, only because "light has come unto the world"—and the horrible practices of their church cannot endure that light.

What have the gentlemen now to say, about *Laurence Stern and Dr. Slop*? Shall we give them more samples of the mild and merciful temper of "*holy mother and mistress*?" We are at a loss whether most to abhor the cause, or pity its advocates.

THE FUNERAL OF THE MASS.

CHAPTER VIII. (and the whole Treatise) concluded.—Containing Answers to the Objections of the Romish Doctors.

OBJECTION VI. 20. The sixth objection is drawn from Gen. xiv. 18, in these words: *And Melchisedec, King of Sulem, bringing forth bread and wine (for he was a priest) blessed him.* And from Psal. cx. 4, and from Heb. vii. 17, where it is said, *Thou art a priest forever, after the order of Melchisedec.* From which words our adversaries argue thus: First, They say that Jesus Christ is a priest, not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedec; the difference between Aaron and Melchisedec consisting in this, viz., that Aaron and the other Levitical priests offered bloody sacrifices, killing and shedding the blood of beasts, which they sacrificed to God, as a sign and figure of the bloody sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross. But Melchisedec offered an unbloody sacrifice, for when he went to meet Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, he offered to God bread and wine. And seeing this bread and wine offered to God by Melchisedec were signs and types of Christ's body and blood, Jesus Christ was obliged to offer an unbloody sacrifice, viz., his body and blood under the species of bread and wine, which he did at the institution and celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, that so the reality of the thing typified might answer those shadows and types. Secondly, That although Melchisedec had brought all this bread and wine for the refreshment of Abraham and his army that returned from the slaughter of the kings, yet he first offered it to God, and then gave it to them, that so they might partake of the sacrifice of bread and wine. And the reason of this is, because the Scripture saith that Abraham returned from the battle with great spoils; amongst which there was meat and drink enough for the refreshment of himself and his people: also it saith expressly that Abraham's people had taken such refreshment as was necessary before Melchisedec met them; and consequently they had no need of the bread and wine which he brought, except it had been to partake of the sacrifice of the bread and wine which he offered. Thirdly, They say this is strongly proved by the following words, *for he was priest of the most high God*, which shews the reason why Melchisedec brought bread and wine, viz., to make an oblation or offering of it to God; for if he had brought this bread and wine for the refreshment of Abraham and his people, the Scripture would have said that he had brought this bread and wine, because that Abraham and his army, being faint and tired, had need of meat and drink; but it speaks nothing of this: on the contrary, it saith that he brought bread and wine, *for he was priest.* Fourthly, They say that *Jesus Christ is a priest forever, after the order of Melchisedec*; and seeing there can be no priest without a sacrifice, there can be no eternal priest without an eternal or perpetual sacrifice. But the sacrifice of the cross was offered but once, and cannot be reiterated, *for Jesus Christ dieth no more*, Rom. vi. 9. Therefore there must be another perpetual sacrifice in the church, which Jesus Christ offereth by the hands of priests, which can be nothing else

but the sacrifice of the mass, viz., the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood under the species of the bread and wine, typified by the sacrifice of the bread and wine of Melchisedec.

ANSWER. 21. To this I answer, First, That the Hebrew word doth not signify *bringing*, but *brought*, drew out, caused to be brought, &c., but our adversaries falsify the text thus, to make way for another falsification, viz., to put these words in a parenthesis (*for he was priest*) instead of putting without a parenthesis, *and he was priest*; so that we may say that in these few words they have made three falsifications; first, when they translate it *proferens*, that is bringing, instead of translating it *protulit*, that is brought or drew out. Secondly, When they translate it *erut enim sacerdos*, that is, *for he was priest*: instead of translating it, *and he was priest*. Thirdly, When they translate it *benedixit ei*, that is, *blessed him*, instead of translating it *et benedixit ei*, that is, *and he blessed him*. And so of three different propositions, viz., Melchisedec also brought bread and wine, and he was priest, and he blessed him; they have made but one, with a parenthesis, thus; Melchisedec bringing bread and wine (*for he was priest*) blessed him.

22. Secondly, I answer, that the Hebrew word used by Moses, signifies commonly brought, drew out, caused to be brought, caused to be drawn out, caused to come, &c. But we must not stray from the proper signification of words, but upon very great necessity, which appears not in this text. And, although this Hebrew word should signify *brought to offer*, and that it should be taken for *offered*, yet our adversaries would gain nothing by it; for it is not said in the text, that he brought bread and wine to offer unto God; but we must rather expound it thus, viz., that he brought bread and wine to offer, and present it to Abraham: and indeed, the following words, viz., *and blessed him*, do clearly shew it, for the pronoun relative *him*, relates to Abraham, according to the exposition of the Apostle, Heb. vii. 1, where he saith expressly that *Melchisedec met Abraham and blessed him*. And a little after he saith, that *Melchisedec blessed him that had the promises; and that the less is blessed of the greater*. But if these words, *he brought bread and wine*, must be expounded thus, he offered bread and wine to God, then it must necessarily follow, that Melchisedec blessed God, and not Abraham; for in these words, viz., *he offered bread and wine to God, and blessed him*, the pronoun *him*, can relate to none but God.

23. Thirdly, I answer, that Melchisedec brought bread and wine to Abraham, to refresh him and his people, and not to offer unto God. Bellarmin, in Book I. of the Mass, chap. vi, confesseth that Melchisedec brought bread and wine to Abraham, to refresh him and his people, who returned faint and tired from the slaughter of the kings, which is true; but he adds, that Jesus Christ had offered it to God before, which is false, and cannot be proved. Jerom, in his Epistle to Evagrius, writes that the Jews understood it, that Melchisedec, meeting Abraham after his victory, brought bread and wine to refresh him and his people. Josephus, writing this history, saith that Melchisedec presented bread and wine to Abraham, to refresh him and his army. Damascene, book VI. of the Orthodox faith, saith that *Melchisedec treated Abraham with bread and wine*.

24. Fourthly, The reasons of our adversaries, mentioned in the objection, to prove that Melchisedec brought bread and wine to Abraham, that he might partake of the sacrifice which he had offered, are not considerable; viz., because Abraham returned from the battle with great spoils; and so there was meat and drink enough for him and his people; and that they had taken their repast before Melchisedec met them, &c. These reasons, I say, are inconsiderable, because, although Abraham had great spoils, yet he restored all to the king of Sodom; and though his people had eaten and drank of such as they found amongst the spoils, yet, it is not said that Abraham did eat and drink; and though both he and his people had eaten and drank, yet it is not said how long it was since, and that they had no need of more provision; and though they had no need of more, yet Melchisedec, not knowing that they had eaten and drank, did that which prudent men are wont to do, viz., provide all that may be needful in case of necessity.

25. Fifthly, I answer, that the principal reason which our adversaries bring to prove that Melchisedec offered unto God bread and wine, viz., because it is in the Hebrew text, *for he was priest*, is a manifest falsification, for it is in the Hebrew text, *and he was priest*. Also the old Latin interpreter, and the Greek Septuagint, translate it as we do, viz., and he was priest. And it is very probable that this passage hath been corrupted in Jerom's Latin translation, because in his Hebrew Questions, and in his Epistle to Evagrius, he translates it, *and he was priest*. Cyprian, in his Epistle to Cæcilius, and Augustine, Book iv. of Christian Doctrine, chap. 21, and elsewhere, translate it, *and he was priest*. So, that although the Hebrew particle used by Moses, do sometimes signify *for*, yet seeing that both its proper and common signification is *and*, and that for one place where it signifies *for*, there are a thousand at least where it signifies *and*; and that there is nothing that obligeth us to translate it *for*, it is evident that the argument of our adversaries is of no force at all. Therefore it is more pertinent to refer these words, *and he was priest*, to what follows, viz., *and blessed him*, than to what goes before, viz., *brought bread and wine*. For, as Melchisedec, being a liberal king, brought bread and wine to Abraham, to refresh him and his people: so, as he was a priest much more excellent than Abraham, he blessed him. And though it should be translated *for he was priest*, yet it would not follow that Melchisedec did sacrifice bread and wine unto God, for it might be said that Moses would shew the reason of the good will of Melchisedec toward Abraham; viz., it was very fit that he that was priest of the most high God should testify his kindness to so eminent a servant of God as was Abraham, by presenting bread and wine to him, whereof he thought there was need.

26. Sixthly, I answer, that from what is said, Psal. cx. and Heb. vii. viz., that Jesus Christ is a priest for ever, it will not follow that he must offer himself every day in the mass, under the species of bread and wine, by the ministry of priests: for the Apostle, writing to the Hebrews, placeth the perpetuity of the priesthood partly in this, viz., that there is no need he should be offered any more, seeing by one oblation he hath consecrated forever those that are sanctified; and partly in this, viz., that being exalted far above the heavens,

he intercedes continually for us ; for the priesthood consists in certain functions, and in the virtue and efficacy of them. And seeing there are two parts of Christ's priesthood, whereof one relates to the oblation of himself, which he offered on the cross ; and the other to his intercession ; it is certain that the virtue and efficacy of the oblation is eternal, and that the intercession will continue unto the end of the world.

27. Seventhly, I answer, that in all the Holy Scripture where the priesthood of Melchisedec is spoken of, three things only are mentioned of him, viz., that he was a priest, that he was a priest for ever, and that he was so with an oath, according to the application that is made of it to Jesus Christ in Psal. cx. and Heb. vii. in these words, *The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec*, but there is nothing at all spoken of the sacrifice of Melchisedec, nor is it said wherein it did consist : for as it was fit that all the offices which we find were borne by the greatest kings, priests, and prophets under the Old Testament, should be collected in the person of the Messiah, which was done by proposing them as types and figures of Jesus Christ, and that the most illustrious type was Melchisedec ; so it was more expedient not to speak of the nature of the sacrifice of Melchisedec, because it was not expedient, then to speak of the nature of the sacrifice of the Messiah. And, therefore, although we know not the nature and quality of the sacrifice of Melchisedec, yet we know that he was a priest: even as we know not in what manner he executed his kingly office.

28. Lastly, I answer, that it is false that the difference between the priesthood of Melchisedec and that of Aaron did consist in this, viz., that Aaron offered the bloody sacrifices of beasts, and Melchisedec offered an unbloody sacrifice of bread and wine. It is also false that the likeness of the priesthood of Melchisedec to that of Jesus Christ doth consist in this, viz., that as Melchisedec did sacrifice bread and wine, so Christ did sacrifice his body and blood under the species of bread and wine: these are human inventions, and are founded neither on Scripture nor reason, for, on the contrary, the Apostle, writing to the Hebrews, placeth the difference between the priesthood of Melchisedec and that of Aaron, and its likeness to that of Christ in quite another thing. First, he is called Melchisedec, which being interpreted (as the Apostle saith, Heb. vii. 2,) is King of Righteousness ; and then King of Salem, that is King of Peace ; and herein he very well represents our Lord Jesus Christ, who is truly King of Righteousness, not only because he is righteous, and was always without sin, but also because by his satisfaction he hath purchased righteousness for us, *being made unto us of God, righteousness*. He is also truly King of Peace, in that he hath reconciled men unto God, made their peace with the angels, and hath particularly recommended peace to them. As for Aaron and other high priests, they were no kings, much less are the priests of the Romish church so, and consequently cannot be after the order of Melchisedec, and they that have written the lives of the Popes have sufficiently declared what righteousness and peace they have procured for the true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ, as I shall shew at large elsewhere.

Secondly, the Apostle, Heb. vii. 3, represents Melchisedec to us as a man come from heaven, *without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life*: not that he was really such a one, but because Moses hath wholly concealed from us his father, mother, descent, birth and death, that he might be the type of Christ, who was without father, as he is man; without mother, as God; without descent, both as God and as man; having neither beginning of days as God, nor end of life, as God or as man. But the fathers, descent, birth, and death of Aaron, and other high priests, are exactly described by Moses. And there were never any popes, bishops, or priests, whose parents, birth, and death, were not known, and consequently they cannot be after the order of Melchisedec. Thirdly, The Apostle adds, that *Melchisedec being made like unto the Son of God, abideth a priest forever*; because Moses makes no mention of his death, nor of any one that succeeded him in his priestly office, that so he might be the type of Jesus Christ, who never left his priestly office, but will exercise it until the end of the world, always interceding for those that are his, by presenting his sacrifice to God the Father continually. As for Aaron and other priests, they are dead, and have had successors. And the popes, bishops, and priests, die daily and have successors, and consequently are not after the order of Melchisedec. Fourthly. The Apostle saith likewise, that Melchisedec took tithes of Abraham, and adds that Melchisedec blessed him that had the promises, viz., Abraham, and that the less is blessed of the greater. Whence it appears that Melchisedec, having taken tithes of Abraham, and blessed him and Levi, and all the priests in his person, was more excellent than Abraham, Levi, and all the priests. In which respect he was a type of Jesus Christ, who was infinitely more excellent than Abraham and all his successors, because he in whom all the promises were fulfilled, must needs be incomparably more excellent than he that received them only. But I do not believe that the priests of the Romish church are so bold as to prefer themselves before Abraham, the father of the faithful, in whose seed all the nations of the earth are blessed; and consequently are not after the order of Melchisedec. Fifthly, The Apostle never spake of the sacrifice of Melchisedec, so far was he from comparing it with the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, as being like it, or with that of Aaron, as being unlike it; so that all that our adversaries say of it, is nothing else but mere human invention.

29. I conclude my answer with this argument, Jesus Christ hath offered no sacrifice but after the order whereof he was established a priest after the order of Melchisedec only, as the Apostle observes. Therefore he hath offered no sacrifice but after the order of Melchisedec. But (according to the Romish Doctors) there is no other sacrifice after the order of Melchisedec, but that of the Mass. Therefore (according to the Romish Doctors) Jesus Christ hath offered no other sacrifice but that of the Mass. And seeing (according to them) the sacrifice of the Mass is an unbloody sacrifice, it follows that Jesus Christ hath offered no other sacrifice but an unbloody sacrifice; and consequently he hath not offered a bloody sacrifice on the cross, which is blasphemy.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.—AUGUST 24, 1572—AUGUST 24, 1662.

THIS fearful day of *St. Bartholomew*, can never be forgotten by the true followers of the Saviour, while the name of *martyr* is honored upon the earth. Whether the present aspect, spirit, and claims of popery and prelacy, which are alike infamously connected with this terrible day, though in different ages and countries, should incline us to be especially forgetful of the past, we willingly leave our readers to decide. What we propose just now, is to make a very brief statement of two concerted, extended, and horrible atrocities, committed on the day of the same saint, at the distance of ninety years from each other,—the one through popish, the other through prelatial intolerance.

The marriage of the young King of Navarre, afterwards HENRY IV. of France, with Margaret of Valois, sister of CHARLES IX., the sovereign then reigning, was celebrated on the 18th of August, 1572. It was pretended by the perfidious monarch and the still more perfidious queen mother, who was a daughter of the famous house of Medici at Florence, and a near kinswoman of two popes of Rome, that this marriage was designed to cement a perpetual peace between the protestants of France, then numbering a third or fourth part of the kingdom, whose ostensible head Henry was, and the papal subjects of the crown. But advantage was taken of the occasion to bring together at Paris the principal protestant Lords and gentlemen, that they might be all murdered at a single blow. The most effectual method of accomplishing this diabolical purpose was matter of deliberate arrangement by the king and queen mother in council; and every thing was carefully settled, which it was supposed would by a concerted and universal massacre of the upper classes of the protestants, beginning at Paris and extending throughout France, free the realm from this detested sect of followers of the Lamb.

On the 24th of August, 1572, being the Sabbath day, at the giving of the signal agreed on, by sounding the tocsin at Saint Germain, the frightful work of blood commenced. Detachments of soldiers in every part of Paris, fell upon those marked out for destruction; the perfidious nobles singled out from amongst the protestant Lords such as the long course of civil and religious commotions had made especially hateful to them respectively, and put them to the sword; the mass of the papists, fell upon the protestants in every quarter of the city, and butchered them without discrimination of sex or age. The city was one general scene of horror and carnage; human butchers running in all directions, reeking with blood newly shed; on every side were heard the cries of men as they were poniarded; from the windows of the houses, dead bodies, or victims still desperately struggling, were thrown into the streets, which ran in torrents of blood.*

It is impossible to determine exactly what number of human

*Such are the express words of *De Thou*, whose account we follow, and who was an eye witness, "*les rues regorgeoient tellement de sang, qu'il s'en formoit des torrens.*" See his *Histoire Universelle*, tom. iv. liv. 52, p. 592.

beings perished in this barbarous massacre. In Paris alone *Davila** asserts that in two days only, there were slain more than ten thousand *men*, (besides women and children,) of whom above five hundred were gentlemen and cavaliers, who had borne high command in the army. Paris was delivered over, for seven days and nights as *Mezeray* declares,† to pillage and murder; the king himself not only enforcing the horrid work, by urgent commands, but actually firing with his own hand upon his defenceless subjects. In every part of the kingdom where the papal interest predominated, but especially in the principal towns and cities belonging to that party, scenes similar to those enacted at Paris were presented; and even after the massacre was arrested at the capitol, it still raged, as *Mezeray* declares.‡ at the end of two months, in the more distant cities. It seems, upon the most moderate calculation, that many hundreds of thousands of persons must have fallen in this terrible butchery.

A few days after the massacre in Paris was arrested, the king with his two brothers (of whom one at least was subsequently king of France,) and the young king of Navarre accompanied by a great retinue of nobles, (*after having attended at a solemn mass!*) went to the Parliament of Paris, to hold a Bed of Justice. And there in open Parliament, before all the assembled chambers, the chief dignitaries of the realm, the great princes of the blood royal, and the face of all Europe, he openly avowed that the massacre of the Huguenots had been made by his order. On the same day he issued an edict declaring the same horrible fact. And that year and for several successive years, he caused a series of medals to be struck in order to perpetuate the memory of an action which he and his whole court judged to be so honorable and so illustrious.§ Such *was* popery: and its priests tell us it is always, every where, the same; *idem, semper, ubique*.

The court of Rome was not less implicated in this general assassination, than the papal party in France. The cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke of Guise, who was the most active agent in the massacre at Paris, was then representing the court of France at that of Rome. Gregory XIII. had been elected pope during the month of May preceding. When the news of the massacre reached the eternal city, it filled Rome with transports of Joy. The pope went in procession to the church of St. Louis, to return special thanks to God; he gave plenary indulgence to all who would implore the special favour of heaven on the French king; he proclaimed a jubilee; the cannons at the castle of St. Angelo were discharged; bon-fires illuminated all the streets of Rome; and medals were struck to commemorate the kingly, the glorious, the Christian slaughter of so many thousands of miscreants, who had committed

* *Storia Delle Guerre Civili di Francia*, lib. v. contains the narrative of this terrific scene by another eye witness.

† *Histoire de France*, tom. 2, p. 1102.

‡ *Item*, tom. 2, p. 1107.

§ A very minute account is given of these details in *De Thou* (or *Thuanus*, as he is often called,) vol. iv. pp. 599—601, (book 52).—*Mezeray*, *Histoire de France*, has preserved prints of all these medals with their dates and minute descriptions of them. See his tom. ii., pp. 1184—89, *Medals* xxxi—xlvi.

the atrocious sin of reading God's holy word and striving to obey it.* Such *was* the infallible successor of St. Peter, the vicar of God; and his priests tell us, *he is still infallible!*

Amongst the victims of this general butchery, there was one so remarkable in his position, his personal character, and the subsequent history of his family, that the reader will perhaps thank us for a slight notice of him. It was *Gaspard de Coligny*, Admiral of France, whose very name, says Davila lamenting his cruel murder, had for twelve years filled all France with glory. He was a man illustrious by birth, by great services, by stainless integrity, courage and honor; and by his advanced age and many shining qualities was at that moment the most distinguished and trusted of all the Huguenot nobles. He is memorable in the annals of these western continents by having been amongst the first who attempted to plant colonies upon them; an attempt which if God had been pleased to own, who can tell what protestant French men would, before this time have made out of those vast regions which papal Spaniards have cursed till this hour. The duke of Guise, uncle to Mary, Queen of Scots, had it specially in charge to murder Coligny, and had caused two balls to be shot into him, in an attempt to take him off a few days before the fatal 24th of August. At the beginning of the tumult, the duke of Guise with a party of assassins broke into the house of Coligny in the middle of the night, and one Beme rushing into the chamber where he was confined with his recent wounds, demanded, "*Art thou Coligny?*" "*I am Coligny, young man,*" replied the heroic sufferer: "*My gray hairs ought to command your reverence. But do your will. It is very little that you can abridge my days.*" Beme ran him through the body, and drawing out his sword smote him across the face, and having by repeated blows mangled his body, threw it from the window. The populace below, after offering to it every species of indignity, cut off the head, which was afterwards sent as a trophy to Rome.†

The attempt to extirpate the house of Coligny did not entirely succeed. His daughter Louise, after escaping the massacre in which her father, her husband, her children, and nearly every kinsman fell, was united to William I. of Orange, who also fell by the hands of a papal assassin. Henry Frederick of Orange, the only fruit of their union, was the grand-father of William III., the only son of the princess royal of England, whose family were in exile when she gave birth to this posthumous child. This feeble orphan, so illustriously descended, the last scion of the house of Coligny, was raised up by God to perform the most heroic actions, to accomplish the most sublime destiny. He it was who, with forces almost contemptible, bridled the power of Louis XIV. and saved the liberties of Europe; he it was who broke and scattered the elements of repeated conspir-

*The conduct of the court and Pope of Rome on this occasion, will be seen at large in *De Thou*, lib 53, vol. iv. pp. 682-4. *Mezeray*, tom ii. pp. 1110-11, (folio edition of 1646.)—*Histoire Des Papes*, tom. 5, pp. 24-27.—*Fluery Histoire Ecclesiastique*, lib. 173, tom. xxxv. p. 172, expressly asserts the fact of the striking of the medals at Rome.

†This extraordinary and revolting fact is expressly asserted by *De Thou*, "*lui coupé la tête, qu'on eut soin d'envoyer a Rome.*" Liv. 52; tom. iv. p. 585, 4to edition of 1740, et la Haye.


acies of the papal states of Europe to exterminate the protestant faith; he it was who restored the English constitution, mounted the British throne after the glorious revolution of 1688, and lives in history by the best title monarch ever had—*Good King William*; he it was, the remote descendent of the greatest of the victims of the *first* St. Bartholomew, who put an end, as far as he was able, to the evils of that *second* St. Bartholomew which covers with infamy the name of English prelacy.

Let us now briefly recapitulate the facts of this second St. Bartholomew—ininitely less cruel indeed than the first, yet itself brutal and relentless—and to this day fatal in its effects upon the cause of true piety in England.

The persecutions of the protestants of continental Europe during the latter half of the xvii. century, were ceaseless and universal in almost every papal state. The horrible cruelties of Louis XIV. during so many years, consummated in 1685 with the revocation of the edict of Nantes, were expressly directed to the extermination of the protestant religion in France. The emperor Leopold I. instigated like Louis XIV. by the Jesuits, of which atrocious order both of them were lay members, persecuted the Hungarian protestants to such absolute despair, that they at last sought refuge even in the aid of Turks! Charles II. of England, a secret papist, was during his whole reign the private pensioner of the court of France, and seemed to have before his eyes no other object of political ambition, than to destroy the religion and liberty of his country.* His restoration to the crown was brought about, on his part, by repeated, deliberate, and shameless perjuries; and every important domestic act of his disgraceful reign was, in some manner or other connected with the mortification, the disgrace, or the oppression of those who brought him back from an exile in which he learned nothing that was good, to a throne upon which he omitted to perform nothing that was bad.

The church of England half reformed from popery under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth, had, during the latter part of the reign of James I. and the whole of that of Charles I. returned with long strides towards Rome. There can hardly be a doubt that Charles I. was a papist; to say the very least, he was the highest possible churchman this side of popery; and his two sons, Charles II. and James II., were, beyond all dispute, out and out papists, and died avowedly in the communion of the church of Rome. These people were, one after another, in their day, heads of the church of England; dispensers of its patronage; appointers of its prelates; objects of the sworn allegiance of its members; the absolute fountains of its temporal favours and grace. That a body of prelates and inferior clergy should be pious, orthodox, or pure, under such a tutelage continued for successive generations—we surely have no idea; any more than that the body of the people were likely to be better than their priests.

It is needless to detain the reader by a recital of the various steps taken by the king, his ministers, and his bishops, as they respectively

*See *Sir James Macintosh's History of the Revolution of 1688*, 17-19, for a frightful transcript of the character and conduct of Charles II. 

dallied with the Christian people and clergy of England, bent all the while on the absolute restoration of all things to the posture they occupied before the civil wars. The famous conference at the Savoy, in which twelve bishops and nine assistants on the part of the Episcopalians were directed by royal order to meet and confer with a like number of Presbyterian ministers, was never intended for any other purpose than to entrap and embarrass the latter. The Presbyterians objected to being forced to use the sign of the cross in baptism; to the forcing of ministers to wear the surplice; to kneeling at the Lord's supper; to the pronouncing of all baptized persons regenerate; to the admitting of all persons indiscriminately to a participation of the sacraments; to the absolution of the impenitent; to the giving of thanks over all the dead, as if all were safe; to unqualified subscription to every thing in the Prayer Book, book of ordination, and thirty-nine articles. And the things objected to, were for that very reason more insisted on, on the other side, as it was resolved to drive matters to extremes.

When, after this, the convocation by royal order reviewed the Book of Common Prayer, the result was, according to Dr. Tenison,* that about six hundred alterations were made; some new forms of prayer added; a new office for adult baptism; some corrections in the calendar; some new holidays; some additional lessons out of the Apocrypha. The principle changes may be summed up under about twenty heads.† The result of all was, and was no doubt intended to be, that the common Prayer Book was rendered more exceptionable, and the terms of conformity much harder than before the civil war. This book, thus amended, was approved by the king in council, and subsequently being sent up to the Parliament, that body amongst other acts to enforce it, passed the notorious *act of uniformity*.

Mean time, James Guthrie, the minister of Stirling, was executed for preaching against prelacy in Scotland; a man of whom Bishop Burnet, who saw him die, gives a dying testimony full of faith and hope.‡ The Solemn League and Covenant was declared illegal in Scotland. The Irish hierarchy was restored by violence. The French churches in London seduced and terrified into compliance. And the papists began to recover their ground. About the same time, Okey, Corbet, and Beckstead, three of the late king's judges were caught in Holland and brought over and executed in England. Colonel Lambert and Sir Henry Vane were tried and convicted—the former for his submissive confessions, being kept a close prisoner nearly thirty years, by way of mercy; the latter dying like a Christian hero—so terrible even in death that he was refused permission to speak on the scaffold, his voice being drowned by the beating of drums as often as he attempted it. Nor did even the dead escape. Such as had been interred in Henry VII. chapel at Westminster since 1641, were dug up and their bones thrown pell mell, with all manner of outrage into one pit in St. Margaret's church yard. Amongst these bodies, was that of great old Oliver Cromwell, whom none of

* *Compl Hist.*, p. 252.

† See *Kennet's Chronicle*, p. 585.

‡ *Burnet's Hist. of the Stuarts*, p. 152.

them dared to face while he lived; that of his venerable mother; that of his daughter Elizabeth Claypole; that of Robert Blake, the terrible old admiral who did such good service for England; that of famous John Pym, member of the Long Parliament; that of the fine historian of that Parliament, Thomas May; those of the great and holy men of God, William Twisse Prolocutor and Stephen Marshall member of the Westminster Assembly—with a large number more. But the grand event was the *act of uniformity*. In the autumn of 1661 the common Prayer Book was brought into Parliament; it passed the House of Commons on the 14th of the following January by only six votes, 186 against 180. It had various delays in the House of Lords, who wished to exempt school masters, tutors, &c. from its terrible operation. But the Court and the House of Commons refused all relaxation, and on the 8th of May the bill passed, and received the royal assent on the 19th. The day set for its coming into force was the 24th of August following, being St. Bartholomew's day!

By this act the terms of conformity as condensed by Neal,* were 1, re-ordination; 2, a declaration of unfeigned assent and consent to every thing contained in all the formularies and practised in all the rites and ceremonies of the church of England; 3, the oath of canonical obedience; 4, abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant; 5, adjuration of the lawfulness of bearing arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever. All who could thus act, swear and subscribe, might remain in their situations as ministers, school masters, &c. All who could not, were to be expelled at once, and be subject to such further penalties as the tender mercies of Charles and his ministers and bishops might afterwards bestow. And time was given from May 19 till August 24, three months at most, for men to make up their minds. They who choose to examine the subject will see reason enough to be convinced that the Episcopal clergy in general and especially those who were high in church preferment, and such as were immediately about the court, were the real authors and promoters of this *act of uniformity*.†

As the fatal day approached, it began to be a subject of general speculation and enquiry—what the Presbyterian ministers would do? Before it arrived, Baxter and some of the more decided non-conformists, quitted their stations in order, by their example, to strengthen others. On the Sabbath preceding St. Bartholomew's day, Manton, Bates, Jacomb, Calamy, Mead, and others about London, preached their farewell sermons; and the like was done by many more in various parts of England. And when the day itself came, *about two thousand ministers, smultaneously relinquished their charges and preferments, and left the church*; or rather were cast forth ignominiously out of it, reduced to want, and left victims of the unrelenting persecution which followed. Puritans, Non-conformists, and Presbyterians, as the bulk of them were variously called, together with Independents, Baptists, and Quakers—all, in short, who had knowledge, conscience, or sense enough to set their faces against the spirit and proceedings

* *Hist. of Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 320.

† See *Rapin*, vol. ii. p. 629, folio. *Bishop Kennet's Chron.* p. 246 and p. 712. Also the accounts of Collyer, Baxter, Calmay, Echard, Burnet, Palmer, &c. &c. of these sad transactions.

of a debauched and unprincipled court, a corrupt Parliament, and an ungodly clergy, were enveloped in one common ruin. Corporation acts, test acts, conventicle acts; oaths of supremacy, oaths of allegiance, oath of adjuration; vexations, fines, whippings, croppings, imprisonments, and hangings; these, from 1662, till 1688, were the common lot of the best ministers of Britain; the fruits of the *second* St. Bartholomew.

Those who succeeded the ejected and persecuted ministers were, as described by one of themselves, "above three thousand ministers admitted into the church, who were unfit to teach, because of their youth; fifteen hundred debauched men ordained; many illiterate men ordained; one thousand three hundred and forty-two factious ministers, a little before ordained." And the state of the church is thus set forth by the same hand, "Of twelve thousand church livings, or thereabouts, three thousand or more being improper, and four thousand one hundred and sixty-five sinecures, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honest ministry."* And how far is the picture improved by the century and a half which has followed these calamities?

Alas! alas! that those who call themselves Christians,—who bear the form of men, should be guilty of such madness. And yet so far is this spirit from being banished from the earth, that it would be perfectly easy to produce out of American publications issued by papists and Puseyites, passages in great abundance avowing principles as exclusive, as intolerant, as audacious, as any which have come down to us, as having preceded and prepared the way for the 24th of August, 1572, or the 24th of August, 1662. Our protection lies, not in want of will—but, thank God, in the want of power to oppress us.

If we had any reason to hope that the preceding observations would be candidly construed, we should consider it altogether superfluous to say that we have no allusion in them, to that portion of the Episcopal church, nor even to that part of the Roman Catholic community, who, conscientious and sincere in their own convictions, are willing to live in charity with the rest of the human family, and allow to others the same rights they exercise themselves. Papists undoubtedly have a right to their own preferences, and to practice them so far as the rights of other persons are not implicated. But they have no right to butcher protestants, nor have they any to expect our confidence, so long as they avow the same principles and manifest the same spirit as those papists did, whose meat and drink it was to shed protestant blood. Prelatists, also, have an undoubted right to exercise their own free choice as to what religious doctrines, forms, and rites they will practice, so far as the corresponding rights of other men are not invaded. But when the pious, orthodox, and really protestant portion of the Episcopal church, see as plainly as we do, what the Puseyites are driving at, and what things must come to unless their career can be arrested; they should not take offence at our plain and faithful warnings upon a subject, which, though they may be more immediately interested than we are, yet deeply concerns us

*Neal, iv. 387—8, quoting the words of the author of "*The Five Groans of the Church*," who was a strict Conformist.

too, as the past history of high-church principles too plainly proves. The day is not remote when prelacy was an intolerant state religion in Maryland. Many still live who can remember, even since the revolution, more than one attempt to restore that sect to the condition of an absolute religious establishment in this commonwealth. And indeed, a careful examination of the laws of this state will prove that in a number of particulars that denomination still stands related to the state and invested with powers and functions entirely different from all others. In this condition of things, and looking to the sort of pretensions set up by the present prelatical Bishop of this diocese, and heartily responded to by so large a portion of his clergy and people, it becomes us to recall the past, and to be watchful of the future.

THE LABOURS AND SACRIFICES OF THE ROMISH PEOPLE AND PRIESTHOOD.

THERE was never a contrast more humiliating to the good and wise, than that which is presented in our age, by the comparative efforts made by papists and protestants, as a body, to extend and strengthen their respective systems of religion.

You will not find a papist in any protestant country who, as long as he really believes in his religion, will not manfully avow it, boldly stand up for its interest and its honour, and readily make sacrifices to promote it. But how many tens of thousands of protestants will you find even in the most decidedly protestant countries, who profess to be, in theory at least, of the reformed religion, and who would consider it insulting to be thought capable of embracing the principles of any other faith; who are not only profoundly indifferent to the great religious struggles of the age, and to the last degree niggard in their contributions to promote every cause of benevolence, but who are absolutely averse to the very efforts themselves which their more enlightened and pious brethren are making?

The extract which follows, is from a letter recently received by us from a distinguished pastor of a protestant church in one of the principal cities of France, and presents matter for profound meditation.

“Efforts made in various parts of the country (France) on behalf of populations struggling for religious liberty are meeting with decided and persevering resistance from magistrates and courts of law; whilst *sixty* Roman Catholic missionaries are soon to occupy (six of them have set sail already.) the islands of the Pacific ocean, in many of which the true gospel of the Son of God has been faithfully announced for twenty or even forty years past by zealous protestant ministers of Christ. *Forty* popish missionaries are intended to swell the list of those already labouring in the Chinese empire; whilst other hands are going forth into *Africa and various parts of America including even Baltimore, which is mentioned as about to be endowed with one of these apostles of darkness.* They are sent out at the expense of the “*Society for Propagating the Faith,*” whose centre is in the city of Lyons, and whose revenues have been raised from 15,000 francs to which they amounted in 1822, the year of its establishment, to 3,200,000 francs, its receipt in 1842, having multiplied 200 fold in twenty years. How great is our need of watchfulness, prayer, and zeal, in the midst of such phenomena!”

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE TEMPERANCE SOCIETY IN THE WOODFORD CHURCH, ON THE 13TH NOVEMBER, 1831, AND PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY. BY ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE, A. M.*

It is a singular peculiarity, attending all the great discoveries, and all the large and imposing operations of human kind, that they have, without exception, sprung from very small beginnings, and have frequently been so insignificant in their inception as to be considered altogether accidental. We may add another circumstance which seems peculiar to our own age, and is full of consolation. Every enterprize, having in view the good of mankind, fastens itself so immediately and so powerfully on society, that its effects reach beyond the utmost hopes of its most ardent friends, and almost startle by their magnitude, those who first projected it. I presume it could not have entered into the conjectures of those who formed the first Temperance Association, on the principle of *entire abstinence*, that they were setting on foot a project, which was destined in its full accomplishment, to influence the habits of not less than one fourth of the whole human race, and to change the direction of a third part of the labor and capital of the world.

It is only within a few years, that the statistics of intemperance have begun to be seriously attended to; and it is only for three or four years past, that particular information on this subject has been extensively disseminated in our country. As knowledge has increased, astonishment has increased also; until the body of facts in possession of the public, gives an appalling and nearly incredible view of the extent of the evils of intemperance.

As early as the year 1805 duties to the amount of \$3,026,696, were paid into the United States Treasury, on 2,604,611 gals. wine, and 7,641,207 gals. ardent spirits, imported in a single year. That amount of spirits and wine were worth nominally 600 tons weight of silver dollars. Besides the amount imported, we had then, according to the most accurate estimates, 30,000 registered distilleries engaged in making spirits.

*Woodford Church is in the County of Woodford, one of the central counties of Kentucky; and this Address was delivered there, before its author was licensed to preach the gospel. It was published, at the time, in the western newspapers, and also in pamphlet form; of which several considerable editions were issued in the early stages of the temperance reform. From one of these published by that devoted man, now at rest, "T. T. Skillman, printer, *Western Luminary Office, Lexington, Ky.* 1832"—we now re-print it. If the Address is thought to be of little value in any other light, it may be considered not entirely destitute of interest, as affording a means of observing the progress of opinion on a very important and exciting subject; for it embodied the sentiments of the *stricter sort* of early temperance people, before the rise of teetotalism and the wine controversy; and throws some light on the mode of dealing with the whole subject in its first stages. We will add that many subsequent years of reflection and observation, show us nothing to condemn in the sentiments of this Address, and only more and more convince us of the folly and mischief of all the disputes which have arisen amongst the friends of temperance, and the sinfulness of that reckless and turbulent fanaticism which has produced them all, by its advocacy of false principles, its use of offensive measures, and its foul abuse of good men.

In the City of New York, in the year 1808, there were found to be 1700 licensed taverns and tippling houses. And in a population of about 70,000, one-seventh part maintained themselves by selling ardent spirits to the remainder.

In the year 1810, according to the returns of the Marshals of the United States, 25,500,000 gals. of spirits were distilled in the United States, of which only 134,000 gals. were exported. The same year 8,000,000 gals. of rum and other distilled spirits were imported; which gave us nearly 33,500,000 gals. for home consumption, during a single year. Our population was then 7,289,314, which was at the rate of 4½ gals. a year to every man, woman, and child in the nation. The mere hogsheds to hold it must have cost \$600,000: it would require 125,000 wagons to haul it all at once; and they would reach, in a compact line, over 1200 miles; the spirit itself would have filled a canal 21 miles long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet deep.

In the year 1815 there were 35,000 distilleries in the United States.

There are now produced in this country more than 50,000,000 gals. spirits a year, to which add the amount imported, and it is found that not less than 60,000,000 gals. are annually used by our people. This is nearly 5 gals. to every person in the nation; and is about 38 gals. to every legal voter. It is retailed for at least \$22,000,000. 10,000,000 gals. molasses and 9,000,000 bushels of rye, besides other grain, and exclusive of cider, are stilled up one year with another. The rye alone would keep 100,000 horses fat a whole year; and the whole food for man yearly expended in this way in the United States, would sustain about 2,000,000 of people a year in comfort.

There are in the United States 40,000 distillers and 100,000 venders of spirits.

This vast army of men, and this enormous amount of money must have a corresponding effect on the state of the country. Accordingly we find, from the most minute inquiries, directed with the utmost candour, in various parts of the United States, that the results are absolutely horrible.

One out of every 100 persons is found to be a common drunkard, and the rate of occasional drunkards is far larger; and that among the best portions of our country. One out of every 25 persons, who arrive at 30 years of age, is found to be intemperate. There must be, therefore, 130,000 common sots, and 370,000 occasional drunkards among us; which is nearly one-twenty-fifth part of the population of the republic, and amounts together to 500,000 drunkards. This is an army large enough to decide the fate of the earth: and if they were real soldiers, might maintain the glory of our banner, against the world in arms. If they were all ministers of the cross, they would be enough to supply 600,000,000 of heathen with missionaries, at the rate of 1 to every 1200 souls.

Each one of these 500,000 drunkards, has, no doubt, upon an average, four or five near relations who feel a deep interest in his fate, and who are personally affected by his ruin. These added to the drunkards themselves, make a mass of 2½ or 3,000,000 of souls—that is, one-fourth or one-fifth of our whole population. Now no one is so cut off from society but that there are 5 or 6 persons so intimately connected with him, by some tie or other, that whatever affects

any of them, will also affect him. But every 5th or 6th person has been shown to be a drunkard or a member of a drunkard's family; wherefore, it follows that scarcely one human being amongst us, is totally exempt from the inroads of this monster, whose name is Legion. And herewith corresponds the personal experience of us all; for it may be asserted, with great certainty, that there is hardly an individual in the community, whose peace has not been marred by it; and that there is hardly a single family that has not experienced shame and sorrow by the ill conduct of some relative, connexion, or friend, growing out of the intemperate use of ardent spirits.

Every rank and condition of men, both sexes, and all ages, furnish victims to swell the ranks of this vast company of drunkards. With a hand as unrelenting and as impartial as that of death, the spirit of intemperance strikes at the door of the hovel and the palace. While he takes, in his yearly visitation, 30,000 of our people to the bar of God, he lays his heavy and fated hand on 30,000 more, by way of admonition, to be ready against his sure return; and the leprous spot on the forehead of the doomed Israelite, was not a more visible nor a surer mark of ruin.

We see the extent—now let us examine some of the fruits of intemperance. Here again the mass of facts in our hands, reveals a desolation so dreadful, that this demon might say, with far greater truth than the relentless Goth, no verdure returns to the spot over which my foot-steps have passed.

The nation loses 30,000 citizens every year by drunkenness; and at the present rate there are 2,000,000 adult persons in the United States, who will die miserably in the same way.

Two-thirds of all the pauperism in the union, which costs us \$10,000,000 a year, is produced by intemperance.

Out of 1000 prosecutions for crime, in one of our large cities, 800 were produced from drunkenness. Of 1061 criminal prosecutions in North Carolina, more than 800 proceeded from intemperance. Of 895 complaints in the police court of Boston, in one year, 400 were against common drunkards.

Two-thirds of all the inmates in our penitentiaries and alms houses, being more than 150,000 persons, were, according to their own showing, brought there in consequence of drunkenness. Of 125,000 prisoners, 93,750 confessed drunkenness.

The prison discipline society ascertained that there were 50,000 cases of imprisonment for debt, yearly produced by drunkenness.

Public cases produced to the laws to be punished, or to charity to be relieved—of debt, suffering, and crime, from drunkenness, over 250,000 a year.

The committee for superintendence of the poor, for the city of New York, for the year 1817, say that two-thirds of the poor of the city became so by drunkenness; and that the poor spent for whiskey, during a year, what would amply provide for their wants during an inclement winter. They assert, moreover, that the immoderate use of ardent spirits was the cause of seven-tenths of the poverty existing in that city. A similar inquiry in Maine shewed that seven-eighths of the poverty resulted from drunkenness. A report on the public charities of the city of Charleston, made in 1820, shows that

three-fourths of the inmates of their Marine Hospital, two-thirds of all persons assisted by the Benevolent Society, and three-fourths of the orphans in the City Asylum, had been reduced to dependence on public charity for a miserable subsistence, in consequence of drunkenness.

One-third of all the cases of madness which have existed in the hospitals of New York and Philadelphia, have resulted from drunkenness. And this is no doubt a fair rate by which to class all such cases. Every third maniac, therefore, has destroyed his reason by alcohol.

Drunkenness costs the people of the United States an almost incredible sum of money. If we omit entirely such items as cannot be readily valued—such as the lost labor of 90,000 criminals, in consequence of their depravity—the destruction of from 30 to 50,000 persons annually—the shame and loss sustained by 2,000,000 of persons, the relations of drunkards—the losses by the negligence, and so on, of drunken servants, agents, and others: and it appears that there would remain an annual tax upon the country of considerably more than \$100,000,000. All such calculations only pretend to approximate the truth. But suppose they only do so to a reasonable degree, and here we have an annual amount wasted for spirits, four times as large as the revenue of the Federal Government. This sum is large enough to build 12 such canals as the Erie and Hudson Canal every year. It is sixty times as much as the aggregate income of all the principal religious and charitable societies in Europe and America. It would supply every family in the world with the Bible; or it would support a missionary among every 2000 persons on the globe.

But let us look somewhat more particularly at the nature of this whiskey tax. They who have looked most narrowly into the doctrines of political science, though they differ about many things, agree in this—that labor is the ultimate source of all national wealth. Now, whether we do or do not assent to the truth of the proposition, that the whole products of human labor might be divided into three equal parts, one of which is to be appropriated to the procurement of food—another to raiment, and the third to drink, throwing under each class those various and almost nameless expenditures, which would most conveniently be referred to it, is not strictly material to the present purpose. And, as I would avoid extravagance on the one hand, and too great refinement on the other, I leave the suggestion to your own reflections. But it is very certain that in an estimate of national wealth, which is the same thing as an estimate of productive national labor, we must deduct the time thrown away in drunkenness—we must make allowance for the diminished capabilities of drunkards—we must estimate the amount withdrawn from the aggregate wealth, to be bestowed in charity on those reduced to poverty and suffering by their drunken kindred—we must subtract the labor of all those who live wholly or in part by vending spirits—of all those who distil, transport, or re-sell them—of all those who produce the articles of which they are made. Now if we should even leave out of the estimate all the spirits consumed by persons who are considered temperate, and estimating only that which is used to make man a beast, should follow it through its various stages, until it has finished

the diabolical work, we can see plainly that a great amount of the labor of all countries is not only utterly lost, but is really most industriously employed to make men wretched and contemptible, and then to prevent the possibility of their reformation.

I readily admit that we cannot tell what is the precise amount of this burden, in dollars and cents. And one, and not the least reason why we cannot, is because we cannot ascertain the precise amount of aid that temperate drinkers lend to drunkards in ruining their country. In addition to what has been stated, however, we can still more nearly approximate the truth, by ascertaining the cost of the administration of the criminal justice, the bankrupt laws, and the public charity of the country. It is obvious enough that the expenses of all the establishments, whether of punishment or charity, are to be borne by the productive labor of the country; which having permitted itself to be enormously taxed that men might be assisted in becoming wretched and criminal, is thus still farther taxed, that it may avoid the natural and inevitable results, which it had bought and paid for. The amount of this secondary taxation is variously estimated at from one-sixth to as much as one-third of the ordinary expenses of government: and it is a frightful fact, susceptible of proof by the records of several of the states, that the ratio of its increase is geometrical, in the same period that the ratio of the increase of our population is arithmetical: the latter adding its own number only, while the former is multiplied by itself. Whatever statement of its amount we choose to consider correct, that sum is so much contributed by us, to shield ourselves from the consequences of our own inconsiderate conduct. And if it perfectly answered its end, it would be a very correct measure of the bonus given by society to propagate suffering, and to encourage crime. But as we cannot suppose that every such case of sorrow is ministered to, nor that every such offence against society is punished; as we know that private charity is dispensed to a large amount, and that criminal prosecutions are often abortive; to the extent of all such cases must an addition be made, that we may come near the amount that our folly, in this single particular costs us. If any man will take the trouble to make the calculation on such data, and every intelligent man is bound to do it unless it can be shown that the data are false—and will then calmly say that the advantages of drunkenness are equal to the price we pay to foster it—why then I think he would act with perfect consistency in refusing to lend his aid towards effecting any change in the existing condition of things.

No man in his senses will make such an assertion. The temperance reformation has been the theme of much ridicule: but that day is gone by, and most men now admit that it cannot do harm and may perhaps do good. Many express their earnest wishes for its advancement, who are not willing to give up the smallest gratification to further it; although experience plainly teaches us, that such indulgencies are never attended with perfect security, and that in general, the danger is in exact proportion to our willingness to surrender them. I have no authority to say to any person—sir, you will probably become a drunkard; but I have much reason to say, that while you suppose yourself to be only a disinterested observer of events, you

have really a deep interest in this affair, and are contributing, in your degree, to the destruction of public morals, and to the production of a most pernicious state of public sentiment. Nothing in relation to government is more strictly and universally true, than that the sovereignty will, in time, assimilate all things to its own likeness. This is so indisputable that philosophers have classed out governments as it were upon a map—and said, this spirit must pervade that, and this other spirit must pervade another, and so on of them all. All men assent to this: universal observation shews that it is true in so high a degree, that when the ruling principle becomes changed, the government is in fact changed also. They give to free governments the highest grade, by making public virtue indispensable to their existence. Now, in connexion with universal drunkenness, what sort of virtue, public or private, do you suppose can exist? With us, the sovereignty resides with the bulk of the people. If they be virtuous, by the authority of example and by the force of public opinion, the general condition of society must be sound and healthful. It follows, therefore, in such a society, that the extensive prevalence of any particular vice, indicates, with absolute certainty, not only the necessity for reformation, but also the danger of revolution. And that necessity and danger must exist in exact parity; for the original postulate was, that the ruling spirit of the government being gone, the government must change, and that virtue is the ruling principle in republics. Now if there is any necessity for public reformation on the subject of intemperance, there exists a danger precisely commensurate with that necessity, that if the reformation do not take place, our free institutions may be successfully assailed. How far the public corruption from intemperance, may have already progressed, it might be difficult to determine with certainty. I will advert to a single circumstance, which has struck me with great force. By the laws of all civilized countries, drunkenness is held to be no excuse for the commission of crime, but rather an aggravation, as it is adding one crime to another. If any one will take the trouble to inquire into the course of the administration of our criminal laws, he will find that in this country, no plea in extenuation of guilt is more frequently urged in argument, than drunkenness; and very few with more uniform success. The spirit of society, therefore, does not accord with the spirit of the laws; and it is manifest that one or the other must be overthrown. I beseech you to consider if any nation, of which any account has reached us, cuts a more ridiculous and mean figure on the page of history, than we should, if it could be truly related of us hereafter, that our liberties were subverted in consequence of the general prevalence of drunkenness! If our dreams of national glory are not to be realized, let their termination at least be such as will shield us from contempt. If we may not be all that the proud and lofty spirit of our country yearned after, let us at least preserve in our fall, a decent resemblance to the grandeur of our origin.

It is not difficult to ascertain the mode in which intemperance works its effects upon society, nor to discover some of the reasons of its fatal operation. It is a disease as well as a crime; and its results are produced by the combined virulence of both those agents.

The most able of the medical faculty assert that alcohol is a subtle *poison*. Broussais, perhaps the most famous of living physicians, asserts that a single portion of ardent spirits taken into the stomach, produces, though it be but temporarily, the specific effects, which confirmed and aggravated, put an end to the miserable life of the sot. The physiologist Magendie has ascertained that diluted alcohol injected into the crural vein of a dog, will pass into the circulation, and be thrown off by exhalations from the lungs. Dr. McNish mentions two cases of persons who drank very freely of red wine, in whom the perspiration assumed a complexion similar to that of the wines they usually drank; and Dr. Sewall attributes the dreadful odour peculiar to the breath of the drunkard, to the exhalation from the air cells and bronchial vessels of the lungs, of alcohol, that has been absorbed and mingled with the blood, and subjected to the action of the different organs of the body. As it contains nothing whatever that could aid in the nourishment or renovation of the system, it is rejected, with other poisonous and hurtful excretions.

Our physicians, almost with one accord, assure us that the habitual use of this poison, producing a habitual state of the system contrary to that which is natural and necessary to health, of necessity undermines the vital principle, predisposes the constitution to decay, and brings on a long and most disgusting catalogue of maladies, which, like a faithful body-guard, attend the wretched inebriate, at every step of his road to death. One of the most dreadful of the diseased actions produced by alcohol, is that burning and consuming thirst which will not be denied, and which haunts the man with an importunity as urgent as that of death: nature has been trained to false desires, and she pursues them with a purpose inexorable and irresistible. Though it be ruin to indulge, it is living death to refuse indulgence. Under the gnawings of this insatiable appetite, the remembrance of disease and anguish loses its sting—the face of infamy ceases to be hideous—the voice of despair is softened into the lowest whisper—heart and flesh fail—one after another the silver cord is loosed, the wheel at the cistern is broken—the golden bowl is broken at the fountain—the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the soul to God who gave it!

The immense influence which the condition of the physical powers exercise over our temper, our sympathies, our desires: in short, over our whole moral nature, is a matter of universal knowledge. We find, therefore, that with the progress of intemperance, proceeds with equal step, the utter desolation of the moral powers of man. The excess to which his faculties are occasionally stimulated, renders their ordinary state a horrible collapse. Common pursuits become hateful—the social affections wither away and give place to the most intense selfishness—the sensibilities are destroyed—conscience becomes morbid, and in a high degree liable to false and transient excitement, and is then extinguished. Thus the drunkard, while he is the victim of incurable malady, that renders him an object of disgust, becomes stupid, ferocious, and ungovernably vicious, an abiding object of horror and detestation also.

The intellectual powers, too, share in the general wreck. Memory becomes feeble and uncertain—perception is blunted—all clearness

and vivacity of mind depart—the judgment becomes sluggish and imbecile—the imagination is stimulated into uncontrolable wildness—the will relaxes its strong mastery, in the deep recesses of these noble faculties—reason dies upon her throne, and *delerium tremens*, with her idiot laugh, or demoniac shriek, comes darkly over the victim who has so long sued for her horrid sceptre to be stretched out over him.

Behold then the way that leads not only to national decay and ruin, but also to individual poverty and debt—misery and crime—disease and sorrow—shame, remorse, madness, suicide, the gallows, and hell!

There is but one remedy that we know of, against all these unspeakable calamities. That remedy is *total abstinence*. Let the whole community, with one accord, abstain from the use of ardent spirits, and the change from the delirious ravings of fever to the tranquillity of perfect health is not greater than that the face of society would exhibit. They who might rightly call themselves Legion, no longer torn by internal demons, would be seen, clothed, and seated, in their right mind.

If it is proper for us to abstain from the use of spirits ourselves, it is clearly our duty to endeavor to bring about, as fast as possible, the general concurrence of others in the same course of behaviour. We are, therefore bound, to hinder the use of them, in our families, as far as we can; to prevent our children, apprentices, servants, and agents of all kinds, from using them, as far as we are able; to disseminate knowledge on the subject; and to throw the entire weight of our character openly in favor of the general reformation of society in this particular.

There is no principle of morals more clearly true, than that we are responsible for the existence of whatever evil it was in our power to have prevented. Let the man who furnishes materials to be converted into ardent spirits, ask himself—how could the spirit be made if the materials were withheld? Let him who has sold whiskey to his neighbor, sending him inch by inch to perdition, until he has helped to lay his body in the grave, posted his books, and turned the widow and her babes out of doors to starve, or be supported by charity, ask his heart—what answer it will make at the last day? Let him who pretends to love mercy, and who yet countenances such a person as that, or even one less grossly criminal, but criminal on the same principle;—in his dealings, in his various connexions with society, and even in his hopes of distinction and worldly honor, calmly reflect whether it be not egregious folly to build with one hand, merely to destroy with the other—or the plainest hypocrisy to profess reverence for principles which our habitual conduct is calculated to overthrow?

There are not wanting persons, who will meet us on the very threshold of the proposed reform, and maintain that ardent spirits are really useful. Be it so. If the mind is completely shut up against the entrance of truth, it is needless to attempt to force the impenetrable barriers. Suppose they are useful: are they so useful as to compensate for the enormous amount of suffering they produce, and the equally enormous price at which they are obtained?

If they are any less useful than this, it is unwise to persist in their use.

It is frequently urged, I do not drink any thing, and it is useless for me to join a temperance society. I suppose that men are not naturally inclined to be drunkards more than they are to be felons; and I am certain that the same state of public sentiment that restrains the latter within bounds, would, if directed against the former, effectually restrain them also. The municipal laws define certain acts to be criminal; the public sentiment is embodied in the law, and the government is the regular agent of society. On this account it is not needful for honest men to form associations against rogues, nor peaceable men against bullies. But there are other acts hardly less hurtful, which the laws do not define as criminal; against these there is no certain preservation except in the voluntary union of those who wish to prevent them, or guard against their effects. The carelessness of my next-door neighbor will destroy my house by fire, almost as certainly as his own. Therefore we unite in companies of mutual assurance. This is true of an infinite variety of acts, and of none more eminently so, than of drunkenness. By the union of temperance men, a great weight of public opposition, which would otherwise have been lost in its diffusion, is concentrated against intemperance, and made a thousand fold more vigorous. Twenty men pulling at a rope, at one time, says Bishop Butler, will lift more than 1000 men pulling one at a time. I confess that the declaration of the drunkard, that he would not join a temperance society because he loved liquor, always appeared to me far more reasonable than that of the sober man who refuses to join it because he does not love liquor.

Some object to joining temperance societies, because so few drunkards are reformed by them; while others object that joining them would be a virtual admission that they had been, or feared they might become drunkards themselves. This goes on the same reasoning that would induce one man to pronounce all governments useless, because there were still found thieves in the world; and another to renounce civil society altogether, lest people might suppose he would not be honest, but for the terror of the laws. The real cause of opposition lies far deeper than these prettexts.

I, says one, need not join, for I am already a temperate drinker. It would be a most violent and absurd presumption, to suppose that any man ever set out in life with the deliberate purpose of making himself wretched, and every one, over whom he had any influence, miserable. Ask the veriest outcast, if he, of set purpose, made himself one fit to hold companionship with brutes; if he had deliberately obscured the high faculties of a nature which God had placed but a little lower than the angelic hosts; if he had wilfully seared up the deep fountains of his heart, and with determined forethought turned aside from the path of lofty and virtuous emulation. If there were left in his wrecked nature one chord not utterly unstrung, you know how it would thrill and vibrate, as you thus turned back his thoughts into the thick darkness which had settled around his soul. He might tell you that the morning of his day had been as bright as yours, and that his opening powers had been as diligently tended. He might

recount to you the hopes of friends, and the glad dreams of his young ambition; and then confess that you could not loathe him more than he had once loathed such as he then was. Follow him to the home which he has made desolate and deserted. Behold the fulness of squalid poverty, when the last earthly hope has fled, settled upon his household. See his children without instruction, without care, degraded from their just condition in life, and reared up for a career of guilt and shame. See, too, the partner of his early love, she to whom his young heart went out in streams of deep and impassioned tenderness; contemplate her the object of his vulgar caprice, and brutal violence, brooding over her sorrows in speechless agony, or what is still more horrible, partaking of his incensate and licentious revels! These are the bitterest dregs of human wo! Yet of such things is our nature capable; and against them, we are bound to erect every possible barrier. All men have once been temperate; all drunkards have once been temperate drinkers; and I see no possible assurance that all temperate drinkers, may not become drunkards. Hence we can perceive the unreasonable self-reliance of those who refuse to aid this indispensable reformation, on the idle pretence that they are already temperate drinkers.

Some excuse themselves by saying, others will distil, and sell, and drink, if we do not, and therefore, we had as well have the gains as they. And why not, for the same reason, renew the slave trade? Others say, no one is obliged to buy of us:—as if they expected you to believe that they held out their lures, enticing men to perdition, supposing that no one would purchase, and indifferent whether any did or not. Here is falsehood added to guilt that they are ashamed of. Still another set, have for excuse, that they only sell to the temperate; as if it were not worse to entice new victims to the destroyer, than to aid onwards to their doom, those who have already bowed themselves down under his relentless sway.

It is necessary for my support, is urged by every description of persons, engaged in any part of the extensive process of providing the materials, distilling, distributing, or selling ardent spirits. In a great majority of the cases, probably in every one of them, this excuse is absolutely untrue. And if it were strictly true, in every case in which it has been or ever will be urged, it is utterly futile. As matter of mere human policy, it were better that the 40,000 distillers and the 100,000 venders should perish, than that the 500,000 drunkards should remain forever in the nation, increasing at a ratio many times as great as the ratio of increase of our population; and that from 30 to 50,000 souls should be sent to tophet every year. There is no comparison of the evils. But no man has at any time the right to injure another for his advantage. On this rule is founded the principle of self-defence: for I could have no right of self-defence if some other person had a previous right to destroy me for his own advantage. But all men admit the right of self-defence to be self-evidently true: therefore, the right to injure another for my advantage cannot exist. Wherefore, it is better, on the true principles of morals, no less than of policy, that all that class of persons should bear whatever may fall on them, by quitting their nefarious business, than for them to live by ruining others. If what they produce and vend

could be so used as to produce as much good as harm, there might be some doubt in the case; but it has been shown that it is hardly possible so to use it as to do any good, and equally difficult so to use it as not to do any harm. Therefore, by the fairest rules of reason, society ought, and God certainly will hold all such persons accountable, as accessories before the fact, to all the crime committed, all the suffering produced, and all the infamy and ruin attendant on the use of ardent spirits.

But many, of a far more serious cast, pray you to have them excused, because they gravely urge, God has made no creature in vain—no creature of which man should not partake innocently, and with thankfulness. If they mean any thing, it is that alcohol is one of God's creatures. Whatever contains the saccharine principle, to a certain extent, can be made to ferment. A sweet liquor is first obtained, which by fermentation is partly converted into a new substance called alcohol—if the fermentation be carried still further, another new substance is produced called vinegar—if the fermentation be pushed still further, putrid, noxious exhalations, highly fatal to human life, are the result. Now these pestilential exhalations, are of kindred origin with alcohol, and it is altogether reasonable that those who make conscience of using the latter, because it is one of God's creatures, should feel themselves constrained to partake of the former also, in which event their argument would find a speedy, if not a fatal termination.

Some difficulty has arisen in the minds of many persons, in consequence of the permission granted to the Israelites, (Deut. 14: 26,) to use certain tithe money to buy whatever their souls lusted after, even if it were "strong drink." However we may differ about what was meant by the term "strong drink," in the passage alluded to, we may be very certain about what it did not mean. The art of distillation was not discovered till about the tenth century of the Christian era, twenty-five centuries after the passage was written. Modern chemistry has shown, beyond question, that the grape, by means of the vinous fermentation, makes the strongest drink that can be made, without the aid of distillation. Whence it follows that the "strong drink" of the Jews was a drink containing no more alcohol than the ordinary wines of Palestine. Moreover, they were to use this permitted "strong drink" "before the Lord their God, and rejoice, they and their household." The money was tithe money, and therefore sacred; and the drink purchased with it was to be used by the whole household in a religious festival. A use which I apprehend the lovers of alcohol, rarely put it to. It is worthy of remark, that although the Bible allowed the use of wine to the Jews, yet all its graphic descriptions of drunkenness, and all its awful denunciations of it, were founded on the abuse of wine or some drink still weaker.

But, says a most numerous class, we joined a temperance society when we joined the church. If this is really so, it is superfluous to urge on such persons, any other arguments than those calculated to impress them still more deeply with the necessity for zealous co-operation in this great work. If they consider their various churches, really temperance societies, we are bound to infer, that they have covenanted with God, as we do with each other, that they will do

that without which, as all men are agreed, no temperance reformation can possibly be brought about, nor indeed any temperance society exist at all: namely, that they will practice total abstinence from the use of distilled spirits. If this is what they mean, we bid them heartily God speed. But if while they urge such superior pretensions, they go as far as decency will permit in a direction precisely opposite to that indicated in their words—if while they are ashamed to gratify the lusts of the flesh on their own responsibility, they do it greedily on the responsibility of Jesus Christ—if, in short, they mean to say, that Christian liberty is to be used as a cloak for the licentiousness of which the world itself is becoming ashamed—then, I pray God to have mercy on them, for it is not to man that they have lied, but to the Holy Ghost!!

My friends, God has placed us, as moral agents in this world, and he has added to our existence the condition, that though we may act very much as we please, and change our behaviour as often as we see fit, when our choice is once made, the consequences of our conduct cannot possibly be averted. It is a stupendous condition. Whatever of good or ill flows from our actions, is no more subject to our after control than if we were stricken from existence. The gentlest touch, communicated at the centre of motion, may become an overwhelming convulsion at the outskirts of the system. With what integrity should we act, then, in reference to the vast subject we have been discussing, when we reflect that what we do, although it seems no great matter, may heap blessings on thousands when we are in the dust, or may draw down on our memories the imprecations of children's children.

Nearly the whole Christian world receives it as an undoubted article of faith, that a period will come when every species of iniquity will be banished from this earth, and God will rule here King of men, as he reigns in heaven King of Saints. All who have examined the sure word of prophecy, in relation to this event, concur in the belief that its advent is very near at hand. In the little time that is left for the conversion of the world, what a multitude of events are to transpire; what magnificent revolutions are to occur; what stupendous displays of the mighty power of God are to be exhibited to mankind! Our own eyes have already beheld glorious manifestations of his goodness. Seven-eighths of the world were destitute of the word of life, and the unbeliever asked with derision—in how many centuries will they be supplied? A universal spirit fell upon the churches; and now millions of copies of the holy Scriptures are finding their way throughout the world, in almost every human dialect. Again it was asserted with a sneer that the wealth of Christendom could not, in the existing condition of society, teach the children of Christendom to read the Bible. The simplest and the most efficient of all devices, the Sabbath School, is nobly answering that cavil. The whole face of society was to be changed; but while some things were, so to speak, but collateral obstacles to the spread of the gospel, there were others that reared their opposing front in the very midst of its career. The former might be left to be obliterated by the overflowings of its mighty current; the latter must needs be overwhelmed by the onward and irresistible flow of its deep flood. Of this latter kind, in a high degree, is the crime

of drunkenness; and that child of God must look with indifferent eyes to his Father's work who sees not his hand in the astonishing progress of the temperance cause. The man of God was allowed to behold, from the top of Pisgah, the goodly land, into which an entrance was denied him. He knew that Israel should possess it, marshalled onward in holy triumph, by the visible presence of the Most High. So we may behold the glorious career that is in store for our children. The generation born in Egypt may die in the wilderness,—leaving only here and there a holy Joshua, and a noble Caleb, to testify to the righteous dealings of God. But they that are born, as we may say, in sight of Canaan, will speedily go forward into a land flowing with better things than milk and honey. May God's banner over them be peace.

BUSINESS NOTICES, &c.

Payments. From S. Franklin, Esq. N. O., \$15, for himself and Mr. Charles M. Randall, in full to the end of this year.—P. M. Mill Grove, S. C. for Rev. J. R. English, \$5 for 1842—3, and direction changed to that place.—Rev. Archibald Baker, Cowper, N. C. \$5 in full to end of 1843—A. Patterson, (who we suppose to be the P. M., and if so, why did he not frank the letter and save us 56½ cents postage,) for Rev. James Morrison, Brownsburg, Va., \$12 in full to the end of this year.—P. M. Cumberland, Md., \$3, with an explanation from Rev. M. Wall touching the No. of this periodical directed to Rev. Mr. McDonald to that place; which is all satisfactory and correct, except that only 50 cts. instead of \$1, as Mr. Wall supposes, is the balance due till the end of this year: the money is credited to the name in which the subscription still stands.—P. M. Hope P. O., Alabama, \$5 for Rev. F. Morrow, for 1842—3.—Thomas H. Wallace, Lantouville, S. C. \$5 for 1842—3; in June, 1841, we were paid by a friend in Ky. for 1841, and Mr. W. is entitled to all the Nos. for that year, and we will send with pleasure what are missing, if he will let us know what they are.—Dr. J. Marsh, Savannah, Georgia, \$15, of which \$10 for himself in full to the end of this year; and \$5 to the credit of Rev. J. W. Tally, (which leaves \$5 still due from the last named gentleman.)

Discontinuances.—P. M. Indianapolis, Indiana, for Rev. Phinehas D. Gurvey, \$6, which is said to be in full up to the time of remittance, and discontinued.—Mr. James Maher, Washington city,

returns the July No., superscribed that he took the work on condition that it should be delivered to him free of postage; to which we reply, we never saw the gentleman, and don't know him,—have no agent in Washington—sent him the work from the first of this year, by his own order sent to us through the mail, and except in the city of Baltimore, never, during nine years, did or promised to do, any such thing, for any body whatever, as he asserts: all which we would prefer to have written on the back of a receipt for his year's subscription, if such a document had been *in natura rerum*.

Answers to Letters. The letter of Rev. A. A. Porter, Eutaw, Ala., of June 16, was duly received.—P. M. Halifax C. H., Va.; in May 1841 \$11,25 were paid for James Bruce, Esq., which was in full to the end of that year; the work was discontinued in February, 1843, leaving 1842 and two numbers of 1843 due for, say \$3: also that Mrs. E. A. Bruce paid \$5 in February 1839, and \$5 in June 1840, and having received the periodical since June 1837 to the end of 1843, six and a half years would be \$16,25, leaving \$6,25 due.—Rev. Isaac N. Shepherd of Ohio, of June 18; subscription commenced with June 1838, to end of 1843, five and a half years, \$13,75, and he has paid in 1849, \$5, and in 1841, \$3; leaving a balance of \$5,75.—Col. Wm. H. Allen, Green Valley, Va., letter of June 21 received; our account is no more than we stated.—By order of P. M. at Red Mills, N. Y. direction of Rev. Joshua Butts chang-

ed to the city of New York; his subscription began in Jan. 1840, till end of 1843, \$7,50; paid in July 1840, \$2,50, balance, \$5, for which a bill was sent to former P. O. a short time back—Rev. John W. Tally, Sparta, Ga., letter of June 28; see p. 420, in our July No.; to the \$10 due before, add 25 cts. postage on present letter: we find that the Magazine was sent to him first at Savannah, then at Covington, then at Macon, and now he writes from Sparta, (the P. M. at Macon having lately *refused* in his behalf,) that he had not regularly received the paper, as indeed he hardly could expect to do without telling us he was at Sparta, and not at Macon: we rather deserve credit for keeping the run of him as well as we have.—By order of P. M. Philadelphia, Nashoba Co., Miss. the direction of Rev. Henry McDonald is changed to *Mingahoma*, (?) Lauderdale Co.—At the request of Rev. S. J. P. Anderson, Danville, Va., we state that he owes nothing except for the present year, \$2,50.—The correction in the address of A. L. G. Fischer, New Market, Va., changed; his bill (\$5 for subscription besides the price of the bound vols.) was sent some time ago.—A second letter from the P. M. Mobale, Ala. about the discontinuance of *Thomas Reid*, to which we have only to say, we are ready to sign a receipt in full as soon as we receive \$16,25, or are convinced

that it cannot, or that it ought not to be paid; this we know, that it has been honestly earned—Rev. Henry McDonald, Miss.; as far as our books show, the account is correct; all we can say besides is, that we always rely on the statements of our subscribers, where they and the books differ:—nothing was paid us by Mr. Bordwell at the Assembly; and paying, let it be only to the end of 1843.

Special Notices. We respectfully request those to whom accounts have been sent, not to oblige us to send them a second time.—To those who owe only for this year, no accounts have been sent, it is a very laborious business to us, and entirely useless in the case of such punctual subscribers; we rely on their availing themselves of an early opportunity to remit the small amount due from them respectively.—We hope our Baltimore subscribers will be ready to pay Mr. Owen who, is about to call on them.—Let us again say that we decidedly prefer not receiving subscriptions for any time beyond the end of the current year.—Subscribers who have lost numbers of the work will be supplied without charge, and without regard to the amount of numbers wanted, so far as we are able to do it, *but on two conditions*, to wit, that it be done before the end of this year, and free of cost, (except the numbers,) to us.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

SEPTEMBER, 1843.

No. 9.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF KENTUCKY, AT FRANKFORT, ON THE 6TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1831. BY ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE, M. A.*

WHEN the great Lawgiver of the Jews was perfecting that remarkable feature of his code, by which, at the end of every seven years, the debtor, the servant, and the oppressed among the Hebrews, were to go out free among their brethren, he enforced its observance by the most striking and personal of all arguments: "Thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed thee." Again, after the lapse of a thousand years, when Israel was shorn of all her temporal glories, and the feeble remnant that gathered out of all the East around the sceptre of the house of David, was restored from a long and grievous captivity, it was among the first and most solemn exclamations of their gratitude: "We were bondmen, yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage."

If there be any that now hear my voice who have aided in working out the civil redemption of this large empire; if there be any whose kindred have poured out their blood in achieving the glories which have fallen upon us; if there be any who cherish the high exploits of our mighty ancestors, and cultivate an unquenching love for the free and noble institutions which have descended to us; I beseech them to couple with the lofty emotions belonging to such scenes, the solemn recollection, that "we were bondmen." If any who hear me have been led by the power of the everlasting God, into the liberty of his own sons, and now rejoicing in the hope of eternal life, look back upon the bondage out of which their souls have been redeemed, with unutterable gratitude to Him who gave himself for them; I pray them to bring to the discussion which lies

*This Address was first published in pamphlet form, at Frankfort, Ky., before its author was a minister of the gospel; and in obedience to the following request:

"At a meeting of the Kentucky Colonization Society, January 6th, 1831.—
"Resolved, *unanimously*, That the thanks of the Society are due to Robert J. Breckinridge, Esq., for the very able and eloquent address delivered by him, on this evening, and that Dr. Luke Munsell, John H. Hanna, and James W. Denny, Esq's, be a committee to wait on him, and request a copy for publication.

Att. H. WINGATE, Rec. Sec'y."

It was published, repeatedly afterwards, in various newspapers and periodicals, and many thousands of copies of it have thus been scattered through the nation, within the last thirteen years. Perhaps our readers will excuse the present attempt to give it a somewhat more permanent form.

before us, those feelings which are produced by the deep and sacred assurance, that "our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage."

And will He not remember others also? We have his own assurance, that "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Will his justice sleep forever? Will he not "behold the tears of such as are oppressed?" Will he not "judge the poor?" Will he not "save the children of the needy?" Will he not "break in pieces the oppressor?" The forsaken, the afflicted, the smitten of men, will he also utterly cast off? And who shall stand in the way of his righteous indignation? Who shall resist the stroke of his almighty arm, or shield us from his fierce and consuming wrath? Alas! for that people, who resisting all the lessons of a wise experience, blind to the unchanging course of the providence of God, and deaf to the continual admonitions of his eternal word, will madly elect to brave the fury of his just and full retribution! "Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof: I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you: then shall they seek me, but shall not find me."

Such thoughts habitually crowd upon me when I contemplate those great personal and national evils, from which the system of operations which I stand here to advocate, seems to offer us some prospect of deliverance. The scheme of African Colonization, as exhibited by our National Society and its various auxiliaries, is a most noble conception. It is a stupendous plan—spanning the Atlantic and encircling in its wide embrace a nation of slaves, and a continent of heathen.

Africa is classed as one of the great divisions of the earth, and is a vast peninsular continent, extending from the 37th degree of north, to about the 34th degree of south latitude; and from the 17th degree of west, to the 51st degree of east longitude. Its greatest length is about five thousand miles, and its greatest breadth more than four thousand. Considering its peculiarly advantageous situation, it is surprising that, in all ages, it has been comparatively so little known by the rest of the world; for standing as it were, in a central position, between the other three quarters, it affords a much more ready communication with Europe, Asia, and America, than they do with each other. It is opposite to Europe along the Mediterranean, whose shores were the nursery of our race, in a line from east to west, for almost a thousand miles, the distance being seldom one hundred miles, and never that many leagues. It is over against Asia for a distance of one thousand three hundred miles, the whole length of the Red Sea, whose breadth sometimes does not exceed fifteen miles, and seldom one hundred and fifty. Its coast, for two thousand miles, lies opposite to America, at a distance of from five hundred to seven hundred leagues, if we include the islands; whereas America is scarce any where nearer to Europe than one thousand leagues, nor to Asia, except in the inhospitable climate of Kamschatka, than two thousand five hundred leagues.

At a period to which profane history does not reach, but on which the word of God sheds its holy light, Africa was planted by the

descendants of Ham, the son of Noah. Cush settled in Lower Egypt, and from him were descended the ancient Æthiopians, known to us as the Nubians and Abyssinians, and embracing, also, those unknown nations inhabiting the equatorial regions of that continent. Misraim peopled what was known to the ancients as the Thebais, Hermopolis, Memphis, and the Delta of the Nile—to us, as Upper and Lower Egypt. From him also were descended, among other people of Africa, the inhabitants of Colchis, the ancestors of the warlike Philistines, whose descendents, until this day, if learned men are to be credited, have occupied so large a space on the page of history. Phut peopled Lybia and Mauritania, embracing the kingdom of Fez, the Deserts, Algiers, and other portions. From these, with such additions as emigration and frequent conquest have given, it is probable that all the nations of Africa, however divided, mixed, or dispersed, originally came.

Agenor, an Egyptian, founded the Phœnician Commonwealth and the Republic of Tyre. Cadmus, the son of Agenor, founded the Republic of Thebes, and introduced the use of letters into Greece. Cecrops, at the head of an Egyptian colony, founded the Athenian State, and gave laws to the barbarous hordes of Attica. If profane tradition is to be credited, these and other colonies from Africa, were driven out from their native regions by the first of the Shepherd Kings, (who were themselves the Amelekites, descendants of Canaan, another son of Ham,) who devastated Egypt at the head of two hundred and forty thousand warriors, and established at Tanis, the seat of that Empire, under whose iron sway the chosen people of God groaned under a despotism so bitter in its progress, so awful in its overthrow. There are several reflections here which wonderfully illustrate, upon this fated race, the vicissitudes which belong to all that is human. They who gave to our ancestors the first model of those institutions which deserve to be called free, have the longest bowed down under insupportable oppression. They who gave to Europe the first knowledge of the arts, and of human letters, have been shrouded in the longest and the deepest intellectual darkness. They who, in the career of resistless victory, first established the principle of national, perpetual, and hereditary slavery, have the sorest, and the most unpitied, wept under that deep and unmitigated curse.

Certain portions of Africa were, as early as any other region, erected into regular communities, after the re-peopling of the earth by the descendants of Noah. That some of those communities very early attained to a high degree of cultivation, wealth and power, there is abundant evidence in profane history, in the Holy Scriptures, and in those extraordinary monuments of taste and magnificence, which placed beyond the farthest verge of knowledge, and as it were beside its regular current, yet remain the wonder and astonishment of mankind. That their progress in immorality and crime, was equal to their advance in civilization, there remains no room to doubt. He who has dwelt much on such subjects, may consider this as in no way different from the ordinary course of events, and as accounting well enough for many of the calamities which have befallen them in subsequent ages. I dispute not with philosophy; but there is another view of the matter—and I would that philosophy were more

frequently enticed to such contemplations—which has appeared to me most solemn and striking. Egypt was the most powerful of the kingdoms of Africa for many ages. As it stood on the threshold of the only entrance to that continent accessible to the ancients, and was itself the medium of all interior communication with it; as its boundaries, if well defined at all, were not accurately known to the nations of Asia and Europe; as their knowledge of her surrounding tributary and allied states was still less accurate; as it was the uniform habit of all ancient conquerors, of whom Egypt produced many, to manifest the most extravagant pretensions to grandeur and empire; in fine, from a variety of such considerations, it is manifest to every scholar, that when the ancients speak of Egypt, their meaning is most generally to be understood as of a country vastly more extensive than we, with our better knowledge, would attach to that term. If indeed we should frequently understand them as meaning all Africa known to them, we should not, perhaps, be far from the correct view of the subject.

At a period in her history scarcely less prosperous than any that had preceded it, and when she stood forth famous in arts and arms, the queen of nations; when there appeared beforehand, no probability of great reverses, and the prince who filled her throne, boasted, as we are informed by Herodotus, “that no God could deprive him of his kingdom;” just then, when it would appear to human observation that the mercies of God were poured out profusely on Africa, his decree went forth against her: “From the tower of Syene, even unto the border of Ethiopia,” the curse of the Most High came unto the land. The seed of his chosen had been enticed and betrayed; they had reposed upon her, and been pierced with many sorrows. “Thou art like a young lion of the nations”—“I will spread my net over thee”—“I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations”—“I will make many people amazed at thee”—“Ashur is there and all her company”—“There is Elam and all her multitude”—“There is Mesheck, Tubal, and all her multitude”—“There is Edom, her kings, and all her princes”—“There be the princes of the North, all of them, and all the Zidonians”—“It shall be the basest of the kingdoms: neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.” For more than two thousand years the annals of every people attest the fulfilment of this remarkable prophecy. Conquered by the Persians under Cambyses, within fifty years after this prediction; conquered again by the Macedonians; subjugated and pillaged by the Romans, and made the theatre of many of their bloodiest wars; overwhelmed by the Saracens; subjugated, scourged and made desolate by the Mamelukes; devastated by the Turks; overrun by the French; for a hundred generations, made the battle field of nations, and the constant victim of them all; and worse than all, her children, for centuries together, swept into distant and hopeless bondage—scattered and sifted throughout the universe, as it is this day.

The discovery of America, which was destined to exert so extensive and so benign an influence upon the European race, the descendants of Japhet, added increased bitterness to the cup of affliction which seemed already overflowing for the children of Ham.

The first adventurers to the western continent and the islands along the Atlantic coast, without the least remorse, reduced the simple and ignorant aborigines to a servitude so monstrous, that in the island of Hispaniola alone, from the year 1508 to 1517, the Indians were reduced, by the brutal oppression under which they groaned, from sixty thousand to fourteen thousand souls; and the extinction of this miserable remnant was hastened by more aggravated calamities. You will observe that this wholesale butchery was perpetrated under the same execrable pretence of political necessity, under which every public crime which has disgraced our race, has found its constant defence. It was sanctioned by a formal decree of the king of Spain, "that the servitude of the Indians was warranted by the laws both of God and man." I have no intention of entering into details which are not necessary to the complete understanding of the subject before me. And perhaps enough has been said to show how easy was the transition from Indian to African subjugation; from crime perpetrated on a feeble and nearly extinguished race, to similar crime inflicted on one more robust, more degraded, and therefore more suitable to the purposes of an insatiable rapacity. Barthelemi de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, heading the little band of ecclesiastics who still recognised the obligations of justice and humanity to the Indians, beset the Spanish throne with prayers in their behalf, until by a fatality, singular and most unhappy, he saw their chains, which it was the object of his life to break, riveted forever; and those whom he had designated, in the madness of his zeal, as their substitutes in wretchedness, become only their fellows in slavery. As early as 1503, a few negroes had been sent to the new world. In 1511 Ferdinand permitted their importation in larger numbers. Charles the Fifth, on his accession to the throne, rejecting what was wise and humane in the plans of Las Casas, and adopting so much of them as was abhorrent to every virtuous feeling, granted an exclusive patent to one of his Flemish favourites, to import four thousand negroes into America. The patent was sold to certain Genoese merchants for twenty-five thousand ducats. The Portuguese had found the trade in slaves, which had been long abolished in Europe, one of the first advantages derived from their discoveries in Africa. The Genoese, under the patent of the Emperor, found no difficulty in procuring the victims of their avarice, and were the first who brought into regular form that commerce in the souls and bodies of men, between Africa and America, which inflicts of all things else, the most indelible stain on the character of mankind.

The first settlements which were made by the English on the continent of North America, were under the auspices of corporations, or individuals, to whom extensive grants had been made by the English crown. The company that settled the colony of Virginia had monopolized its commerce up to the year 1620. In that year, this monopoly was given up, and the trade opened. A Dutch vessel from the coast of Guinea, availing itself of the commercial liberty which prevailed, brought into James river twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves. An ordinance that all heathen persons might be held as slaves, and that their descendants, although Christians, might be continued in slavery, sealed on this continent

the doom of the wretched African. Such was the inception of slavery in the United States. Such was the first settlement among us, of an oppressed and suffering race, which has augmented by a very rapid propagation, and continual importation, in somewhat more than two centuries, from twenty souls, to two millions. Virginia, the most ancient of our commonwealths, was the first of them to lend herself to the oppression of these unhappy men. Holland, who had, within forty years, emancipated herself from a foreign despotism, used the large resources which grew up under the shade of her recovered liberty, to deliver over an unoffending people to hopeless bondage; and, that the climax of cupidity and turpitude might be aptly adjusted, the whole matter was concluded in the name of Christianity.

Men were not slow in discovering the evils of the unnatural condition of society, whose origin among us I have been attempting to disclose. As early as 1698, a settlement of Quakers near Germantown, in Pennsylvania, publicly expressed their opinion of the unrighteousness of human bondage. And from that day till the present, there have flourished in our country, men of large and just views, who have not ceased to pour over this subject a stream of clear and noble truth, and to importune their country, by every motive of duty and advantage, to wipe from her escutcheon the stain of human tears. They have not lived in vain. In better times their counsels will be heard. When the day comes, and come it surely will, when throughout this broad empire, not an aspiration shall go up to the throne of God, that does not emanate from a freeman's heart, they will live in story, the apostles of that hallowed reign of peace; and men will quote their names to adorn the highest lessons of wisdom, and enforce, by great examples, the practice of high and virtuous actions.

With the increase of the number of slaves, became more apparent the injuries inflicted by slavery itself, upon every interest associated with it. The voice of reason and humanity began to be listened to, when that of interest uttered its sounds in unison. What individuals had long foreseen, some of our communities began at length to apprehend and to provide against. A duty on the importation of slaves was laid by New York, in 1753, by Pennsylvania, in 1762, and by New Jersey, in 1769. Virginia, the first to introduce them, was also the earliest in setting the example of their exclusion. In 1778, in the midst of civil war, she put upon the pages of her history, an enduring record of her respect for those rights of other men, for which she was freely pouring out her own blood, by prohibiting the introduction of slaves into any of her ports. In 1780, Pennsylvania passed a law for the gradual abolition of slavery, which has the merit of being the earliest legislative proceeding of the kind in any country. All the states, north and east of Maryland, have since passed similar laws. On the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Congress was authorized to prohibit, at the end of twenty years, the importation of negroes into any part of the United States; and the power was exercised at the appointed time. No slaves have, therefore, been legally brought into this nation since the year 1808.

After the close of our revolutionary war, many negroes who fled from their masters, and sought protection with the British armies during its progress, were scattered through the Bahama Islands, and

Nova Scotia. Others had found their way to England. In 1787, a private company in England sent four hundred of them, with their own consent, to Sierra Leone, on the western coast of Africa. About five years afterwards, twelve hundred of those from Nova Scotia were transported to Sierra Leone, by the British government. The Maroons, from Jamaica, were removed thither in 1805. The hostility of the French, the opposition of the natives, the selection of a situation which proved to be unfortunate in many local particulars, and perhaps more than either, the heterogeneous materials of which that settlement was composed, for some years retarded its growth. All these difficulties, however, have been surmounted. That colony contains more than twenty thousand souls, of whom more than three fourths are re-captured Africans, whose rapacious owners had destined them for foreign bondage. Towns are reared up, churches and schools established, agriculture has become a settled pursuit, and society has put on a regular and stable appearance.

For some years anterior to 1816, the project of colonizing the free blacks of this country in Africa, had occupied the serious consideration of individuals in several parts of the union. The rapid accumulation of free negroes, who amounted at that period to two hundred and ten thousand, to which number they had grown from sixty thousand, in twenty-six years, had become a subject of general anxiety; and in some of the states laws were passed annexing the condition of banishment to emancipation. The idea of colonizing them was probably first suggested in this country from the success which attended the establishment at Sierra Leone. It was known, moreover, that the Portuguese, the French, the Danes, and the English, had established white settlements along the coast of Africa, from the Cape de Verd to the Cape of Good Hope. More than a century before, the French had established a post on the Senegal, four hundred miles from its mouth. At Congo, the Portuguese had grown into a considerable colony. At the southern extremity of Africa, the Dutch and English had spread over a country larger than the southern peninsula of Europe. It was not then a question requiring serious debate, whether America could do what many nations had done before. In 1802, Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, in compliance with the request of the Virginia legislature communicated by Governor Monroe, entered into negotiations, which proved unsuccessful, with the Sierra Leone company, and afterwards with Portugal, to procure a situation for an American colony of blacks in Africa. The project continued to gain strength, until, on the 21st day of December, 1816, the first public meeting to form a Colonization Society in this country, was held at Washington City; and shortly afterwards the American Society was established, under the patronage of many of the most distinguished citizens of this nation.

Formed under such auspices, at such a crisis, and for such an object, this society has steadily pursued its onward course, the object of many a bitter sarcasm, of various and contradictory accusation, of flippant and most impertinent contempt, and of grave and deep reproach. Full of the noble ardour which belongs to generous enterprise, it has triumphed at every step, and won its way to the

confidence and applause of men. It numbers over one hundred and sixty auxiliary societies; eleven states have, by their legislatures, recommended it to the patronage of Congress; and all the leading sects of evangelical Christians in the United States, have, through their highest ecclesiastical tribunals, testified their cordial approbation of its operations. The colony established at Liberia, under its auspices, occupies a fertile, and to the black constitution, a salubrious region, extending from Gallinas river to the territory of Kroo Setra, a distance of two hundred and eighty miles along the western coast of Africa, and from twenty to thirty miles in the interior. About one thousand eight hundred colonists, who have been sent there from the United States, with about half as many more re-captured Africans, constitute an independent, republican, and Christian community, in the midst of that benighted land. The rights of our holy religion are regularly observed, and its precepts as well obeyed as among ourselves. Schools are regularly conducted for the education of the youth of the colony, and many children of the natives are also training in them. All the institutions of a young and very flourishing community are in successful operation. I have recently seen several numbers of a weekly newspaper, published by a free man of colour at Monrovia, containing notices of the various interests which indicate a well established and prosperous little state. Notices of popular elections, of the condition of the military force and the public defence, of public roads opened and repaired, of the improvement and transfer of estates, of mercantile prosperity and commercial enterprise, of the little incidents of social life, and what is not less striking and indicative of the state of the people, literary notices and light efforts in the belles lettres, for the gratification of the popular taste. Such traits as these impress us not less strongly with the existing condition of affairs at Liberia, than those interesting details of its growth, prosperity and general advancement, which are regularly given to the American public from authentic sources, and which I could not now recapitulate, without an inexcusable trespass on your patience. The result of the whole is full to the point, that one great object of the Colonization Society has been completely attained. A colony has been actually established, possessing all the elements of permanent and boundless prosperity. The germ of a great and cultivated nation has already taken root in the midst of Africa. The leaven of Christianity is already mixed up with the mass of her dark and absurd superstitions. How much feebler was the origin of all those astonishing triumphs of civilization, by which the little states of Greece stamped her indelible name upon the very front of human glory! How small, compared with the actual condition of Liberia, was the beginning of the Roman state—stern, wise, and unparalleled as she was—whose power overshadowed the face of the whole earth, and transmuted every thing into the likeness of itself! And who shall say that, when two centuries have passed away, the continent of Africa shall not behold millions of free and Christian men, lifting up their hearts in thanksgivings to the God of their fathers, and in grateful recollections of the pilgrims of Mesurado, in like manner as we cherish the recollection of the landing at Plymouth Rock?

The American Colonization Society has probably succeeded to the extent of its original expectation. It proposed to establish a colony of free blacks, from the United States, with their own consent, in Africa; and thus to show by the fact, the possibility of removing that population from the United States, in such a manner as would decidedly improve the condition of those unhappy persons, and greatly ameliorate the state of society among ourselves. It was originally objected, that the plan would be rendered impracticable at its threshold, by the impossibility of procuring emigrants. Experience has shown that many more were always desirous of emigrating than the society had the means of removing. At this time not less than three thousand individuals would gladly remove to Liberia, if the necessary funds could be procured. It was also objected, that the expense of removal would be so great as to prevent its being carried to any useful extent. This was clearly absurd, unless it had been shown that it was necessarily more costly to remove a free negro to Africa from America, than a slave to America from Africa; and that our national resources were smaller when our population was ten millions, than when it was three millions. The experiment has shown that emigrants may be sent out for twenty dollars each; a sum equal in value to about three months' labour of an adult male slave in most of the slave-holding states. It was farther objected, that the unhealthiness of the climate was an insurmountable obstacle in the way of colonizing any part of Africa. The facts stated in a former part of this address, the accounts of all travellers who have visited that continent—especially of Mungo Park, who saw more of its interior than all other Europeans—and the uniform experience of the American colony, leave no room to doubt that the region of country owned by it, is pleasant, and to the black constitution extremely salubrious. It was also asserted, that if all these obstacles were overcome, and a colony established, it would be unable to support itself against the native tribes in its neighborhood. This cavil also has been answered by experience. In 1822, when the settlement was weak and but recently established, it was fully competent to carry on and terminate with success, a war with the native tribes. The result of that war was so decidedly favourable to the colony, that the colonial agent, Mr. Ashmun, in his report for 1825, says; "our influence over them (the native tribes) is unbounded, it is more extensive than I dare, at this early period, risque my character for veracity by asserting. But I beg leave to refer, at least, to facts already communicated, to our military expeditions into the heart of the country uninterrupted, to our purchase of the Saint Pauls, admission into the Grand Bassa, and acquisition of the Sesters. On several occasions of alarm from the interior, the whole population of the country has been ready to throw itself into our arms for protection." What adds greatly to the security of the colony, both from internal and foreign enemies, is the connexion of the agent of our government for recaptured Africans, with the affairs of the establishment. That agent is also the society's colonial agent; the re-captured Africans of whom he has the charge by authority of an act of Congress, form a part of the colony and their protection of necessity involves its security. Mr. Stockton, of the United States' Navy, was one of the signers of the treaty by

which a part of the territory was ceded to the society. Captain Spence built a fort on the Cape at the public expense, supplied it with guns, and the American flag was hoisted on its battlements. He also left an armed schooner for the better protection of the colony. The agent for re-captured Africans, as already stated, is appointed by the authority of our government, and is supported by it.

We have then a practical illustration of the manner in which three hundred thousand free negroes may be removed from among us, and planted in comfort and security in the land of their ancestors. Almost the entire voice of the country proclaims that object to be worthy of our highest efforts, whether we consider what is due from a Christian nation to the victims of its own avarice and oppression, or what is necessary in a wise people towards providing for their own security, and the peace of their offspring.

If I were to attempt to draw a picture of the suffering and degradation of this multitude of beings, reduced to that condition by our own policy and social state, I should only repeat in your hearing what has been often said. If I should set out to develope the ample means, and competent legal authority residing in our different governments, state and national, to redress evils which exceed by far the most forcible descriptions of them which have fallen under my notice; I should have to recapitulate to you, those views and arguments which are already familiar to the public. On none of these points will I detain you; but leaving them to rest on the able expositions from a great variety of sources, which are accessible to every one who desires such information, I will pass on to other considerations, which grow out of the operations of the society. Although they may not have entered largely into its original design, some of them have a higher interest than the direct, primary object for which it was organized. He who has considered the removal of our free blacks to Africa, as the ultimate point of this noble enterprise, has taken a very inadequate view of a subject of singular interest and almost unlimited extent. The blessings to Africa, to America, and to the whole world, which will follow the accomplishment of the simple and practicable scheme of the society, cannot now be grasped by any human intelligence; but enough can be foreseen to commend it to our earnest and zealous support.

The first of what may be called the collateral effects attending the fulfilment in some good degree, of the national hopes to which the successful operations of this society have given life and vigor, to which I will direct your notice, is the political and intellectual regeneration of Africa. One of the most uniform and curious facts in the history of man, is his constant propensity to migrate. Hardly one example can be found, of a nation locating the permanent seat of its empire in the native land of its inhabitants. Every people of which we have any account, has been a nation of wanderers; some by peaceful acquisition of unoccupied regions, some by purchase, most by the power of their victorious bands. Driven out by the wants of a too dense population; fleeing from the various calamities by which every region has at some period been visited; persecuted children of God; oppressed disciples of liberty; incited by the love of gold, and the still more unappeasable lust of conquest; every motive, has

operated to make men wanderers, and all nations colonists. With the tribes that have gone out in all ages, have gone out also the manners, the social institutions, the tastes, the literature, and the knowledge of their country. Behold the overruling providence of God! America, the freest, the wisest, the most practical of nations, is pouring back her streams of liberty and knowledge, upon the most degraded of them all. Behold the noble retribution! She received slaves—she returns freemen! They came savages—they return laden with the fruits of civilization. And though they earned in tears and anguish the more intense that it found no utterance, every boon they can carry back to their afflicted country; yet in the day of her regeneration, will Africa forget the wrongs inflicted on her for centuries together, in gratitude for the distant, but sacred recompense. We can look back through buried ages, to the monuments of her power and grandeur, to the triumphs of her renowned captains, to the early cultivation of her people, and the rich contributions of her sons to the stores of ancient knowledge in all its multiplied departments; and we can well imagine the rapture with which her awakened sons will dwell on the tale of her departed glories, and rekindle in her breast that sacred flame which ages of wo had extinguished. We can look onward, as upon our own country, and see the lessons of wisdom, and liberty, and public strength, and social order, speaking forth in the acts of living men; and we can adequately conceive how confusion, and imbecility, and civil darkness, will flee away from the land into which the knowledge and the practice of such institutions shall be transplanted. These things we can foresee. But we cannot tell how deeply the seed we are planting may shoot its roots into a kindly soil. We know not how lofty may be its trunk at the meridian of its perfect strength. We cannot tell how many children of affliction may gather round it and be secure. We see not how far its shadow may extend over nations that we now know of only by their crimes. But we know that we are acting well, and that the issues are in the hands of him who is mighty to redeem.

I do not doubt that one of the surest, and certainly the most important effect of the colonization of Africa, on the proposed plan, will be the conversion of its inhabitants to Christianity. From the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, that country is possessed by Pagans. The Mahomedans occupy Egypt and the Barbary coast. The people of Abyssinia, or Upper Ethiopia, are called Christians, but they retain many Pagan and Jewish rites. In the north of Africa are a few Jews, who manage what trade that region is possessed of; and in the south of Africa there is a small colony of French Huguenots, planted nearly a century and a half ago. There is a moral fitness in the thought, and it is deeply solemn also, that we, who have contributed so largely to the degradation of Africa, and aided so fully in heaping upon her sons the direst calamities to which flesh is heir; should also be the instruments of bestowing on her the costliest gifts and richest blessings our nature can receive. The Christian public cannot fail to perceive in all these operations, the hand of that presiding Providence, which having permitted the wretched African to be enslaved that he might be Christianized, now demands his restoration that he may Christianize his brethren. The

time is fast approaching when the earth and all the fulness of it shall become the large inheritance of those to whom it appertains by the promise of the eternal God. The reign of his own glorious kingdom is almost at hand; and when his people saw, even afar, the approach of its hallowed dawn, a new spirit fell upon them. They have arisen to do their Master's work, and to possess what is their own. You see them in the islands of the most distant seas. Their feet are in the midst of the pathless wilderness. In the great city, amid the busy haunts of men, and in the desolate abodes of wretchedness and squalid want, you behold the traces of their ardent labours. The Arab in the desert hears his unwritten dialect made the vehicle of salvation. The wandering hordes, whose names civilization is not able to recount, find their tents become the abode of those who are worthy to have been the associates of the Apostles. The Brahmin by the Ganges throws aside the chain of his accursed caste. The savage of our own wilderness forgets the wrongs which the fierce white man heaps upon his smitten race, and listens to the still small voice which directs him to a higher and surer hope. The mariner in his trackless wanderings, rears above his perilous home the unwonted banner, the emblem of his return to God. The way of the kings of the East is drying up apace; and the scattered and afflicted seed of Abraham turn their longing hearts again towards the mount Olivet and the city of the Great King. Nine millions of copies of the Holy Scriptures have been distributed through the world, in one hundred and sixty languages and dialects, by the instrumentality of about four thousand five hundred organized societies. Forty-five missionary presses have been established; forty missionary colleges put in operation; and six hundred and fifty ordained missionaries, aided by about three thousand assistants, are operating throughout the world, at more than five hundred and forty foreign stations. There are three hundred thousand children in the missionary schools. Fifty thousand persons converted from Paganism, are members of the Christian churches, and it is computed that more than five thousand are annually converted to the service of the living God. Four hundred thousand heathen have renounced idolatry; and in ten years the gospel has been preached at the various missions, to not less than four millions of adult persons. One hundred and sixty millions of tracts have been thrown into circulation; and there are over two millions of sabbath scholars under training throughout the world. It is an era of vast and magnificent Christian enterprise. Every engine which the most ardent and intrepid piety could put in requisition, is wielded against the kingdom of darkness; and it already totters to its predestinated overthrow. Africa is partaking of this noble work; and she will partake still more largely. The little band at Liberia, who are spreading over the wilderness around them, a strange aspect of life and beauty, are in every sense a missionary station. Every ship freighted from our shores with their suffering kindred, will be freighted also with the heralds of the cross. You will see the light breaking in upon one and another dark habitation of cruelty. The night of heathenism will depart. One tribe after another will come to the light of Zion, and to the brightness of her rising. Ethiopia will awake, and rise from the dust, and look abroad on the day, and

stretch her hands out to God. The light will still spread, and kindle, and brighten, till all the millions of Africa are brought to the glorious liberty of the sons of God!

The civil, intellectual and religious cultivation of a people, carries with it the possession of all the indispensable ingredients to high national happiness and virtue, and is scarcely consistent with the prevalence of those brutal and inhuman practices which exist among savage and heathen nations. Amongst the present crimes of Africa, there is one encouraged and shared by nations calling themselves civilized, so horrible and atrocious, that its certain extirpation, by the means we have been noticing, would alone be sufficient to commend the American Colonization Society to the support of every enlightened man. I have already presented you with a brief account of the origin of the slave trade, so far as it was connected with our subject. There are some crimes so revolting in their nature, that the just observance of the decencies of speech deprives us of the only epithets which are capable of depicting their enormity. Every well regulated heart is smitten with horror at the bare idea of their perpetration; and we are uncertain whether most to loathe the claim of those who habitually commit them to companionship with human nature, or to marvel that the unutterable wrath of heaven does not scathe and blast them in the midst of their enormities. Let the father look upon the dawning intelligence of the boy that prattles around his knee, the pride of his fond heart, the hope and stay of his honest name; and then, if he can, let him picture him in distant bondage, the fountain of his affections dried up, the light of knowledge extinguished in his mind, his manly and upright spirit broken by oppression, and his free person and just proportions marred and lacerated by the incessant scourge. Let the husband look upon the object in whose sacred care he has "garnered up his heart," and on the little innocent who draws the fountain of its life from her pure breast, recalling, as he gazes on one and the other, the freshness and the strength of his early and ardent love; and then, if he be able, let him picture those objects in comparison with which all that earth has to give is valueless in his eyes, torn from him by violence, basely exchanged for gold like beasts at the shambles, bent down under unpitied sorrows, their persons polluted, and their pure hearts corrupted—hopeless and unpitied slaves to the rude caprice and brutal passions of those we blush to call men. Let him turn from these spectacles, and look abroad on the heritage where his lot has been cast, glad and smiling under the profuse blessings which heaven has poured on it; let him look back on the current of a life overflowing with countless enjoyments, and before him on a career full of anticipated triumphs, and lighted by the effulgence of noble and virtuous deeds, the very close of which looks placid under the weight of years made venerable by generous and useful actions, and covered by the gratitude and applause of admiring friends; let the man-stealer come upon him, and behold the wreck and desolation! Shame, disgrace, infamy; the blighting of all hopes, the withering of all joys; long unnoticed wo, untended poverty, a dishonoured name, an unwept death, a forgotten grave; all, and more than all, are in these words, *he is a slave!*

He who can preserve the even current of his thoughts in the midst of such reflections, may have some faint conception of the miseries which the slave trade has inflicted on mankind. I am unable to state with accuracy, the number of the victims of this horrible traffic; but if the least dependance can be placed on the statements of those persons who have given the most attention to the subject, with the best means of information, it unquestionably exceeds ten millions of human beings exported by violence and fraud from Africa. This appalling mass of crime and suffering has every atom of it been heaped up before the presence of enlightened men, and in the face of a holy God, by nations boasting of their civilization, and pretending to respect the dictates of Christianity. The mind is overwhelmed at the magnitude of such atrocity, and the heart sickens at the contemplation of such an amount of human anguish and despair.

This trade has been abolished by the laws of every civilized nation, except Portugal and Brazil. Our own national act for that purpose, passed on the 2d day of March, 1807, and preceded by twenty-three days, a similar act by Great Britain, achieved by the friends of humanity in that realm, after a struggle of twenty years. Acts of mere prohibition, however, were found unequal to the suppression of crimes which had been maturing for more than three hundred years. After several amendments to the law of 1807, it was enacted on the 15th of May, 1820, that every person proved to be engaged in the slave trade, should be adjudged guilty of piracy and punished with death. Here, also, our country was in the van of nations. The glory of vindicating the rights of man on the broad principles of truth and nature, and of first assuming this noble stand against the long cherished and guilty customs of the whole world, is due to the congress of the United States. Nor should it be forgotten that the recommendation for the passage of this law, came from a committee acting on a memorial of the American Colonization Society. Such acts unquestionably exercise a very salutary influence over those persons who might be disposed to engage in the slave trade; and are exceedingly valuable as high indications of public sentiment, and as imperishable monuments, erected by the highest authorities among men, to clear and noble principles of right. But they cannot of themselves, effect their own benevolent purposes. After the passage of the act of 1820, it was stated on the floor of Congress by representatives from several slave-holding states, that no fewer than thirteen thousand slaves were annually smuggled into the United States. And we have undoubted authority for believing that at least sixty thousand negroes are yearly transported from Africa, under circumstances of as great cruelty as have ever marked that traffic. The slave trade can be no otherwise effectually abolished than by shedding a stream of moral light upon the dark regions where it flourishes, so broad as to reveal it in its naked atrocity, to all its wretched victims. Nor are there any other apparent means by which this can be effected, but the full accomplishment of the plan of African Colonization.

It is generally known, that the original members of the American Colonization Society anticipated that at some future period, the general government, and some if not all of the state governments, would co-operate in their exertions for the removal of an evil which was

obviously national in all its aspects, and which no private exertions were adequate to extinguish. This just expectation was expressed on the face of their original constitution, and has been constantly manifest in all their proceedings. I do not doubt that the general and state governments possess the constitutional power to make pecuniary contributions in furtherance of the objects of the society; and as it is a point heretofore very ably elucidated, I will not now trespass on your time by drawing it into discussion. Every reason which commends the scheme to the support of the people of this nation, commends it also to the patronage of all our governments. Every motive which operates on the minds of slave holders, tending to make the colonization of the free blacks an object of interest to them, should operate in an equal degree to secure the hearty co-operation of the government of every slave-holding state. And I confess it is this view of the subject, which, as a slave-owner and a citizen of this commonwealth, appears to me, to draw it so peculiarly up to the exigencies of our situation, and to lay open before us a political moral above all others clear and explicit. We say, we are the friends of African colonization; its lesson is already precisely taught, and it only remains for us to go whither the light of its example points us.

It was never the intention of the society to interfere with the rights of the proprietors of slaves; nor has it at any time done so. It took for granted the fact, that slavery was a great moral and political evil, and cherished the hope, and the belief also, that the successful prosecution of its objects would offer powerful motives, and exert a persuasive influence in favour of emancipation. And it is from this indirect effect of the society, that the largest advantage is to result to America. It has shown us how we may be relieved of the curse of slavery, in a manner cheap, certain, and advantageous to both the parties.

I have already briefly pointed to the origin of negro slavery in the new world. Throughout the continents of North and South America, it is now tolerated only in the United States and Brazil. The wisest and most imbecile of all governments agree only in this, that oppression, injustice, and hereditary wrong, are sanctified by any pretence of public necessity. Yet we shut our eyes to the iniquity of such conduct, and solace ourselves with the reflection, that we would have been wiser and more virtuous than our fathers, and that no hope of gain could have seduced us into the violation of the plainest dictates of humanity. And how, I pray you, do we manifest the sincerity of such convictions? Is it by professing to be the disciples of the living God, and wringing tears of anguish from our brethren in Christ? Is it by being clamorous about our love of liberty, and exercising daily in private life a ferocious tyranny? Is it by proclaiming the ardour of our sympathy for every people struggling against oppression, while grinding down two millions of human beings in hopeless bondage? Is it by denouncing the slave trader as a pirate, and punishing with death a crime whose horrid fruits are our daily care and enjoyment? Alas! that man cannot act as wisely as he reasons; that he cannot be made to understand, that the union between virtue and happiness is indissoluble and eternal.

Hereditary slavery is at war with the principles of every species of social system. Even the fierce and intolerable rule of a military despotism, has this to alleviate its sway, that it tolerates no subsidiary tyranny. It is at war also, with every law of nature, with every lesson of experience, and with every conclusion of reason. As it exists among us, it presents an aspect scarcely less singular, than it is indefensible. In those states where it is tolerated, the organic law does not pretend to define it. Our own constitution merely recognizes it as an existing condition, and then limits it in various particulars. Who were to be slaves under it, or how they became so originally, it presumes not to decide. The constitution of Virginia, under whose sway slaves were first introduced into this state, is profoundly silent on the subject. Could the ordinary powers of that government suffice to inflict hereditary slavery on any class of its people? In the general statutes of England, at any time in force here, do we find this question settled? In the common law of that realm, which abhorred slavery, shall we find the recorded doom of endless and involuntary bondage? Alas! we find the record of our national crimes written the plainest in their daily perpetration. The legislative acts, which, with a cool atrocity to be equalled only by the preposterous folly of the claims they set up over the persons of God's creatures, dooms to slavery the free African the moment his eyes are opened on the light of heaven, for no other offence than being the child of parents thus doomed before him; can in the judgment of truth and the estimation of a just posterity, be held inferior in heinousness, only to the first act of piracy which made them slaves. It is in vain that we cover up and avoid such reflections. They cling to us, and earth cries shame upon us, that their voice has been so long unheeded. The free Lybian, in his scorching deserts, was as much a slave when he rushed in the wild chase, upon the king of beasts, as is his unhappy offspring before our laws cleave to him. God creates no slaves. The laws of man do oft-times pervert the best gifts of nature, and wage an impious warfare against her decrees. But you can discover what is of the earth, and what is from above. You may take man at his birth, and by an adequate system make him a slave, a brute, a demon. This is man's work. The light of reason, history, and philosophy, the voice of nature and religion, the Spirit of God himself proclaims, that the being he created in his own image, he must have created free.

I am not putting forward any novel or extravagant opinions. All this, and more, was the fruit of our glorious revolution; and to establish it, was its costly blood poured out. It is asserted, as the very first self-evident principle, in the Declaration of our Independence, that all men are created free and equal; and the second is, that these rights are in their nature unalienable. These are the foundation principles of that immortal instrument. They are reiterated in express terms in nine of the American constitutions, and result by the strongest implication out of them all. They are sentiments consecrated to our country, coeval with its national existence, and illustrated and enforced by the proudest monuments in its history. Yet there are not wanting those who assert that the constitution of this commonwealth is directly in conflict with these sacred truths. This is not perhaps the proper occasion to enter into that discussion; and I

the more willingly forbear to do so, as I have heretofore argued that question somewhat at large. It is clearly however of the very essence of free government, that it should possess the powers necessary to secure the prosperity of its people, to enforce their inalienable rights, and to provide for its own preservation. He who will show that this is not accomplished by the Constitution of Kentucky, will cast a blot on that assemblage of great men, and on that era, which our citizens delight to contemplate as among the most illustrious in our annals. He will establish the unhappy fact, that our fathers, while they thought they were mitigating the rigors of slavery by a wise forecast and a vigilant humanity, were in truth rendering it hopeless and endless; and that instead of planting a deep foundation for the glory of this beautiful region, they were dooming it to be a prison-house forever, and us, their children, to be its wretched keepers. And when he does all this, he will prove, at the same moment, that that instrument has asserted what is not true in fact, that it has upheld what is indefensible in reasoning, that it has established what is fatal in practice, and that it is wholly inadequate to the exigencies of society.

He who is created free, cannot, in the view of reason, even by his own voluntary act, bind himself to slavery; because no compensation can be equivalent to that from which he has parted—his liberty; and because whatever might be the consideration pretended to be given, it would pass through the slave to his master, who would thus enjoy both the thing bought and the price paid for it. This is an absurdity too gross to be entertained by any one with whom it would be worth the trouble of reasoning. Still less can a man barter away the rights of his unborn offspring, except in a manner subject to their confirmation or rejection at the years of maturity. In this case, every reason applies that does in the other, and these in addition, that here there could be no pretence of necessity over a being not yet created, and in any case, the parent could part with no greater right to control the child, than he himself enjoyed, that is till the child was capable in mind and body of controlling itself. Such are the plain dictates of common sense. Similar to them are the doctrines of all our constitutions on the subjects of citizenship and naturalization; and that of Kentucky expressly provides for the voluntary expatriation of its citizens, and guarantees that right, as one of "the general, great, and essential principles of liberty." But if it were otherwise, in stating the original principles of all rational law, we have a right to look beyond all human governments; and instead of being impeded by their dicta, to bring them to the same standard of judgment by which all things else should be measured. The law is to be obeyed, because it is the law; but it is to be commended only when it is wise and just.

It can be no less incorrect to apply any arguments drawn from the right of conquest, or the lapse of time, against the offspring of persons held to involuntary servitude. For neither force nor time has any meaning when applied to a nonentity. He cannot be said to be conquered, who never had the opportunity or means of resistance; nor can time run against one unborn. Those who lean to a contrary doctrine, should well consider to what it leads them. For no rule of reason is better received, or clearer, than that force may be always

resisted by force; and whatever is thus established, may, at any time, be lawfully overthrown. Or, on the other hand, if error is made sacred by its antiquity, there is no absurdity, or crime, which may not be dug up from its dishonoured tomb, and erected into an idol, around which its scattered votaries may re-assemble.

Let it be admitted, for a moment, to be just for one race of men to hold another in perpetual and involuntary slavery; suppose it, farther, to be consistent with the clear and upright spirit of Christianity. Is such a condition of things advantageous to a state? Does it add any thing to its strength or riches? There are in this commonwealth, not far from two hundred thousand slaves. Now, whether it is better to have within our bosom two hundred thousand free citizens, attached to our political institutions and ready to contend unto death in their defence, or an equal number of domestic foes—foes by birth, by colour, by injuries, by cast, by every circumstance of life—ready to take advantage of every emergency of the state, to work our injury? Whether it is better to have two hundred thousand labourers in the most abject condition of ignorance, with no motive for toil but the rod, and no rule of conduct but the caprice of a master, sometimes indeed humane and just, but often hardly more refined than themselves; or an equal number of hardy, happy and laborious yeomanry, such as the heart of a patriot would yearn over in the day of his country's prosperity, and repose on, as on a rock, in the hour of her need? Vain and most futile is the philosophy which will allow a man to doubt, in choosing between such alternatives.

Whatever is contrary to the laws of nature or the rules of justice, must of necessity, be ultimately hurtful to every community which attempts to enforce it. For no human sagacity can foresee all possible contingencies; nor can any state of artificial preparation, however ample, encounter at every point, the ceaseless activity of principles which belong to the very essence of things. This is most eminently true of the evils which result from slavery. It feeds, as it were, upon itself, and reacts again in multiplied forms of ill. The care which in other countries would be bestowed in better living and more bountiful support on the poorer classes of the whites, is in slave countries lavished on slaves, and they increase faster in proportion. Their increase again encourages the emigration from amongst us of the labouring whites, whose small places are bought up to add to the extensive farms cultivated by slaves. Then our laws of descent reduce the children of the rich to moderate circumstances; who, rather than lose ideal rank, sell out and remove to some new country, where, in the gradual improvement of affairs, they hope to regain their former condition. We lose, in this manner, the bone and sinew of the state; but the slaves remain, and increase, to fill up the space thus created. While this destructive operation is accomplishing, the slave owners themselves are only procrastinating a little the day of their own trial. As the number of slaves increases, their value must diminish, with the diminishing value of the products of their labour, in an increasing ratio. Then comes the competition with free labour from the adjacent states. This region of country is already supplied to a great extent, from other states, with articles of the first necessity, which we ought to produce as cheap as any other people, and some of which

we formerly exported in immense quantities. Other articles which we still look upon as among our most valuable staple productions, are brought into this state, and sold at a profit, by auction, in the streets of our villages. All this must produce a continual decline in the value of slaves, which will still decline further as they steadily grow upon the whites, until they become themselves the chief article of export. Such is already the case in large portions of several of the slave-holding states. The value of the staples of the southern states, would, for some years, keep up the value of slaves. But when the progress of events shall produce the same condition of public necessity there, that is steadily advancing here, and they will no longer receive slaves as merchandise, it requires no gift of prophecy to foresee the calamitous condition that must ensue, over the whole slave-holding region. Never was there a more fallacious idea, than that slavery contributed any thing towards the permanent resources of a state. It is an ulcerating its way into the very heart of the state, and which while it remains, cannot be mitigated by any change of constitution, but would work its effects with unerring certainty, under every possible condition of society.

There is another aspect of this painful subject, which is full of deep and mournful interest. Men will not always remain slaves. No kindness can soothe the spirit of a slave. No ignorance, however abject, can obliterate the indelible stamp of nature, whereby she decreed man free. No cruelty of bondage, however rigorous, can suppress, forever, the deep yearnings after freedom. No blighting of deferred and crushed hopes, will so root them from the heart, that when the sun shines and the showers fall, they will not rise up from their barren resting place, and flourish. She stern Spartan took the dagger and the cord. With what avail? The wiser Roman, as he freed his slave, against whom no barrier was raised in the difference of complexion, allowed him to aspire to most of the rights and dignities of citizenship, and to all the privileges of private friendship. Yet the annals of the empire show, that this was scarcely an alleviation of the calamity. The slaves of the Jews, the remnant of the conquered nations of the land, for a long course of ages were by turns their victorious masters and menial servants. Here is no doubtful experience. History sheds on this subject a broad and steady light, and sheds it on one unchanging lesson. Domestic slavery cannot exist forever. It cannot exist long, quiet and unbroken, in any condition of society, or under any form of government. It may terminate in various ways; but terminate it must. It may end in revolution; bear witness Saint Domingo. The Greek and the Egyptian took other methods, effectual each, if fully acted out, and differing only in the manner of atrocity. It may end in amalgamation; a base, spurious, degraded mixture, scarcely the least revolting method of the three. Or it may be brought to a close, by gradually supplanting the slaves with a free and more congenial race among ourselves; and restoring them to the rights of which they have been so long deprived, and to the land from which their fathers were so inhumanly transported. That would be a just recompense, for their long hereditary sufferings. It would be a noble conclusion to a condition of society, horrible in its inception, cruel and unjust in every stage

of its continuance, and which, without some such interference, must be utterly ruinous in all its results. The first part of such a scheme has been matured, and as far as seemed practicable with a degraded caste, executed in many of our most prosperous states. We see by their example, that it is effectual; by their redundant prosperity, that it is full of wisdom. Of its humanity, let him speak, who living among freemen, owns and governs slaves. But its true and full completion will not come to gladden the hearts of men, until we shall have restored to Africa all the children of whom our avarice has robbed her; until we shall have paid her the vast debt, which centuries of patient suffering under our merciless grasp, give her the sacred and irresistible title to demand: until America, within all her borders, shall contain no slave; and Africa shall receive, in every recess of her dark empire, the light, the freedom, the power of knowledge, and the consolations of eternal hope, which God has given us in trust for her redemption.

CONTROVERSY WITH THE DOMESTIC CHAPLAINS OF THE "ARCH-BISHOP OF BALTIMORE."—NO. XI. OF THE PROTESTANTS.—LAURENCE STERN AND THE HOGAN CURSE: HATRED OF THE BIBLE.

OUR priests seem to have a happy faculty of forgetting troublesome things. In their last number they make no mention of the Hogan curse.

We have no delight in cruelty, and we admit that well-earned chastisement may sometimes border upon the cruel, when inflicted upon transgressors of whose amendment there is no hope. Nevertheless we must remind Rev. Messrs. White and Coskery of this matter; first, because we must draw a very important inference from it, and secondly, because we are reluctant to consider them hopeless Papists. We like to think it possible that they may yet break the yoke that designing men have bound upon their intelligence. It is pleasant to indulge a faint anticipation that their writings in defence of error may produce upon themselves the effect they seem likely to have upon others, and that they who entered upon this controversy as papists, may retire from it enlightened protestants. Under these circumstances we do not feel justified in sparing the rod.

It will be remembered by our readers that we quoted a curse which was pronounced upon Mr. Hogan—a curse so horrible—so fiendish, that none but a diabolical mind could have prepared or used it. Our priests not only denied that this curse was so pronounced, but declared that it was invented by Laurence Stern. This assertion they made upon their own responsibility and therefore staked their veracity upon it.

In answer to this we proved, upon the authority of an old book now in the Baltimore Library, that the curse existed before Laurence Stern was born. The book containing it was published in 1688. Stern was born in 1713—twenty-five years afterward!

The priests here permit the matter to rest, although their individual veracity is directly implicated in the issue. Had these gentlemen

been protestants, every body would have expected them to have seized the first opportunity to acknowledge their error and apologize for it upon the ground of ignorance. But our correspondents are Romish priests, and from them nobody expected this manly and honest course. By dropping the subject and permitting their veracity to lie under imputation they have disappointed nobody. They have pursued precisely the course which was to be expected from men influenced by the tenets of Rome.

How stands the case? We have proved incontestably that these two gentlemen have made a statement which is palpably untrue. Now they either knew that the statement was untrue when they wrote it, or they did not. By their silence they authorize every one of your readers to gibbet them upon which horn of the dilemma he pleases. For our own part we choose to think that the Priests really believed what they wrote; that they knew no better, and that they were very much mortified when they were taught their error.

We infer from this Hogan business that our correspondents are grossly ignorant of the history and usages of their own Church, and therefore however desirous they may be to tell the truth, we are compelled to consider their assertions as absolutely worthless in all questions of fact.

Dropping Hogan, whom long since they gave over to Satan, and doubtless wondering why the fiend does not come and take him away, our Priests devote another number to what they call a refutation of our No. ix.

In this refutation, nothing on earth is refuted but common sense. Let any man turn to our number ix., and compare it with this self-styled refutation, and he will be surprised at the assurance of our antagonists. They seem to expect that people will read nothing of their laboured letters except the large words paraded at the head of the column. Their article contrasts with the heading much like the formidable words '*War with England*,' which we saw placarded about our streets a few days ago, did with the peaceable advertisement that followed, informing the people where they might buy cheap hats. We are almost inclined to republish our 'refuted' number by way of refutation to the Priests' last.

In that number we showed that the Church of Rome hated and feared the Bible, and prohibited it to the Laity at large. We prove this by the Pope's Bulls and by the decisions of the Council of Trent. We quoted among other things the opening of that Council in these words: '*It is manifest from experience that if the Holy Bible translated into the vulgar tongue be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of man will cause more evil than good to arise from it.*' And again, the order of the same Council that the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue should be read by none who had not received written permission from their Bishop by the advice of their confessor.

And now for the *refutation*—1st. Our priests tell us that they ought to understand the Council of Trent! Certainly they ought, *for the very good reason that they swear to obey it.* But they do not tell us that we misunderstand the decrees we quoted. The meaning is too plain to be misunderstood, and we have no doubt that our priests understand it thoroughly. It is fully within their comprehension.

2dly. They tell us that these rules were only temporary, and intended to check the spread of improper translations which were abundant at the time. This is an assertion, gentlemen, and must be proved. We can't take your word for it, since the faux pas about Laurence Stern. This is your *private opinion*, and private opinions about matters of doctrine or discipline are altogether un-Romanish. Bishop Hughes might contradict you—an anonymous priest might say that you are of no authority, as one did of your great Doctor Bellarmine. We have too much respect for the Council of Trent to take your word in opposition to her decrees. Come, gentlemen, give us your authority for this assertion.

Pardon us, we do not mean to be rude, but really no man of common sense will believe you unless you do prove your assertion, for the facts and circumstances are entirely against you. In the first place the decree we quoted does not seem to have any reference to Protestant translations at all. So your argument stands thus—'at such a period *heretical Scriptures* abounded and endangered the Church—therefore the Church corrected the evil by forbidding the circulation of *correct translations*.' Now this is odd. One would suppose that the better way would have been to supply the people with true copies.

Besides this, you tell us that *now* these rules are not enforced. Will you please to tell us why? Is there less danger from Protestant Bibles now than in the days of the Council of Trent? Are they less abundant than they were then? Are they less diligently circulated? You have managed to catch yourselves in your own trap. Let us condense your argument for you again for fear that otherwise you may not see its force.

'In the days of the Council of Trent, heretical Scriptures abounded and endangered the Church—therefore the Church corrected the evil by forbidding the circulation of correct translations. In this day heretical Scriptures are a thousand times more abundant than they were then—they are circulated more extensively and more diligently, therefore we being sworn to obey the Council of Trent, and believing its decrees infallible, are convinced that the proper understanding of the decree prohibiting the circulation of the Scriptures is that we shall earnestly recommend them to the faithful, and place them in every Catholic family!' And this is infallible logic! Gentlemen, you do not expect us to regard such nonsense as this?

You say that the decrees of the Council of Trent touching this matter are nugatory. When were they abrogated? By what authority were they cancelled? They stand upon your statute books as law—they never have been repealed—and yet while lecturing us upon the uncertainty of private judgment, two priests whose names are scarcely known beyond the sound of the Cathedral bell, tell us that these decrees are of no weight—forsooth *they* have cancelled them! What nonsense is your pretensions to be guided by *authority*! You have no authority. In the sense in which you use the term, you have no *Church*. It is but an idea—a vague, undefined, unlocated conception. There is not a Papist in Baltimore, or in the world, who can tell what he believes. He resigns his judgment into the hands of the Church—and he knows not what the Church is nor where she

is. He believes upon authority, but he knows no authority but his confessor. And his confessor while teaching him *infallible* doctrines cannot for the life of him tell where the infallibility resides. The Church is with the infallibility and the infallibility is with the Church; when we find one we shall find both; but in the mean time you cannot tell us where to seek for either! What a miserable juggle is this! What a satanic joke upon mankind!

Gentlemen, if you have a spark of reason left, or the smallest remnant of humanity in your bosoms, you will either satisfy those who are confiding their souls to you, with regard to the existence of the Church and her infallibility, or if you cannot do it you will abandon the terrible imposture which has so long deceived you and them. *What is the Church?* Once more we ask this question, which we have reiterated again and again. Unless you answer us, we will infer that you *have no Church*, and that Popery is merely a *political system*.

Our Priests next go on to tell us, as calmly as though they believed it, (and we suppose they do, for men who believe in transubstantiation and purgatory may readily be supposed to believe any thing,) that we are indebted to the Romish Church for the preservation and safe transmission of the Scriptures!

They might as well tell us that the Romish Church preserved the Jews. Let them give us a single instance of the exertion of the power and authority of Rome for the preservation of the Scriptures? The Romish Church never was Catholic or universal—she never monopolized the Scriptures—she never controlled, so as to be able to destroy them. We are not dependent upon her for the Word of Life. To this day we do not receive her Scriptures as she presents them to us. If we are dependent upon her for the Scripture, how is it that we have detected and exposed her corruptions of it, and rejected as apocryphal a portion that she calls canonical? *God* has preserved the Scriptures and handed them down to us through universal tradition. *He* has watched over the pages of his own truth when buried under the rubbish of convent libraries, or sacredly preserved in their wilderness retreat by men of whom the world was not worthy, who were hunted by Papal persecution from cave to cave and from forest to forest. *Rome* preserve the Scriptures! It would have been a woful thing for the world, if she had ever had the power to destroy them. Let us hear no more of this mockery.

The priests having gone so far, plunge recklessly on and tell us that Rome has published various translations of the Scripture for the laity. We deny the fact and call for proof. We deny that the CHURCH has ever done this. Your assertion is valueless without proof.

Tell us what English translation of the Old and New Testament has ever been sanctioned by your Church? We claim an answer to this important query for two reasons. First, because in telling us what English Bible is sanctioned by the Church, you must tell us indirectly what the Church is. And secondly, because if you admit that your infallible Church has made a translation—we will of course assume that you consider the translation to be *without fault*—for it would be folly to suppose that an infallible Church would make blunders about so important a matter; having these data we can next

examine the truth of the infallibility of the Church by the perfection of the translation. This promises a good deal of amusement. It will be hard if we do not tree the infallibility, if you will once put us on the scent of it.

The priests tell us next, by way of *refuting* our article, that the reading of the Scriptures is earnestly recommended to the faithful at large. Here is another assertion directly contradicted by evidence, and entirely unsustained by the Priests. Once more we are compelled to meet them with a flat contradiction, and we ask them to point us to the decree of council, bull of the pope, encyclical letter, or any other authoritative document that sustains their assertion.

The question is not between us and this priest, or that prelate—but between us and the *Church of Rome*. She has never recommended the reading of the Scriptures to the laity at large.

Having made up their minds not to define what they mean by the Church, our correspondents seem to use the term as freely as mathematicians do the letter x, in Algebra.

"*The Church*," is a convenient, undefined, and undefinable something, which nobody can find if they would call it to account, and which is nevertheless always ready for use in the time of need.

The priests, after having by these groundless and in some instances ludicrous assertions proved, as they say, that they do love and venerate the Scriptures, wind up their letter by distinctly declaring that '*a Protestant, whether learned or unlearned, is absolutely incapable with the aid of his Bible, to ascertain what he is bound to believe and to practice for the salvation of his soul.*'

And further they say '*the Bible cannot teach the heathen the doctrines which Christ requires to be believed upon pain of damnation, because it cannot explain itself.*'

Really this is explicit—we had nearly written explicit *deism*. The doctrine is deistical whatever it may be intended for.

We earnestly protest against such wickedness and infidelity as this. What do you say? Why plainly this, God has sent his Son into the world to teach men the way to heaven, but that Being performed his work so imperfectly that without the assistance of men, nobody can understand the laws which he gave, and the precepts which he taught. God, by his Holy Spirit, sent messages of mercy and of warning to men through prophets and teachers, yet these messages have been so worded by the Spirit that men cannot understand them. God has promised his Spirit to them that ask him. He has promised wisdom to them that lack. He has bid men search the Scriptures and declared them to be 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness:' the same Spirit declares, speaking of the Old Scriptures, 'whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.' Again the same Holy Spirit declares that these same Scriptures 'are able to make us (thee) wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' And He warns us that they are 'a more sure word of prophecy whereunto we (ye) do well to take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day star arise in our (your) hearts.' Yet in "net contradiction of the declarations of the Great God, two obscure

men take upon themselves to teach that the Scriptures of themselves are worse than useless—breeding schism, and error, and heresy, wherever they are scattered!

The Priests know as well as we do, that Protestants do not expect to be improved by the reading of the Scriptures except through the blessing of the Holy Spirit, who only can open the heart of man to receive the truth; they therefore do not only deny the efficacy of the Scriptures themselves, but of the Spirit who speaks in them. Again we say that for all practical purposes they are *Deists*.

Is there a child of God, however unlearned, who does not know for himself that God does speak plainly and comfortably in his Word? Would to God that our correspondents would spend as much time in prayerfully reading the blessed Book as they have done in vilifying it. They would soon learn that there is a power in these despised pages which they must ever seek in vain from ceremonies, and beads, and pictures, and mouldered bones, and old clothes.

Let them go with us and we will show them the widow who has found consolation rich and full in that book which they tell us is unintelligible. We will show them the fierce infidel, it has changed into a peaceful child—the drunkard it has reclaimed from the very jaws of death—the broken heart it has bound up and filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

We will take them to the hut of the poor whom that book has made rich in faith; to the bed-side of the sick and the dying whose fears it has calmed, whose pain it has soothed, and to whose dim and longing eyes it has opened up a way of access to the joys that are eternal at God's right hand!

LIFE OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.*

From his Birth, 1583. to his entrance on Public Life, 1637.

THOSE transactions which have rendered the middle of the 17th century so famous in the history of Britain, aroused and drew forth

**To the Editor—Dear Sir:*—I am gratified to observe the increasing interest felt by our brethren, with regard to the men and the events most memorable in the early history of the Presbyterian church. Among these events few have been more important than those which occurred during the reign of Charles I. Among these men few have been so able; so devoted, so eminent, and so useful, as ALEXANDER HENDERSON. Yet American Presbyterians know little of him. In order to do something towards removing this ignorance, I purpose to send you a *Life of Henderson*, prepared by a man of congenial spirit—the late Dr. McCRIE, the biographer of Knox and Melville, and the reviewer of Walter Scott. It was published many years ago in a periodical in Scotland. A few notes have been appended—signed Ed. They are from the pen of the present Dr. McCrie, son of the author.

A very interesting notice of Henderson appeared some years ago in the *Princeton Repertory*, chiefly or altogether compiled from the biography written by Ayton. If that article had been generally read throughout the church, I would not now trespass on your columns. But as it was not transcribed into our "weeklies," it was probably read by a very small portion of our people. By the bye, as Editor, you can tell me whether there is any etiquette prohibiting the transfer into our weekly papers of articles or extracts from articles first appearing in other papers,

to public view men of the most eminent talents, in the northern as well as the more southern part of our island. Scotland could at that time boast of her patriots both in church and state, inferior to those of no other nation;—of statesmen, able, disinterested, enlightened, jealous of the rights of their country, and at the same time loyal to their prince;—of ministers of religion, distinguished for learning and piety, and who counted nothing dear to them, provided that they might advance the kingdom of Christ, and secure their religious privileges. To that band of illustrious reformers, who stood firm against the encroachments of tyranny and superstition, we owe, under God, whatever we enjoy most valuable in religion and liberty, although justice is seldom done to their character and actions in the histories of that period, and their memories have often been loaded with the most odious charges and libellous abuse. Among these, the subject of the following memoir held a conspicuous place, and the stations to which he was called, and the important services which he performed, give a high interest to his character, and to the particulars of his life.

Alexander Henderson was born about the year 1583. Of his parents, or the circumstances of the early part of his life, no authentic information has descended to us. Being intended for the service of the church, he was sent to the University of St. Andrews, to complete his education, about the commencement of the 17th century. His abilities and application soon distinguished him in literary improvement, and, after having finished the usual course of studies, and passed his degrees with applause, he was chosen teacher of a class of philosophy and rhetoric in that University.

The church of Scotland had at this period suffered a great change. The liberty of her Assemblies was infringed. Episcopacy with its attendant evils, was obtruded upon her; and to make way for these innovations, her most able and faithful ministers were banished, imprisoned, silenced, or driven into obscure and distant corners. Particular care was taken to poison the sources of learning, by placing the tuition of youth under the care of time-serving and corrupt men. The learned and intrepid Andrew Melville, who had presided over the College of St. Andrews with great success and renown, was removed, detained, and at last finally excluded from his station, under the most deceitful prettexts, and persons placed in his room and that of his colleagues, who were fit instruments for disseminating such principles as were favourable to the corrupt measures then carrying on.

Mr. Henderson being then a young man, and ambitious of prefer-

or a quarterly or monthly journal? It does seem to me that an able article, whether treating of matters of fact or matters of doctrine, when once published, ought to be considered public property, and that the more generally it was copied, the more effectually the object of the writer would be answered.

Perhaps this present re-publication may induce some to purchase McCrie's Review of Walter Scott, lately re-published by Campbell, in Philadelphia. If so, I shall not lament the trouble of sending you these articles, even if they do no other good.

No Presbyterian feeling an ordinary interest either in the history of his church or the literature of our age, ought to leave that review unread. A.

ment, became a warm advocate of the new measures. Though the authority is not the best, yet there is reason to think that what Bishop Guthrie says of him is not without foundation, that "being Professor of Philosophy in St. Andrews, he did at the Laureation of his class, choose Archbishop Gladstones for his patron, with a very flattering dedication, for which he had the kirk of Leuchars given him shortly after." This may assist us in determining the time at which Mr. Henderson entered into the ministry. As he received the parish through the patronage of Archbishop Gladstones, and as that prelate died in 1615, he must have entered on or before that year. His settlement at Leuchars, procured in the manner above mentioned, was unpopular to such a degree that on the day of his ordination, the people secured the church doors, and the ministers who attended, together with the presenter, were obliged to break in by the window. When a sober people discover such violent symptoms of dissatisfaction with a minister, there is reason to conclude that there is something wrong either with the candidate or the manner of his introduction among them. In the present instance there were both. For the person who was appointed to take the over-sight of them, not only was known to be a defender of those corruptions to which the great body of the people in Scotland were averse, but discovered little or no regard to the spiritual interests of the flock upon whom he had been obtruded. A most unhappy connection, which it is probable would only have continued until his interests had procured him a change to a better living, had not every ground of dissatisfaction between him and his people been removed, and a foundation of lasting comfort between them laid in the merciful ordination of God. Mr. Henderson had not continued long in Leuchars, when an important change was effected on the state of his mind; a change which had an influence upon the whole of his future conduct.

About this time, that truly great man, Mr. Robert Bruce, who had been banished from Edinburg for refusing to comply with a mandate from the Court respecting the Gourie conspiracy, and was driven from one part of the country to another, through the fears entertained from his opposition to the measures of the court and bishops, had obtained liberty to return from Inverness, the place of his restraint. This interval of freedom he improved by preaching at different places to which he had access, and was followed by crowds, whom his piety, his talents, and his suffering, drew together to hear him, particularly on fast days and at communions. Hearing of a communion in the neighbourhood, at which Mr. Bruce was expected to assist, Mr. Henderson, attracted by his fame, or from some other motive, went thither secretly, and placed himself in a dark corner of the church, where he would remain most concealed. Mr. Bruce came into the pulpit, and after a pause, according to his usual manner, which fixed Mr. Henderson's attention on him, he read, with his accustomed emphasis and deliberation, these words as his text—"Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." Words so descriptive of the character of an intruder, and so literally applicable to the manner in which he entered upon his ministry at Leuchars, went like "drawn swords" to the heart of Mr. Henderson.

He who wished to conceal himself from all, felt that he was naked and opened to the word of God; the secrets of his heart were made manifest, his conscience convicted, and yielding to the force of Divine truth—"he worshipped God, and going away, reported, that God was of a truth" in those whose ways were so opposite to his own. In one word—the discourse of that powerful preacher on this occasion, was, by the Divine blessing, the means of Mr. Henderson's conversion. Ever after he retained a great affection for his spiritual father, Mr. Bruce, and used to make mention of him with marks of the highest respect.

We need not doubt that Mr. Henderson's change of mind would soon discover itself in his conduct, and that he would strive by all means in his power to promote the edification of the people of his charge, and to remove the offence which he had caused by the manner of his first entrance among them. Let us hear himself, speaking on this subject, in his address to his brethren in the famous Assembly at Glasgow, more than twenty years after the period of which we now speak.

"There are divers among us that have had no such warrant for our entry to the ministry, as were to be wished. Alas! how many of us have rather sought the kirk, than the kirk sought us. How many have rather gotten the kirk given to them, than they have been given to the kirk for the good thereof. And yet there must be a great difference put between those that have lived many years in an unlawful office, without warrant of God, and therefore must be abominable in the sight of God, and those who in some respects have entered unlawfully, and with an ill conscience, and afterwards have come to see the evil of this, and to do what in them lies to repair the injury. The one is like a marriage altogether unlawful, and null in itself—the other is like a marriage in some respects unlawful and inexpedient, but that may be mended by the diligence and fidelity of the parties in doing their duty afterwards. So should it be with us who entered lately into the calling of the ministry. If there were any faults or wrong steps in our entry, (as who of us are free?) acknowledge the Lord's calling of us, if we have got a seal from Heaven of our ministry—and let us labour with diligence and faithfulness in our office."

A concern about personal religion, and the salvation of the souls of men, has often led to a concern about the prerogatives of the King of Zion, as connected with the external government of his church. This was exemplified in Mr. Henderson. He began to look upon the courses of the prevailing party in the Church of Scotland with a different eye from what he had done formerly, when he was guided by a worldly spirit and by views of ambition. Their tendency he perceived to be injurious to the interests of practical religion. He, however, judged it proper to give the existing controversy a deliberate investigation, the result of which was, that he found Episcopacy to be equally unauthorized by the word of God, and inconsistent with the reformed constitution of the Church of Scotland.

He did not long want an opportunity of publicly declaring his change of views, and of appearing on the side of that cause which he had hitherto discountenanced. From the time that the prelatie government had first been obtruded upon the Church of Scotland,

a plan had been laid to conform her worship also to the English model. After various preparatory steps, an Assembly was suddenly indicted at Perth, in the year 1618, in which, by the most undue influence, a number of superstitious innovations were authorized. Among those ministers who had the courage to oppose these innovations, and who argued against them with great force of truth, but without success, we find the name of Mr. Alexander Henderson of Leuchars. It is remarkable, that it was proposed in this Assembly, that he and his friend Mr. William Scott of Coupar, should be translated to Edinburgh. This proposal, there is the best reason for supposing, was made with the view of soothing the inhabitants of that city, and of procuring a more ready submission to the other acts of that Assembly, without any serious intention of settling these able advocates for non-conformity in that station. "The bishops," says Calderwood, "meant no such thing in earnest." But the proposal testifies the esteem in which Mr. Henderson was held, even at that early period, by the faithful part of the Church of Scotland, unto whom he had lately adjoined himself. In the month of August, 1619, Mr. Henderson and two other ministers were called before the Court of High Commission in St. Andrews, charged with composing and publishing a book entitled "Perth Assembly," proving the nullity of that Assembly, and with raising a contribution to defray the expense of printing the Book. They appeared, and answered for themselves with such wisdom, that the bishops could gain no advantage against them, and were obliged to dismiss them with threatenings. Both before and after the ratification of the Acts of Perth Assembly by the Parliament of 1621, many honest ministers were greatly harassed on account of their non-conformity. But the aversion to the newly introduced ceremonies was so general, and the minority against whose will they were carried, both in Assembly and parliament, so respectable, that it was judged impolitic and dangerous to enforce a rigid and universal compliance with them. A number of ministers who opposed and refused to practice them, were overlooked and permitted to continue in their charges, particularly in the west country, and in Fife, where Mr. Henderson's parish lay. From this period until the year 1637, it does not appear that he suffered much, although he continued to be watched with a jealous eye, and cramped in his exertions for promoting the cause of truth and holiness.

One feels a desire to know how a person in Mr. Henderson's situation was employed during so long an interval of partial restraint, and even when the records from which information is drawn are in a great measure silent, we may, without transgressing far the limits of history, form conclusions from the character of the man, and the appearance which he made when afterwards drawn into public notice. Secluded from the bustle of the world, he had an opportunity of conversing with his God, and of being admitted to those heavenly enjoyments, and attaining those religious experiences which are often in a high degree, the privileges of Christians placed in such circumstances.*

*The conjecture here formed is corroborated by the following facts which have been transmitted to us, regarding this early period of Henderson's life. Mr. James Wellwood, a minister, in his younger days was deeply exercised. Mr. Henderson was minister of Leuchars, near by him, and gave him a visit, and after long con-

The time which Mr. Henderson spent in retirement, though obscure on the page of history, was not the least useful period of his life. Living sequestered in his parish, and excluded from taking any share in the management of the ecclesiastical affairs of the nation, he had leisure to push his inquiries into the extensive field of theology and the history of the church, and laid up those stores of knowledge which he had an opportunity afterwards of displaying. The sedulous discharge of pastoral duties afforded him regular employment, and in the success with which this was attended, he enjoyed the purest gratification. Besides this, he met occasionally with his brethren of the same mind, at fasts and communions, when, by sermons and conferences, they encouraged one another in adhering to the good old principles of the Church of Scotland, and joined in fervent supplications to God for the remedy of those evils under which they groaned.*

ference, could gain no ground upon him, for Mr. Wellwood was of a deep piercing wit, and repelled all Mr. Henderson could say to him by way of comfort, so he goes to leave him. Mr. Wellwood grasps Mr. Henderson's hand fast at parting. Mr. Henderson asked him why he expressed so much kindness; for, says he, 'I never did you any courtesy or personal advantage?' 'I love you, sir,' said Mr. James, 'because I think you are a man in whom I see much of the image of Christ, and who fears God.' 'Then,' said Mr. Henderson, 'if I can gain no more ground on you, take that;' 'By this we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.' Upon this Mr. James anchored faith, and this was the first thing that brought comfort to him. After this they parted, but within a little while he grew so in the sense of the love of God, that the manifestations of the Lord allowed him all his life-time were wonderful. There is another characteristic anecdote related of Henderson in the diary of one Arthur Morton, a minister in life, who laboured under extreme religious depression of mind. Not one of his friends could make the slightest impression on this melancholy man, till Henderson came to visit him. On hearing him bewail, among his other sins, the violation of some private covenant which he had made with God, Henderson asked a sight of the document, and began, with consummate skill, to point out its errors, telling him, with an air of authoritative severity, which brought conviction to the poor patient, that "there was one sin of which he had not repented, the the greatest of them all, and that was *the making of such a covenant, which spoiled God of the glory of his grace, by relying more on the powers of nature and powerful means than the merits of our Lord.*"

*In connection with these Presbyterian meetings, which were connived at by the bishops in some places, and were useful for maintaining some union among the faithful ministers, before the year 1637, Woodrow relates the following anecdote of Henderson. "Mr. Henderson, I hear, took great pains to gain the great Mr. Wood, afterwards Professor of Divinity. Mr. Wood was both Arminian and Prelatic, in his youth. Mr. Henderson perceiving him a smart and most acute young man, always made much of him, and was most kind to him when he met him at any time. One time he invited Mr. Wood and Mr. David Forret, both then Prelatic, to be present at some of their Presbyterian meetings. Mr. Wood objected that they could not win him. Mr. Henderson told them he needed not fear that, for he should bring them both in; and so they were present at a meeting for prayer and conference. After the meeting was over, Mr. Henderson called for them both, and said, "Now, Jacobe, what think you of our meeting, when compared with yours?" Mr. Wood said, "he was much taken with that meeting, and that there appeared to be much more of the Spirit of God with them, than at their Prelatic meetings." Mr. Forret seemed to be more taken. He said "he saw nothing of the presence of God in their Prelatic meetings, as what he saw that day in their Presbyterian meeting:" but Mr. Wood answered, 'We are men, and must not only have our affections moved, but our judgements must be satisfied.' Mr. Henderson was very well pleased with what he said, and replied, 'That is very true, Jacobe, ye are men, and must have your judgement satisfied.'

Mr. Livingston mentions Mr. Henderson as one of those "godly and able ministers" with whom he got acquainted in attending these solemn occasions, between the years 1626 and 1630, "the memory of whom," says he, "is very precious and refreshing."

At length the time for delivering the Church of Scotland arrived. The Lord regarded the prayers and fasting of his servants, and made their light to rise out of obscurity, and restored their captivity in an unexpected and surprising way. Those who had become enamoured with the external form of the English Church, judged, in concurrence with the Court, that a fit season now offered for introducing its complete model into Scotland. Accordingly in 1636, a book of ecclesiastical canons was sent down from England, and in the course of the same year a book of ordination. After some delay, the anglo-popish liturgy, or service book, framed after the English model, but with alterations, which, according to the scheme then on foot of reconciling the Romish and English churches, approached nearer to the popish ritual, made its appearance. Had Scotland tamely submitted to this yoke, and allowed the three-fold cord to be thrown over her, she might afterwards have sighed and struggled in vain for liberty. But the arbitrary manner in which these innovations were imposed, not less offensive than the matter of them, added to the dissatisfaction produced by former measures of the court and bishops, excited universal disgust, and aroused a spirit of opposition which was not allayed, until not only the obnoxious acts were swept away, but the whole fabric of Episcopacy, which during so many years they had laboured to rear, was levelled with the dust. Sensible of gross mismanagements, and galled with disappointment, the defenders of Scottish Episcopacy have endeavoured to throw the blame sometimes on the young bishops, sometimes upon the statesmen employed upon the transaction, but it is evident, that while their counsels were in some things divided, they did all, young and old, churchmen and statesmen, urge forward, with singular infatuation those measures which precipitated their fall.

The tumult which was produced by the first reading of the liturgy in Edinburgh, on the 23d of July, 1637, is well known. Bishop Guthrie represents this disturbance as the result of a previous consultation in April, at which time he says Mr. Alexander Henderson came from the brethren in Fife, and Mr. David Dickson from those in the west; and in concert with Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, engaged certain matrons to put the first affront upon the service book. The bishop was so well acquainted with this piece of secret history, that he has given us the names of the women employed. It is rather unfavourable to the credibility of this story, that it flatly contradicts the official accounts, not only of the town council of Edinburgh, and of the privy council, but of his majesty also, which declare, that after the most strict inquiry, it appeared that the tumult was begun by the meaner sort of people, without any instigation, concert, or

and so he inquired of Mr. W. if he had read any of the Presbyterian writers, and he having declared he had not, Mr. Henderson sent him *Altare Damascenum*, and desired him to peruse it attentively. Accordingly, he read it, and was entirely gained thereby. He declared his judgment was fully satisfied with what he had read in that book."

interference of the better classes. But the bishop himself in his eagerness to asperse Mr. Dickson, has mentioned a fact which enables us completely to disprove the charge, and which discredits his whole account. He says that Mr. Dickson in going home by Stirling, gave out that his errand to Edinburgh was to accompany Mr. Robert Blair to a ship which was to convey him to Germany. Now, Mr. Blair's design of going to the continent was not *before*, but a considerable time *after* the tumult, being formed in the midst of the regular opposition which was made to the innovations, and at a time when there was little appearance of the petitioners obtaining a favourable answer to their demands.

But although Mr. Henderson had no share in any private cabal or plot, he had, from the first intimation of the projected changes, expressed his disapprobation of them, and did not scruple, after their appearance, publicly to expose their dangerous tendency. While this irritated the ruling party, it endeared him to others. As early as March, 1637, we find Mr. Rutherford thus writing to him—"As for your case, my reverend and dearest brother, ye are the talking of the north and south, and looked to so as if ye were all chrystal glass. Your moles and dust will be proclaimed, and trumpets blown at your slips—but I know ye have laid help upon one who is mighty to save. Intrust not your comforts to men's airy and frothy applause, neither lay your down-castings on the tongues of salt-mockers and reproachers of godliness." His early and public appearances were the occasion of his being singled out among the objects of prosecution, to deter others from imitating their example. The Archbishop of St. Andrews gave a charge to Mr. Henderson and two other ministers of his diocese, to purchase each two copies of the Liturgy, for the use of their parishes, within fifteen days, under pain of rebellion. Mr. Henderson immediately came to Edinburgh, and on the 23d August, presented a petition to the Privy Council, for himself and his brethren, stating their objections, and praying a suspension of the charge. To this petition, and others of a similar kind, providentially presented about the same time, the Council returned a favourable answer, and transmitted to London an account of the aversion of the country to conformity. This was an important step, as it directed all that were aggrieved to a regular mode of obtaining relief; and the Privy Council having at this early stage testified their aversion to enforce the novations, did afterwards on different important occasions, befriend and promote the cause of the petitioners.

From this time forward, Mr. Henderson took an active share in all the measures of the petitioners, and his prudence and diligence contributed not a little to bring them to a happy issue. They soon discovered his value, and improved it by employing him in their most important and delicate transactions.* Indeed, he was engaged with

*Baillie facetiously calls Mr. Henderson, and Mr. David Dickson, "the two Archbishops, by whose wit and grace, joined with two or three of the noblemen, in all effect was done." These, however, were but the heads which guided the movements, and the organs which gave expression to the sentiments of a willing people. It is the boast and beauty of Presbytery, that while it calls no man master on earth, it natively brings forth, and cordially acknowledges the hierarchy of talent, piety, and principle.

so little intermission in the public transactions which followed, that the history of the remaining part of his life necessarily involves some account of these. Without, however, entering into a detail of public events, which may be found in the general histories of the period, although often very inadequately and partially represented, it shall be the object of this memoir to select those incidents in which Mr. H. was more particularly concerned, and which tend to throw light upon his character.

As we are now to view him in a very different scene from the tranquil one in which he formerly acted, it may be agreeable to hear his own beautiful and serious reflections upon the ordinations of divine sovereignty in this matter, made when he was in London, in the midst of those great undertakings to which Providence had gradually conducted him. "When," says he, "from my sense of myself, and of my own thoughts and ways, I begin to remember how men who love to live obscurely, and in the shadow, are brought forth to light, to the view and talking of the world—how men that love quietness are made to stir, and have their hand in public business—how men that love soliloquies and contemplations are brought upon debates and controversies—and generally, how men are brought to act the things which they never determined, nor so much as dreamed of before—the words of the prophet Jeremiah come to my remembrance:—"O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself—it is not in man that walketh, to direct his steps." Let no man think himself master of his own actions or ways. "When thou wast young, thou girded thyself, and walkest whither thou wouldst—but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not." These reflections show that in the active part which he took in the troubles, he was neither goaded by resentment for the restraints to which he had been subjected, nor stimulated by that ambition which leads men to seek for fame in the embroilments of public affairs, a remark which the whole of his subsequent life serves to justify.

THE LATTER DAY GLORY OF MESSIAH'S KINGDOM.—NO. IV.

WE now pass to the consideration of the *fifth* question in a series published in the February No. of the Spirit of the XIX. Century, judging it unnecessary to occupy time in discussing the *fourth* question, as no believer in Jesus doubts his second *personal* advent to earth; *Literalists* and *spiritualists*, all believe that when our Lord shall appear the *second time* without sin unto salvation, his advent will be *personal*. But when we enter on the consideration of question v. (*viz.*) "Will the second personal advent of our Lord take place at the commencement, or at the close of the thousand years spoken of? Rev. xx. 4, 5, brethren take different sides. We perfectly accord with the view of the worthy editor of this publication expressed in a note on page 322, that this question involves the most important point in the millenarian controversy. We shall therefore endeavour prayerfully to consider it in the light of Divine truth.

The important objects for the accomplishment of which Messiah shall personally return to earth, prove that his second advent must be pre-millennial.

One object (according to his own teaching) for which our Lord shall *personally* return, is, *the thorough purification of his visible kingdom.* In his exposition of the parable of the tares, Matt. xiii. 41, our Lord tells us at the end of the world, (or present age,) He will send forth his angels and *gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them that do iniquity.* Again, in his exposition of the parable of the net, (verse 49,) our Great teacher says, "The angels shall come forth, and shall sever the wicked from among the just. In the parable of the *ten virgins*, (Matt. xxv.) we are also informed when the heavenly Bridegroom comes, he will exclude from the marriage feast all who belong to his visible kingdom who shall be found with a form of godliness without the power, or with a lamp of profession without the unction of true piety. In the parable of the talents, in the same chapter, we are taught the same truth. The wicked and slothful servant at his Lord's *coming*, shall be stripped of all that was committed to him, and cast into outer darkness. The same important object for which our Lord shall return to earth in power and great glory, He as plainly presents to us in the latter part of this same chapter, (Matt. xxv.) where he informs us of the separation *He* will make between the sheep and the goats. Many similar passages might be quoted, but we forbear. Surely if our Lord taught any thing plainly concerning the visible church, he taught the universal and complete purification of that church at his second advent.

Another important object our Lord has in view in coming again to earth in person, is the revelation of his glory *to* his beloved bride. *The ancient prophets* foretold the revelations of Messiah's glory to his saints at his second advent. In the lxiii. chapter of Isaiah, and first verse, our Lord is represented as coming in great glory, as an Almighty Conqueror for the deliverance of his saints. This passage must refer to the second advent, and that alone. The prophet Daniel, chapter vii. 9, 10, foretells the glory in which he will be revealed to his saints at his second coming; and our Lord himself, in one of his last discourses with his disciples before he *personally* left them, (Matt. xxiv. 30,) declares that he will come the second time in the clouds of heaven *with power and great glory*—and again, in chapter xxv. 31, we read that to the righteous he will reveal himself in his glory, and shall sit on the throne of his glory, and all his holy angels with him. The inspired apostle, 2 Thess. i. 7, 8, assures us of the revelation of Messiah's glory to his visible kingdom on earth, when he shall *come* to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe. Here the sacred writer tells us of the glory that shall be revealed *in* the saints as well as that which shall be revealed *to them*, for if our Lord is to be admired by the holy, intelligent universe, *in his saints*, surely there must be an inconceivable degree of glory revealed *to them* as well as *in them*. The apostle Peter, in his 2 Epistle i. 5, declares that the saints are to be *revealed* in glory, in the last time, or at the Lord's second coming. The inspired John also assures us (1 John iii. 2) that when "He appears we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is," in all his glory. Here, then, is an important object for

which our Lord shall come again in person the second time to earth. Now in order that his beloved bride may be thus beautified and glorified entire, the third *special object* for which our Lord will return to earth, is to raise all his slumbering members from the dead, and fashion their *vile* bodies like unto his glorious body. As proof of this, see 1 Cor. xv.; 1 Thess. iv. 14, 18; Phil. iii. 20, 21, and Rev. xx. 4, 6. More than these witnesses testify to this deeply interesting object for which the Lord shall come.

A fourth object our blessed Lord has in view in his *personal* return is, that he may assume his *universal reign on earth*, in which his saints shall share his triumphs, (according to his own word,) before he gives up the kingdom to the Father, "that God may be all in all." 1 Cor. xv. 23, 25. On this point I request the reader to turn to the following passages of the inspired word, and seriously ponder them: Matt. xix. 23; Matt. xxv. 21, 23; Luke xix. 15, 19; Luke xxii. 30; Rev. ii. 26, 27; v. 10; xi. 15, 17, 18; xx. 4, 6. In these passages it is clearly revealed, that the saints with their exalted Head shall *live and reign* on earth during a glorious dispensation of light, love, and universal holiness. But in order to this universal reign on earth, of our Lord and his glorified saints, it will be necessary that *his* and their incorrigible enemies should be subdued, and their power completely restrained. To this end, therefore, *another object* which he has in view in his second coming is the accomplishment of this awful work, and this object is as clearly revealed in the word of truth as any of the former we have mentioned. We indeed have no intimation in God's word that our victorious Lord will ever absolutely destroy or *annihilate* any impenitent, incorrigible sinners of our race, or any fallen spirit of the pit. An enemy of Christ, given up to final obduracy, will remain an enemy throughout eternity; but if there is any future event clearly revealed in God's word, it is the complete conquest of the enemies of our Lord at his second coming. Please consult, with a *single eye*, the following passages: Ps. ii. 8, 9; Ps. cx. 1, 2, 5, 6; Is. lxiii. 1—4; lxvi. 15, 16; Ezek. xxxviii. and xxxix.; Dan. ii. 34, 35, 44; vii. 26, 27; 1 Cor. xv. 26—28; 2 Thess. ii. 8; Rev. xi. 17, 18; xiv. 18—20; xix. 11—21; xx. 1, 2. In these passages, out of the multitude that might be quoted, we have plainly foretold the *complete* and *universal* conquest of the enemies of our Lord and his cause, by his own omnipotent power, at his second coming.

The general judgment, all will readily acknowledge, is a prominent object revealed, for which Christ will come personally to earth, the second time. Now prominent as this object is commonly made, both from the pulpit and the press, yet when we look into the word of God, we do not find this object connected with the second advent, so frequently mentioned as we had supposed. The writer, aided by the recent work of a brother, has selected about fifty passages in the epistolary part of the New Testament and the Revelation, in which the second coming of our Lord is revealed, and out of these fifty texts, the general judgment is brought to view in *only five* of them. Still this great work stands out sufficiently prominent in the word, connected with the second advent. But the fact that our Lord will come to judgment at his second appearing, so far from militating

against the pre-millennial advent, goes to prove it, and that for two reasons, which we will briefly mention. 1st, From the imperfect view we are able to take of the other works of God, we are forbidden to admit the idea that the great and important work of the final judgment of men and angels will be crowded, as to time, into the space of a *natural day*, or that it will be accomplished even in a period of short duration. 2dly. According to the revealed word, the saints are to share with the Judge (their beloved Lord,) in this awful and glorious work. Now to suppose that the saints will rest in their graves until *the morning* of the last day, connected with earth, then rise *a few moments preceding the wicked*, be *publicly* approved before the Father of the universe and his holy angels, placed as *assessors* near the throne of judgment, at once obtain a knowledge of all the secret feelings and actions of wicked men and devils, so as intelligently to unite with the glorious Judge in the righteous sentence, and that this whole scene will pass off with the close of a natural day, is a view of this subject which we neither find revealed in God's book, nor do we find ourselves able to adopt it, because contrary to the analogy of all God's great and wonderful works. What period of time during his universal and glorious reign on earth it may be the sovereign pleasure of the righteous Judge to occupy in this momentous work, we know not, but we are sure it will be ordered in infinite wisdom and love, and to the display of all his glorious perfections in view of a holy universe. It will be performed like himself—and in such a way that his redeemed ones shall clearly see the justice and righteousness of the awful sentence from the great white throne, and add their *Amen—Alleluia*.

Now if these are some of the leading objects for the accomplishment of which the word of truth declares our blessed Messiah shall return *personally* to earth; if indeed, he comes the second time without sin, in order *completely* and *universally* to purify his visible church; if he comes for the expressed purpose of revealing his unutterable and inconceivable glories *to* and *in* his beloved bride on earth; and if in order to beautify and glorify *her entire*, both in *body* and *soul*, he will raise to immortality the slumbering nations of his redeemed; if he comes to claim the kingdom under the whole heaven (so long under the dominion of Satan,) as his own; to put down all rule and all authority but his own, and to reign with his saints for at least a *thousand years*;—and if in order to effect this object he comes *in person* (as his word declares,) to subdue and banish into darkness and the pit forever, all anti-Christian powers, and all other wicked and incorrigible beings of our race, and to bind Satan and shut *him* up in the bottomless pit;—if indeed he shall come to perform all these glorious and wonderful works in connexion with that of the general judgment, and the final sentence from the great white throne, then beyond all shadow of a doubt in our mind, the second advent of our Lord must be *pre-millennial*. Unless this view be received, on what ground can we look for the universal purification of the church, and the moral renovation of this sin-polluted earth, neither of which most desirable events we are taught to look for until the Lord comes at the end of the world or present age? How can we confidently look for the revelation of his *personal* glories to his risen saints on earth?

How can we firmly look *for* and believe *in* the universal reign of Messiah over the kingdoms of this world with his saints, through a long duration of time, seeing according to the word, the kingdom of Messiah is to be given up to the Father at the close of the general judgment? Or how can we look for the destruction of all anti-Christian powers, *with the brightness of his coming*, and the binding of that old serpent, the Devil, and Satan, for a *thousand years*, at the descent of the angel of the everlasting covenant, unless we admit in its plain and obvious meaning, the second coming of our Lord, without sin unto salvation, previous to the millenium?

We are aware that some will deny the correctness of this conclusion by advancing the opinion that the advent of our Lord spoken of in many of the passages referred to, is a spiritual coming, and that the universal kingdom which he intends to set up hereafter, will be, as it now is, a *spiritual kingdom*. As to the passages of Scripture referred to, teaching a spiritual advent of Messiah, few, we presume, would advance the opinion that the coming of our Lord spoken of or implied in the parables of *the tares*, the net, the ten virgins, the talents, (both in Matt. and Luke,) and that referred to in Matt. xxv., when he shall divide the sheep from the goats—is a spiritual coming. Nor can we believe that the faithful student of God's word, upon a careful examination of *the fifty passages* to be found in the inspired epistles and the revelations, in which the second advent is expressly mentioned, can advance the opinion that a spiritual advent is taught in these passages. We can only refer to them, and beg the reader carefully to consider them. Rom. ii. 16; 1 Cor. i. 7, 8; iii. 13; iv. 5; xi. 26; xv. 23; xvi. 22; 2 Cor. i. 14; iv. 14; Phil. i. 6, 10; ii. 16; iii. 20; iv. 5; Col. iii. 4; 1 Thess. i. 10; ii. 19; iii. 13; iv. 14—17; v. 2, 23; 2 Thess. i. 7; ii. 1, 8; iii. 5; 1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8; Titus ii. 13; Heb. ix. 28; James v. 7, 8; 1 Pet. i. 5, 7—13; iv. 13; v. 4; 2 Pet. i. 16; iii. 10, 12; 1 John iii. 2; iv. 17; Jude 14; Rev. i. 7; ii. 25; iii. 11; xi. 17, 18; xix. 7, 11—21; xxii. 20.*

On the opinion, that the universal kingdom which our Lord shall hereafter set up on earth, being as it now is, a spiritual dominion set up, and carried on in the hearts of individuals of a given generation, we remark, most certainly our Lord will continue to sway a *spiritual sceptre* over the hearts of his redeemed ones during the latter day glory of his kingdom on earth, and that far more efficiently than he now does, or ever has done, for he shall then reign with such *power*, and with such light and love in the hearts of his subjects, that according to the spirit and letter of the Lord's prayer, his subjects on earth shall do the will of his Father as it is now done by the glorified in heaven. But in addition to this spiritual reign over the hearts of his subjects, *who will constitute the whole of the inhabitants of earth*, (if we are to believe God's word,) most unquestionably he shall, by his own wise and holy laws in the hands of his saints, govern all earth's concerns upon the pure principles of his revealed word,—and thus reign King of *nations* as he now reigns King in *Zion*, King of *Saints!*

*In the fifty-four verses above quoted, in which the second advent is mentioned, the last judgment, as an object of that advent, is not brought to view but five or six times.

Let the reign of Christ become universal on earth—and what kingdom could then exist on earth besides? Satan could have none. Men of the world could have none, because all men will belong to Christ and he will claim all kingdoms and nations as his own. When the Little Stone cut out of the mountain without hands shall crush the kingdoms of earth until they become as the chaff of the summer threshing floor, and the wind carries *all away*; and when that wonderful Stone waxes a great mountain and fills the whole earth, what, I ask, will be on earth *spiritual, literal, political, or ecclesiastical*, that Christ shall not reign over? Again, the question returns, is there Scriptural evidence to found the belief upon, that this universal and glorious reign of Messiah shall take place under the present dispensation, or previous to the second advent? After diligently searching the Scriptures on this point, we think we can say without fear of contradiction, as we have said in a former No., that no such intimation is given by our Great Teacher, or his holy apostles, either by quotation from the ancient prophets, by parables, or in plain language. No such *encouraging, heart-cheering* thoughts as the universal prevalence of the gospel, is held up distinctly by our Lord before the minds of his persecuted followers and laborious evangelists. On the other hand, he plainly predicts the sadly depraved and unbelieving state of the visible church, and of the miserably dark, rebellious, and morally polluted state of the world, *lying in the wicked*, and under the power of antichrist, to the end of the world or present dispensation; we therefore, take for granted that no such period connected with the present dispensation, was before the mind of the great prophet, for had there been, his benevolent heart would have prompted him to have clearly revealed it. But as such a glorious period is clearly predicted in various parts of God's word, we conclude that it will only be ushered in by the *second advent* of our Lord.

In closing the few *plain, home-spun* remarks we have offered on this important subject, we take occasion to state that for some time after we had fully received and preached the precious doctrine of our Lord's pre-millennial advent, we were not disposed to give in to the views of those who advocate the literal restoration of the ancient covenant people of God to the land which God gave to Abraham and his seed for an *everlasting possession*;—on the further investigation of this subject, however, we are now fully prepared to receive the precious truth as God has revealed it in his infallible word; (*viz.*) that he will not only restore this wonderful people to the long rejected spiritual blessings of the Abrahamic covenant in Christ, (as we have long believed,) but that he will again bring them from all countries to their own beloved land. And, this, as it now appears to us, is *another important object* for which our Lord shall *return to earth in person*. For we see no evidence to believe that this desirable event shall take place until that day when the Lord's feet shall stand *again* on the *Mount of Olives*, Zech. xiv. 4, and then shall they *look* on him whom they have pierced and mourn, Zech. xii. 10. We accord with the views of a modern writer on this subject, that Ezekiel's testimony is peculiarly strong on this point, in his prophetic description of *the restoration*; see Ezek. xliii. 7. That this restoration shall take place at the pre-millennial advent, is proven also by what our

Lord said to the Jews, recorded, Matt. xxiii. 39. Likewise by what the apostle Paul says of his conversion being a type of the future conversion of his brethren according to the flesh. As he *personally* appeared for Saul's conversion, so shall he appear for the conversion of the Jews. But one of the strongest proofs on this point, we have presented to us by our Lord, in his reasoning with the infidel Sadducees, Luke xx. 37, 38. Here our Great Teacher proves the *resurrection of the dead*, from the nature of the covenant God made with Abraham, in which he promises with an oath, to give the land of Canaan (the boundaries thereof being particularly defined,) to him and his seed after him for an *everlasting* possession, and also to be his God and the God of his posterity after him. Now if God is still the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, as he declared himself to be at the bush in Moses's day; and if he is still bound by his promise and oath to give them and their seed the goodly land for an everlasting possession, (not one foot of which Abraham ever owned during his natural life-time, and Isaac and Jacob but a very small portion,) then it is evident that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their seed in Christ, must be *raised from the dead*, in order to be put in full possession thereof according to the promise. Now as the dead saints will rise at the period our Lord shall come the second time without sin unto salvation, the entire restoration of the ancient covenant people of God, we believe, will synchronize with that glorious event, which must be pre-millennial; for we see not how this God-like promise connected with the everlasting covenant, can otherwise be fulfilled. Should we suppose, as many do, that the second advent of our Lord will not take place until the very day on which the last sentence shall be passed and executed on the whole human race, and of course the kingdom given up to the Father, how any or all the promises of God, with respect to the future glories of Messiah's kingdom on earth, can be fulfilled, we leave those to determine who hold this opinion.

JAMES C. BARNES.

Dayton, Ohio, July 26th, 1843.

[For the Spirit of the xix. Century.]

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON ROMANS VIII. 19.

"For the (ἀποκαταδοκία) earnest expectation of the creature," &c.

NAM expectatio creaturæ, etc.—Vulgate. Nam creaturæ sollicita expectatio, etc.—*Erasm.* Schmidius—He adds in a note, "quæ fit exerto capite;" So *Beza*, and in a note he says the word signifies gestus illius qui cupidissime aliquid expectat, nimirum qui exerat caput, et oculos intendat, quasi eminus venturum prospiciens. Most commentators adopt the same sense. Saubert, however, says that the word is also used to signify "expectationem mulierum laborantium in partu, erectoque capite anhelantium laborum finem, et optatæ sobolis aspectum, incredibilibus augustiis circumfusam, inter ipsos tamen genitus læta spe suffultam." He cites as an instance of this use of the word, Aquila's version of Ps. xxxvii. 7, where the Hebrew

word which signifies *peperit, in partu fuit, parientis instar deluit, genuit, expectavit*, is rendered by the Greek word ἀποκαρδοῦμαι. Saubert says this sense is supported by the context, particularly the words, “manifestation of the sons of God,” *patefactionem (ἀποκαλυψιν) filiorum Dei*, that is, the creature expects them as a woman in travail and the pains of child-birth, expects the manifestation (ἀποκαλυψιν) of the son or child she is bringing forth. And then again in verse 22, the apostle still holding the same figure, says, “for we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.” But leaving Saubert and the other commentators, it may be suggested that Paul had in his mind a portion of our Lord’s discourse to his disciples in the remarkable prophecy which he uttered on the Mount of Olives, recorded in Luke xxi. 28. At least there seems to be a verbal connexion between the two places, which deserves notice. Our Lord had predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, the destruction and dispersion of the Jews among all nations—the treading down of their city by the Gentiles till the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled,—a part of the prophecy which is not yet completely fulfilled. Then he tells them of signs, distress of nations, and the fearful expectations of men—their forebodings of the terrible judgments of God—and then concludes the topic by referring to the advent of the Son of Man, in a cloud, with power and great glory. Having thus called the minds of his disciples, and through them the attention of all believers to a series of events reaching down from the ascension to the second advent, he makes the remark which Paul seems to have had in his mind when he penned the passage under consideration—“And when these things begin to come to pass, look up, *lift up your heads;*” (ἐπαρξάτε τὰς κεφαλὰς,) that is, *expect earnestly, intently, eagerly*, “for your redemption (ἀπολυτρώσις) draweth nigh.” The ἀποκαρδοῦμαι of Paul, is the same in sense and in figure as the ἐπαρξάτε τὰς κεφαλὰς in Luke xxi. 28. Again, the object or cause for which our Lord encourages believers to expect, joyfully and earnestly, is their (ἀπολυτρώσις) redemption. Now turn to Romans viii. 23, and we find the apostle declaring that not only the whole creation, but those who have received the first fruits of the Spirit, groan, while waiting for the (ὑιοθεσίαν) adoption which he explains as equivalent to the (ἀπολυτρώσιν) redemption of the body. Undoubtedly our Lord uses the word redemption in the same sense. If Paul had this passage in his mind, he so understood it. He uses the word in the same sense in Eph. iv. 30, where the day of redemption signifies the day of resurrection, which is the redemption of the body, or the complete adoption of those who in this life receive only the first fruits of the Spirit. That our Lord referred to the same event, by the word *redemption*, is evident, not only from the series of events which he had predicted should precede it, but from the fact that he added (in verse 31,) that when those things which he had foretold should come to pass, they might know that the kingdom of God was nigh; by which he certainly did not intend the gospel dispensation, which has been running already more than 1800 years—but that glorious kingdom in which believers should receive their complete adoption in the redemption of their bodies, and the re-union of soul and body in the glorious kingdom of God.

[For the Spirit of the XIX. Century.]

SOME HINTS REGARDING TYPES AND CORRESPONDENCIES.

THE Romanists have made a pernicious use of allegories. They have in many cases established doctrines in this way, quite contrary to Scripture. Such is the use made of the famous allegory of the two swords, Luke xxii. 38, John xviii. 11, the one symbolizing or allegorizing, as they say, the spiritual power, the other, the temporal power. Another famous allegory with them is founded on Gen. i. 16. It is the allegory of the two lights; the greater symbolizing the priesthood; the lesser (which shines in a borrowed lustre,) representing the temporal power of kings, &c. We need, as some say, the authority of Scripture, to establish a type. Others say that many parts of the Old Testament are typical which are not declared to be so in the New Testament. However this may be, Paul gives us an example in Gal iv. 24, (see Rev. i. 20.) Still it is interesting, and may be useful to trace *correspondencies* between different and distant parts of God's dealings with our race, including what he has declared he will do, with that which Inspiration has recorded he has already done. In this point of view, the following comparison of particulars may not be without interest.

Adam was made the head of this lower creation, and God gave him dominion, Gen. i. 26, 28, but he lost it by disobedience. Satan usurped the crown as it fell from the head of Adam, and has ever since exerted a power, which though broken in upon, and greatly controlled, is yet so great, that he is called the prince of this world, John xii. 31; xvi. 11; xiv. 50; Ephesians ii. 2. Saul, also, was made the first king of Israel, 1 Sam. x. 1, 16; xi. 12, 15; but Saul disobeyed, and he, too, lost his dominion; 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14; xvi. 1. Thus both Adam and Saul received royal authority from God, and lost it by disobedience. In this there is a correspondency.—David was the second king of Israel, and he, too, was anointed by God's command, 1 Sam. xvi. 13. Upon both Saul and David, the Spirit of the Lord came, when they were anointed, and each had the Spirit of prophecy, 1 Sam. x. 10; xvi. 13, but as soon as David was anointed, the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul; 1 Sam. xvi. 14; x. 6, 10, 11. But David is a type of the Second Adam; that is, of our Lord Jesus Christ. The mercies of David are sure, and not like those of Saul; Jer. xxxiii. 17—11; 2 Sam. vii; and the righteousness of the Second Adam is everlasting; Dan. ix. 24; and not mutable like that of the first Adam. The royal covenant made with David, being sure, corresponds with the covenant of God with Christ the Second Adam—as David, the second king of Israel, corresponds with the kingship of the Second Adam, whose dominion will be perpetual.

David was a warrior, and his reign was militant, but he left his kingdom in peace to Solomon; and because his reign was militant, he was forbidden to build the temple; 2 Sam. vii; 1 Chron. xxviii. 2, 3. David's reign, therefore, may typify the church in its militant state, or the church in its condition before the millenium. In fact, David's personal history corresponds in several respects with the life

of our Lord on the earth. David was anointed king before he received the crown. He was persecuted by Saul after he was rightfully the king. So our Lord, though King of Israel, and was acknowledged as such by Nathaniel, John i. 49, yet he was not received by his own subjects to whom he came; John i. 11; xix. 15, and the usurping prince of this world who had gotten the dominion given to the first Adam, persecuted him, and caused him to go from place to place, as David did to escape Saul. But to proceed.

Solomon's reign was peaceful and glorious. He built a temple in great magnificence. The glory of Solomon was proverbial. "Solomon in all his glory." Solomon was very wise. His government was conducted with great skill. His reign, therefore, may be a type of the millennial reign of Christ, when all enemies will be subdued, Satan be bound, and universal peace and holiness prevail in the earth. So that the petition we offer, "thy kingdom come," will then be fully realized. Then the worship of God will be performed in a manner more becoming his august majesty than it is now. During David's reign, God walked in a tent and in a tabernacle, 2 Sam. vii. 6. The tent and the tabernacle may correspond with the temples of Christians during this militant state of the church, scattered as they are, and removed from place to place. But in the millennial reign, the worship of God will transcend our poor worship as much as the temple of Solomon did the tents and tabernacle of the reign of David. The Romanists, therefore, (but we will not say *therefore*; because the truth of the observation does not depend on these premises,) have greatly misconceived the nature and the objects of the dispensation of the church militant. During the millenium there may be a centre of unity. There may be a temple of which Solomon's was but a type, (2 Chronicles vii. 16,) and that temple may far surpass in splendour and glory the temple of Solomon. Again, David reigned forty years, viz. seven years in Hebron, and thirty-three years at Jerusalem, 1 Kings ii. 11, 12. Solomon also reigned forty years in Jerusalem, over all Israel, 2 Chron. ix. 30. Perhaps this may signify that the millennial condition of the church will continue as long at least as the militant state. Rehoboam was the successor of Solomon, and early in his reign the ten tribes revolted, 2 Chron. x. 1—17. Now this defection or apostacy may have a significant correspondency with the falling away or apostacy after the millenium, foretold by the apostle John, Rev. xx. 7, 9, when Satan will be loosed again, and get for a brief space, a new dominion in the earth.

It would be superfluous to caution the reader against receiving these suggestions as proofs. They are given rather as hints to be taken up and pursued or not, at the reader's pleasure. At least they may serve to quicken his attention in the reading of the Scriptures, and may lead him to make a comparison between different parts of the wonderful disclosures of the Word of God. We ought always, when opening the Scripture, to recall the precept, "Whoso readeth let him understand," and we cannot understand without making comparisons of one part of Scripture with others.

POPERY AT EMMITTSBURG: A SKIRMISH OF POSTS.

EMMITTSBURG is a small village situated at the south-eastern base of the Blue Ridge or South Mountain, in Frederick Co., Md., in the midst of a romantic and thickly settled country, whose inhabitants for some miles round the village are about equally divided between Christianity and popery. In the immediate vicinity of the place are two extensive popish establishments for the education of youth of both sexes, under the care of priests and nuns; which have long exerted a considerable influence on the circumjacent population, and been extensively patronized by protestants there and elsewhere. The protestant population is divided into Lutherans, German Reformed, Presbyterians, and Methodists; the first two, who are most numerous, having a large union church; the last two, smaller churches of their own.

During the autumn of 1842, a priest by the name of McCaffery, or some thing of that sort, set himself to work to glorify popery and speak ill of protestantism; and being the president of the boys' school in the vicinity, his proceedings excited a good deal of attention. Two protestant gentlemen of the place, having understood he was inclined to have a public discussion with some protestant, addressed a civil note to him to ascertain if it was so; and received for answer, an incivil and absolute declinature—interlarded with personal abuse of the editor of this periodical, by name—together with other gentlemen. This led, very naturally, to our being invited at that time to the village, to defend the cause of Divine truth: but providential circumstances prevented our accepting the invitation until very recently—when we went there and delivered four lectures. In the first, we endeavoured to prove that the Scriptures do plainly teach that during the gospel dispensation we are to expect a great, remarkable, permanent, and heaven-daring apostacy from the church of God; in the second, we tried to show that the word of God, the current of history, and the facts now existing, do all conclusively prove that the papal community is this predicted and fore-doomed apostacy; in the third, that Romanism, the great device of Satan, who is the father of lies, is like its author, utterly, fundamentally, and irrecoverably false; and in the fourth, that imbibing the spirit also of its author, who was from the beginning a murderer,—it is, in its whole progress and being, steeped in blood—the blood of the purest, and truest, and best. And so we closed the first chapter.

The result of the whole, as far as we can learn, was to stir up the protestant population to earnest and anxious inquiry; to unite and consolidate the protestant interest; to confirm the faith of God's people; to reclaim some who were ready to fall; and to awaken in the minds of some papists a spirit of investigation—and in others of the baser sort, that of diabolical malice and hate. The lectures were very numerous attended, and the auditors formed an intelligent selection of the population from eight or ten miles around the town.

All we have to add at present is, that as soon as we hear that Mr. President McCaffery, if that is his name, begins again to traduce our Master and our brethren, we will be ready to go back; and the

renewal of the abuse of us personally, will only insure our going. It is true we would have preferred—any time these nine years—to encounter some able, resolute, sincere, responsible defender of Romanism; but the lack of any such man, since there is no such *in esse*, shall not prevent us in time to come, any more than in times past, when it falls in our way—from giving such as can summon courage to howl us from a distance, a small lesson in mercy. Did President McCaffrey ever hear of the adventure of one Dr. Rider, in Frederick city, and its result? Perhaps if the gentlemen should meet, they might condole with each other.

SHORT NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

The (London) Christian Observer. January—June, 1843. Re-printed by Mason and others. We have carefully examined these six numbers, extending to 384 pretty compactly printed pages, as they came out. When called on by a ministerial friend of another denomination, to unite in the recommendation of the work preparatory to its republication in this country, we at first refused—according to our uniform habit in regard to works which we either have not thoroughly examined or do not cordially approve. But being a good deal urged, we at length consented to say in very guarded terms, that the work was no doubt able, and as far evangelical as any party in the English Establishment is, and that so far as it might operate to arrest the tendency to popery in that body and in the Episcopal church of America, we approved its republication; but that it was decidedly prelatial, and decidedly favourable to church establishments, in which respects we disapproved the work. We were happy to observe in the enormous printed list of American recommendations, that a few of our respected brethren occupied similar ground; but it is most remarkable and humiliating to notice the terms of extravagant and unbounded eulogy used by the greater part of the 300 ministers—most of them not prelatists—in regard to the work. We are now prepared to say, and we do it with deliberation and on mature reflection, that the publication is by great odds less able, less evangelical, less valuable in all respects, than even we supposed it to be; and that more unmerited commendations were seldom uttered than those so profusely lavished on it by the great majority of the 300 American clergymen. Besides

this, the publication is decidedly if not grossly unjust, unfair, and unchristian in its spirit and views upon nearly every question in which the Dissenters in England, or the Presbyterians in Scotland are concerned. Its politics are out and out Tory. Upon the whole, we can hardly conceive a more gratuitous injury done to the truly faithful people of God in the British Isles, than to bestow fulsome and groundless praises on this work which has little other recommendation than evangelism of the very faintest type.

A Vindication of the Scottish Covenanters, &c. By Thomas McCrie, D. D. Cumpbell & Co., Phila. N. Hickman, Balt., &c. 1843. The Scottish Covenanters were amongst the most remarkable men who ever appeared on the theatre of human affairs; and their principles and actions have been more vilely traduced by their enemies, and more carelessly passed over by the general student than those of any other important class or party that has existed in modern times. They derived their name from that "*Solemn League and Covenant*" of 1643, of which we have had occasion latterly, to speak several times; to the great principles of which their descendants have adhered, through good report and ill report, even to the present day. Whatever may be thought of the distinctive peculiarities of that very small section of the Presbyterian body in Great Britain and the United States who are still called *Covenanters* (though they call themselves *Reformed Presbyterians*, we believe;) and by which they have kept themselves aloof from the great body of Presbyterians since the *Revolution* (1688) *Settlement* in Scot-

land, against which they protested; it seems to us altogether inexplicable that any enlightened friend of liberty whether civil or religious, and especially any true hearted Presbyterian, can fail to cherish and revere the memory, the actions and the faith of men who for half a century, from 1638 till 1688, were the light of Europe, and who for the last nineteen years of that period endured a persecution as pitiless and unrelenting as disgraces the annals of mankind; a persecution which covers with infamy, the English government and church of that bloody era.—If ever the time shall return when professional preparation for the ministry of the Presbyterian church in this country, will be treated as if it were a work for men instead of a pastime for youths, and the object of that preparation shall be the making of thorough Presbyterian ministers, instead of the obtaining of the nicknackeries of the schools, and the patronage which follows favouritism in them; then, we presume amongst the important ends of theological education, the real study of ecclesiastical history with a view at once to enlighten the mind, to cultivate the faith, and to fix the principles of our ministers, will revive. We wish some enlightened old lady could hear such attempts as we have witnessed about half yearly for ten years past, made by persons enjoying what are considered unprecedented advantages, to give some account of the *Covenanters*.—We trust this little vol. of McCrie's may be the means of diffusing information and a thirst for more of it, upon one of the most illustrious eras in the history of the church; as well as correcting false and injurious impressions which the slanders and perversions of Sir Walter Scott (of whom this book is a review,) diffused like a subtle poison through so large a portion of his captivating romances, have created in so many minds. The great Duke of Marlborough, once stated in the house of Lords, some fact in English history which was evidently and grossly incorrect; and upon being asked upon what authority he did it, replied—after some hesitation—*Shakespeare!* And perhaps the popular ideas of Americans generally concerning those portions of Scottish and English history which are used to ornament the romances and plays of those great geniuses, are formed much more from those creations of fancy, than from sober study of authentic history. In the case of Scott and his injurious

misrepresentations of his Presbyterian countrymen, this is so deplorably true, that we should hazard nothing in asserting that ten of our ministers, perhaps fifty, and a thousand of our people could give us some tolerable account of one of his novels, where one could tell us an intelligible story about the rise, the principles, the sufferings, and the general influence of those illustrious Covenanters, whose fame ought to be our delight, and their spirit our birthright.—Is our generation capable of any thing really great and noble? Or is the shallow—vain—fussy—trickey—rigmarole—ostentatious spirit of our religion, our literature, our every thing that is abstract, incurable? Pity we could not get up a Board to teach *thinking*; or an agency; or at the least a professorship.—The people of Scotland seem as if they had some of the old spirit left. Their banner is unrolled far enough for men to read "*For Christ's Crown*;" and it may be when the storms burst it fully and broadly open, we shall see emblazoned still the remaining words of the glorious old legend—"and *Covenantant*."

Speech of the Rev. Dr. Matthews on the Lawfulness of Marrying a Deceased Wife's Sister. Delivered before the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, June, 1843. This title fully expresses the nature of a neatly printed pamphlet of 36 pages, which professes to have been "published by request." He must be truly "a beginner" in the controversy about incest, who is enlightened by the facts, or convinced by the reasonings of this speech. Take a sample, in the mode of dealing with unquestioned history—and that so near us as to be almost personal to us. Henry VIII. of England, according to Dr. Matthews, having got such advice as he desired, "*the law of the realm was made in conformity with Henry's wishes*;" and a little lower down, "*after Henry's reign, there were several enactments on the same subject often in strange contradiction one to another*," &c. p. 10. How amazing is it, and how offensive to every thing like good taste and sound discretion, that gentlemen of high standing should attempt to instruct others touching matters of which they cannot speak without showing that they themselves never examined them with care? The British Parliament instead of passing a law, as Dr. Matthews supposes, that a man should not marry

his dead wife's sister, in order to enable Henry to be rid of his dead brother's wife—which our latter day critics assure us is quite another thing; and instead of adding other and contradictory enactments, as Dr. Matthews farther asserts; passed a plain, brief, clear statute, which we should suppose—but for what has been said and published on the subject within a couple of years—every man on earth, whether he be bachelor, married man, or widower, minister, citizen, or serving-man, must cordially approve; to wit, *that marriages should not be contracted within the degrees of blood or affinity forbidden by almighty God.* Upon this legislation, of which this is the sum total, the question came from the ecclesiastical courts to which it had been confined before the reformation, into the civil courts of England; and in them, upon solemn argument in case after case, over which Henry VIII had no more power than Dr. Matthews, and about which he knew no more than he—and that is far less than we could wish; it was judicially held and decided that by the law of God, a man may not marry the sister of his deceased wife. It was held and decided so, by a long series of lawyers and judges, as able and as incorruptible as the world ever saw—simply and purely as a question of construction upon so much of the Bible as relates to incest. And upon this foundation the law of England and of all the states of this union (as we doubt not,) which make the Common Law and the early and general statutes of England the basis of their municipal code—to this day rests. The law of God as touching incest has been judicially expounded—and this is almost the only point upon which it has been so interpreted; and being subjected to this searching ordeal through successive ages, the general if not uniform result has been, that courts and lawyers, as well as ministers and synods, have agreed that the marriage now disputed is incestuous. And so far is the manner in which this settled point has become engrafted into the civil law from throwing any doubt or shade over the opinion commonly held by the church in all past ages, as Dr. Matthews and others, insinuate; that, in our judgment, it affords a most cogent and illustrious argument in favour of the truth of the church's doctrine. As we understand the matter in the Reformed Dutch Church, their law at this moment is very nearly the same as that of the British

Parliament denounced by Dr. Matthews, they having merely cancelled some decisions settling the sense of Scripture; and the Dutch Synod must do what the British courts did, decide cases as they arise. If they decide them as righteously, they will not err long nor very far; if they decide the general principles involved differently, they will have the sad distinction of being the first church reputed orthodox, if not the first community esteemed civilized, that presumed to say God approves such marriages; for even such of our legislatures as permit such incest, do it (as in their doctrine of divorce and many more,) not on God's authority, but by their own; having this credit, at least, that when they violate essential and eternal principles of right, they have a gleam of common sense and natural conscience left, which forbids them to lay their sins upon their Creator.—The last General Assembly of the Presbyterian church (amid much wise and firm action in relation to this subject,) did one most improvident thing, in constituting a committee to report on it to the next Assembly; and thereby kept up the disturbance amongst us upon a most painful and exciting question, which nothing but criminal neglect of our discipline ever allowed to be a practical difficulty amongst us. One result of this conduct is already manifest in the deluge of pamphlets which are inundating the churches in favour of what our standards and people surely condemn as incest. There is our faith embodied in our *doctrinal* standards; let it alone. It is by no means clear that there is any *ordinary* power, or way, or right, to change it; it is absolutely sure that the bulk of our ministers and members do not at present wish it changed: it is highly probable that a successful effort to change it would produce a wide and fatal schism. How could a man in Virginia, Kentucky, and other states where these marriages are punishable by indictment, and as he believes, properly too, hold up his head as a minister of a church which should venture to say God permits them? What is to be gained, but trouble, by favouring this controversy; and tolerating an endless agitation in the courts of the church, of questions which no mortal can suppose are not clearly and precisely defined in the Confession of Faith? If that were dubious—if the question were what is the doctrine of our standards, the case would be different. But

there is and can be no pretext of a difficulty on that head. It is a combination to change the ancient, settled, and explicit faith of the church; a faith she has refused, over and over again, to alter in the least particular; a faith common to the church of God since he ever gave it a written revelation. Why then, we demand again, should the church courts connive at and foster such agitations and turmoils? If men do not like our faith—the world is before them—and is very wide. God gave us no commission to make a religion—but only to hold, practice, and teach his. We have by mutual and solemn covenant, settled what we judge to be fundamental in that; and have patiently and repeatedly heard all sorts of attacks and arguments requiring this portion to be changed. Now let us be done with a subject so fully, solemnly, determinately settled, and whose possible change would be so fatal. All that is needful is a little more discipline. If men will rather walk in the light of their own eyes than keep their vows to God and his church, that church has a plain duty to perform towards them: let her perform it firmly, temperately, meekly—and her part is acted.

Apocalyptical Key, &c. &c. By Robert Fleming, V. D. M. Campbell & Co. Phil. N. Hickman, Balt. 1843. The great departments of Scripture truth are its moral, its doctrine, and its prophecies. No doubt, speaking in the largest sense, every duty flows from some previously ascertained truth, which being first established, the manner of its action becomes a law, and the practical duty follows; and in philosophy and morality in their largest acceptation, this is the process—and hence both of them as so obscure to the great mass of men, seeing that ultimate truth and the deduction of fixed and rational laws concerning it, and the establishment of settled duties based thereon, are matters far out of the reach of most minds. In revealed truth the process is somewhat different, and very much clearer and more certain. It being ascertained that God has revealed to man a code of perfect morality, the ultimate truth here is the naked fact of the revelation of the precept; and so the rule is clear and the duty plain—entirely independently, to us, of the anterior truth upon which the revealed duty is based in the mind of God, or if the expression is preferred, in the nature of things. So it follows

that the reverse of what occurs in natural religion and general philosophy, is true in Christian morals; in the former, truth being clearer than duty which is founded on it; in the latter, the immediate will of God being interposed as the proximate truth upon which our duties rest, it is obvious that the moral is far clearer than the doctrinal portion of Scripture. What may be the future conduct of Providence in the working out of vast, complicated and transcendently glorious plans, in the midst of all which those great but remote truths upon which Christian morality itself ultimately rests in the mind of God, (but before which, as regards us, he has mercifully placed his precepts based on them,) will still continue to operate; it is manifestly impossible for the limited capacity of man even to conjecture. To some extent, God has been pleased to reveal to his people, what he would do before he did it. But the intrinsic complexity and vastness of the subject would render it extremely difficult for us to comprehend more than the naked facts which God should condescend to reveal in ever so plain a way; and when he does this, of set purpose, obscurely and in figures and types which are themselves often hard to be comprehended, the difficulties of the subject are immensely increased. Unfulfilled prophecy therefore is out of all comparison a more difficult portion of Scripture than the doctrinal part of it, as this has been shown to be greatly more so than the moral portion. What we ought to do, is revealed with perfect clearness; what we ought to believe is by no means so obvious, nor so easily settled; but what God will do is above all, hard to determine. Hence we see that amongst pious people there is little difference of opinion as to Christian morals; but there is very great diversity of belief on many points; and there is no other Babel equal to that confusion which prevails, and has always prevailed in regard to unfulfilled prophecy.—This work of Mr. Fleming has attracted some attention from a lucky guess or two, which seemed to have some semblance of fulfilment a century after they were hazarded, (in a very modest way, it must be allowed;) and we have taken the trouble to peruse it attentively, twice; once, some years ago, and again just now. The principal effect it produces on our mind is to perplex it, and obscure the whole subject; which indeed is the best we can say for most of that portion of religious litera-

ture that treats of the subject of prophecy, so far as we have examined it—which, for a long time and to a large extent, we have done. This remark, however, is rather intended to apply to the general theories and principles of expositors, than to their entire labours; for there are few whose works are fa-

miliar to us, from whom we have not, as we think, derived valuable information and important suggestions; which is the case also with this treatise of Mr. Fleming, in which (as well as in the Appendix to it) the reader may find some curious things, and a good deal of instructive matter.

BUSINESS NOTICES, & C.

New Subscribers. E. D. Cullen, Esq., Georgetown, Delaware, name added from July 1843, and back Nos. sent, by order of Mr. S. of Middleford.—By order of P. M., Mount Clio P. O., Sumpter District, S. C. the name of Rev. W. M. Reid of that place, added from April last, and that of Mr. Wm. Wilson, Mars Bluff P. O., Marion District, added from May last; back Nos. in both cases sent, and both paid in full to the end of this year; see private letter to the P. M.—Rev. Robert Wilson, Williamsport, Md. from May last, and back Nos. sent, by order of the P. M. there.

Payments. N. B. Barron, St. Cha's Mo., \$8 credited to his account, received through the P. M. of that place; which lacks \$2 of being in full to the end of this year.—James Johnston, Esq., Cincinnati, \$3, and his account corrected as per his letter of August 1; at the end of this year 50 cents will stand to his credit.—Rev. James C. Barnes, Dayton, Ohio, \$5 in full to the end of this year.—James Stonestreet, Esq. of Clarke Co Ky. \$3 in full to the end of this year, and 50 cts. over.—P. M. Tuscaloosa, Ala. \$10, by order of Capt. J. H. Dearing of that place, which pays his own account and that of Rev. W. A. Scott, of New Orleans, (five dollars each) to the end of this year.—P. M. Williamsport, Md. \$3 on account of Dr. M. A. Finley, which lacks 75 cents of being in full to the end of this year.—James Prather, Esq. Louisville, Ky., \$7, by the hands of the P. M. which pays to the end of 1841, lacking 50 cents.—Maj. John W. Overton, Lexington, Ky., \$5, for 1842 and '43.—Rev. J. B. Spottswood, New-Castle, Delaware, \$2,50 for 1843.—Mr. A. B. Silliman, paid on the 18th of July to a friend in New Jersey, for us, to the credit of Rev. R. B. McMullen, Knoxville, Tenn. \$2,50, which he supposed to be for 1842, and for which our friend received as for that year.—Mr. B. R. Ly-

on, N. O. \$5, which pays to the end of 1841.—Rev. Andrew Todd, Jacksonville, Illinois, \$10, in full to the end of 1843.—Rev. Dr. Herron, Pittsburg, Pa. \$5, in full to the end of 1843.—Rev. J. L. Yantis, Lexington, Missouri, \$5 for 1842 and '3.—Col. Wm. H. Allen, of Va., by the hands of Thomas P. Williams, Esq., \$7,50, in full to the end of this year.

Changes. John Mahard, Jun. direction changed to Springfield, Illinois.—Rev. Samuel Hogo to Belmont, by order of P. M. Trenton, Tennessee.

Discontinuances. P. M. city of N. Y., for Rev. Joshua Butts, "Reason, Refused;" we shall be happy to receive the \$7,50 for which a bill was sent some time ago; or in default thereof, some good reason for non-payment.—Rev. A. D. Montgomery, \$5,—less 37½ cents postage,—in full to the end of this year and discontinues at that time: (the \$2,50 were paid by Dr. Plummer, in June 1842, but were for the previous year. Mr. M. has taken the work four years, including this, and has now paid \$10; to wit, the sums above stated, and a previous sum of \$2,50 in July 1840.)

Answers to Letters. The P. M. at St. Francisville, La, is informed that the money sent (\$10,) by the hands of Rev. J. L. Montgomery to be credited to the account of Mr. W. R. Barrow was duly received, duly credited, and duly notified to Mr. B. in an account sent to him privately; the arrangement he proposed not being proper for us to accept.—The payment on behalf of the Rev. J. K. Burch of Lexington, Ky. referred to in the note of the P. M. of that place, never reached us, as we believe.—Rev. H. R. Wilson, Bucks Co. Pa.—hoping to see him at the approaching Synod in Baltimore, we defer sending the Nos. by mail.—Rev'd George Morris, Mechanicsburg, Pa., letter of 12th August, entirely satisfactory.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

OCTOBER, 1843.

No. 10.

[For the Spirit of the XIX. Century.]

AN INTERPRETATION OF JOHN III. 3—5.—PART I.

Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.

Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?

Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

THE expression "kingdom of God," as used in the Gospels, sometimes unquestionably signifies that future heavenly and glorious kingdom into which all true believers in the Lord Jesus Christ will be received by him at his second coming in power and great glory. I do not insist that the expression has uniformly and every where this sense, and no other. The common opinion is that the expression often has another meaning; it being supposed to denote in many places, the evangelical state, or the state of the gospel on earth; although never without some allusion to its consummate state in the world of glory. The object I have in view does not require an examination of this question. It is sufficient, if the reader concedes that the expression may have the higher sense, in every place where the context does not clearly show, that it must be understood in the lower sense of the gospel dispensation, or the evangelical state. Let us assume then that our Lord in his conversation with Nicodemus, spoke of the future heavenly and glorious kingdom of God. Thus understood, the doctrine is true. For certain it is, that except a man be born again he cannot see the heavenly and glorious kingdom of God.

The word (*ανωθεν*) here translated "again" naturally and usually signifies *from above*.* So it is rendered in the 31st verse of this chapter, and in John xix. 11. It is not necessary to contend that it may not have in some places the more general sense of *again*. But as the former is the more frequent, indeed the usual sense, not only in the New Testament but in all Greek authors, we shall do no violence to

*The reason given by most commentators for understanding the word *ανωθεν* in the sense of *δευτερον*, is that Nicodemus so understood it. But Nicodemus does not appear to be a very good authority, as by his own showing he was quite ignorant of our Lord's meaning. Grotius says "Haud dubie *ανωθεν* est iterum *δευτερον*, ut mox accipit Nicodemus, qui significatu vocis dubio falli non potuit, cum in Hebræo aut Syriaco non sit ea ambiguitas." See Bloomfield Crit. Dig. for an array of authorities for this rendering. It is safer, however, to depend upon the words of the Evangelist than on any surmise, as to the language which our Lord may be supposed to have used. It is true that a man having been once born, if he is afterwards born, he is born *δευτερον* iterum, denuo, but such a general sense may differ widely from the sense of this expression, if it were designed to show specifically the manner of the second birth, or the source from which it proceeds. Erasmus renders the word *e supernis* and Montanus *desursum*. Syrus vertit *ανωθεν e principio*.

the passage by so translating it; "Except a man be born *from above* he cannot see the heavenly and glorious kingdom of God."

The word (*γεννηθῆναι*) here translated "be born" may signify *be begotten*. The word (*γεννω*) from which we derive it, has the two fold signification of (*gigno* and *pario*)* to beget and to bring forth, and in its passive form the two-fold signification,† to be begotten, brought forth, or born, occurs. Beza, Piscator and the author of the Syriac Version understand the word in this place in the sense of (*gigno*) to beget, although the Vulgate, Erasmus, Montanus,‡ and many others adopt the sense (of *nascor*) to be born. As the word may have either, let us assume, with Beza, what may be called the causative sense of the active form of the verb, which is, indeed, the primitive and proper sense. It is in this sense only, that the passage *directly* teaches the doctrine of *regeneration*. Making these alterations in the translation, the passage will read thus: "Except a man be begotten from above, he cannot see the (heavenly and glorious) kingdom of God."

My next postulate, will, I trust, be readily granted. It is this: that our Lord, in this idea of "generation from above" included the *whole* of that change|| which is requisite to qualify its subject for the heavenly and glorious kingdom of God. Regeneration, in the theological sense, denotes a work of the Holy Spirit on the soul of man in this life. But flesh and blood, the apostle teaches, cannot inherit the kingdom of God. The body of the believer, therefore, must be changed by the power of the Holy Spirit, as well as his soul, and this change upon his body will be wrought at the resurrection. If, therefore, our Lord, by the expression under consideration, referred to the *whole* of that change which a man (as a being composed of a body, soul and spirit) must undergo before he can see the kingdom of God, he taught the doctrine of the resurrection.§ I do not how-

* Augustine Civit Dei, lib. xviii, c. 8, uses these words in speaking of certain monstrous beings, "quibus utriusque sexus esse naturam, et dextram mammam virilem sinistram muliebrem vicibusque alternis coeundo et *gignere* et *parere*."

† *γεννω* Gigno et pario, non solum *gigno* sed etiam *pro-luce* significat. Unde liber Geneseos dictus propter terræ creationem, non tantum de editione partus in lucem, ut Math. ii, 1; Rom. ix, 11; Heb. xi, 23; Luke i, 57. Est nomen generale, non solum viris gignentibus, sed etiam mulieribus parturientibus competens. *Proprie est virorum: per quandum catachresin* interdum usurpatur de fœminis. Leigh Crit Sac. ad voc. Vide Schleusner.

‡ "Nisi quis *genitus* sit *iterum* non potest videre," etc. Beza. "Nisi quis *genitus* fuerit *denuo* non potest," etc. Fabricius *Transl. ex Syriac. and Piscator*. "Nisi quis *renatus* fuerit *denuo*," etc. *Vulg.* "Si non quis *natus* fuerit *desursum*," etc. Montanus. "Nisi quis *natus* fuerit *e supernis*," etc. Erasmus.

|| And why is it not at least as reasonable to suppose our Lord included the whole as only a part if his language fairly interpreted may as well embrace the whole as only a part? Whether it will or not, we shall see.

§ If it be inquired why our Lord did not use the words *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν* instead of *ἀνωθεν*, if such was his meaning, it may be answered that such a form of expression would exclude those of the Lord's people who shall be alive at his coming, who will not be unclothed of their bodies but clothed upon, and their mortality be swallowed up in life. Yet the change wrought upon such, by the mighty power of God, will be a begetting into a new state of existence, not less wonderful, than the resurrection of those who have fallen asleep. Phil. iii, 21—1 Thes. iv, 17.

ever ask the reader to yield this as a settled point. My purpose will be answered if he concedes that the terms of the expression are ample enough to include the regeneration of the body as well as of the soul. The word (ἄνθρωπος) translated "a man" is the subject of which the thing affirmed, is predicated, and I know of no reason why we are obliged to understand this word of the soul and spirit only, and not of the whole man as he now exists. It may be objected, however, that the word (γεννηθῆναι) translated "born" can be understood only of a work upon the soul, but it seems to me that this is the reverse of the truth. In its primary sense it is applied to a natural generation or birth, which certainly includes the body as well as the spiritual nature of its subject. But not to rest the point on this ground, I proceed now to prove that the word (γεννηθῆναι) translated born (or begotten) may be applied to the resurrection. In Ps. ii, 8. we have the following expression: "Thou art my Son, this day (γεννηθήκα σε) have I begotten thee." In Acts xiii, 33. this expression is quoted, and declared by Paul to have been fulfilled in the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. These two passages then, taken together, directly prove that the word (γενναω) to beget, may signify to raise from the dead. In Rev. i, 5. the Lord Jesus Christ is called the first begotten of (or rather from among) the dead, (πρωτότοκος, εκ των νεκρων) and the same expression, (though it is translated first born)* occurs in Col, i, 18. These are proofs scarcely less direct than that before cited. In Luke xx, 36, we find another example of the same style of speech. It is there said that those who shall be accounted worthy to attain the resurrection from the dead **** are sons of God, being *sons of the resurrection*: that is, their resurrection is evidence that they are the sons of God, since, in their resurrection they are begotten by the power of God from among the dead. Paul's exposition of Psal. ii, 8, authorizes this interpretation. The same idea we find also in Rom. i, 3, where the resurrection of the Lord Jesus is alleged as a proof of his sonship. Nor is this idea unnatural: for if we consider, upon physical principles, the formation of the human body from its conception to its natural birth, in respect to the source from which the material, of which it is composed is derived, we find it is from the earth. It may be considered as a method, by which the natural body is gradually and through various processes, (beyond the reach of science to explore and reveal,) taken from and raised out of the earth, which is the thing which will be done suddenly and in the least assignable space of time by the mighty power of God at the resurrection of believers. I am not concerned however to justify the expression,† but only to prove

* Τικτῆναι parere significat non gignere, et matri convenit, non patri. *Piscator.* Yet πρωτότοκος may be rendered *primogenitus*, first begotten as well as first born, as the translators of our version have done; Rom. viii, 29; Col. i, 15—19; Heb. i, 6. xi, 28. xii, 23; Rev. i, 5. The argument however does not depend upon the critical use of this word; for in either sense it is an example of the *mode* of expression under consideration.

† Nicodemus understood the birth or generation spoken of, as extending to the *whole* man. His mind rested chiefly upon the difficulty which man's corporeal part would present. How can a man be begotten when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be begotten? I do not rely upon Nicodemus's understanding as an authority, though if it be sufficient to prove

that such is or may be its scriptural import; and if, as Professor Bush remarks on Gen. ii, 4, "events of whatever kind are sometimes said in the style of scripture to be begotten," (Prov. xxvii, 1; Psal. xc, 2,)* an event so stupendous as the resurrection and the reproduction of the whole man—body, soul and spirit—in a new, glorious and immortal state, may with the greatest propriety be so denominated.

I pass now to the fifth verse. Whatever may be the meaning of the expression already considered, Nicodemus did not understand it. Our Lord therefore stated his doctrine in a new form: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." I have supposed, that by the former expression, our Lord intended to teach the doctrine of the glorious resurrection of believers, or their complete regeneration at his second coming in glory. The doctrine of the resurrection, though it is commonly considered as having respect to the body only, really implies the previous regeneration of the soul: for the bodies of those only, whose souls have been renewed in this life, will be thus gloriously raised at the second coming of the Lord,† and received into the kingdom of God. But the resurrection being a future event—an object of faith and hope, not of observation or experience, and withal so mighty and vast, that the mind of the most highly favoured servants of God can form but imperfect conceptions of it; our Lord, in condescension to the ignorance of Nicodemus, drops his discourse from that high and heavenly theme, to things of earth which do come within the observation and experience of men in this life, and which Nicodemus, as a master and teacher of Israel, ought to have known—to things however, which are in order to, and which where both, and sometimes where one of them takes place, will infallibly be followed by that high and perfect work of which he first spoke. Herein, I conceive, consists the difference between the two expressions.‡ I know the common

that *αυθεν* means merely *δευτερος*, I know not why it should not be sufficient upon this point. Our Lord's reply however takes up this conception: "That which is begotten of the flesh, is flesh," and therefore could a man enter a second time into his mother's womb and be begotten, it would not help: but "that which is begotten of the spirit is spirit." And Paul teaches that when the Holy Spirit shall raise the dead saints, he will invest them with spiritual bodies. 1 Cor. xv. 44.

* *Πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη γενεθῆσαι* Ps. lxxxix. 2. LXX. Heb. *yalladu* from *yalad*. *γενῶν*, *gignō* not *γίνομαι*, "Before the mountains were begotten," i. e. created.—See Gen. ii, 4. Heb. et LXX. Liber Geneseos dictus propter terræ creationem, non de editione partus in lucem. Leigh, ubi supra.

† This remark proceeds upon the Millenarian hypothesis of a first resurrection which will take place at the coming of Christ, at which believers will be raised up in glorious bodies; and a second or general resurrection of the rest of the dead, after the Millennium. The reader may, however, discard this hypothesis, and still admit, consistently with his own opinions, all the above remarks require: for the regeneration of the body, at the resurrection supposed to be spoken of by our Lord, is that glorious resurrection, which Paul describes in 1 Cor. xv. which will fit its subjects for the inheritance and enjoyment of the kingdom of God. No one supposes that the wicked will be the subjects of any such physical change (if the expression may be allowed) as this.

‡ Many things are said in scripture *συγκαταβητικῶς* or by way of condescension as well to us for whom the record was designed as to the immediate hearers.

opinion is, that the expression in the third verse translated "born again," means the same precisely as the expression in the fifth verse translated "born of water and of the spirit." But the proof of their equivalency cannot be found in the expressions themselves, for it cannot be proven that *αναθεν* translated *again* necessarily or grammatically signifies the same as *εξ υδατος και πνευματος* translated *of water and of the Spirit*. The reader I grant is entitled to demand sufficient proof that the difference is such as I have stated. All I ask him to concede in this place therefore is, that the two forms of expression do not grammatically or necessarily import the same thing.

I suppose then, that by the expression in the fifth verse, our Lord inculcated the doctrine of baptism* and spiritual regeneration, or that work of the Holy Spirit upon the soul of man in this life which is commonly so denominated, whereas by the expression in the third verse he inculcates the doctrine of perfect regeneration, or that mighty change which the Holy Spirit will effect upon the believer at the resurrection, in raising his body, and reuniting it to his already purified soul so making him a new, perfect, glorious and an immortal man. Upon this hypothesis I ask the reader's attention to the expression (*γεννηθη εξ υδατος*) "born of water." We find the expression "born of woman," (*γεννητος γυναικος*) occurring repeatedly both in the Old and New Testament. The expression under consideration, though in the translation it is similar in form, obviously must refer to an event altogether of a different kind. In fact the form of the expression is different in the original as the reader will perceive by referring to the places noted in the margin.†

The word translated "born," may, for the reasons before suggested,

Our Lord knew that Nicodemus would not understand his doctrine any better when stated in the second form than he did as first stated; but for our sakes the conversation took the turn it did; and there is nothing improbable that our Lord should begin with setting forth one of the deepest mysteries of revelation; the completed *παλιγγενεσις* of redeemed man at the resurrection, connected as it is with the *παλιγγενεσις* of all things in the kingdom of God of which he spoke; and afterwards turn his discourse upon the incipency of that work which is begun by the Holy Spirit upon the souls of men in this life. The transition was from the *end* to the *beginning* of one and the same work of the Holy Spirit. Easily may we suppose, that the greatest saint may be absolutely unable to conceive rightly of the greatness and glory of his complete regeneration at the appearing of Christ, (1 John iii, 2.) and yet he may form very clear views of the work of renewing begun in his own soul by the Holy Spirit.

* This place has been greatly misinterpreted by Papists, which perhaps has led some Protestants to deny that baptism is referred to by these words. See Calvin upon this verse, and Calvin's Commentary. The Papists maintain from this place the necessity of baptism to the salvation of infants. They also hold baptism to be a sacrament which giveth grace *ex opere operato*. The Pelagians, as appears by Augustine, (lib. de Peccato, cap. 10.) maintained that although infants dying without baptism could not enter into the *kingdom of God*, yet they would enter the *kingdom of heaven* and have eternal life, as if the kingdom of heaven spoken of in the Gospel of Matthew, were not the same kingdom as the kingdom of God. Augustine urges this place against them. It must be admitted that the expression "born of water" is not the usual mode of denominating or describing baptism. Still I think that baptism is meant by it, as will be seen by what follows. The reasons for this belief I shall not anticipate.

† Job. xiv, 1; xv, 14; xxv, 4; LXX. Matt. xi, 11. *γεννητως γυναικων* Luke vii, 28.

be rendered in this place also *begotten*.* The word (ἐξ) translated "of," may be translated *from*, or *out of*. Thus altered, the expression runs "except a man be begotten from water or out of water." If this alteration seem trivial to the reader and as tending in no degree to make the sense more clear, I must request him to hold his judgment in suspense till the drift of these observations shall more fully appear. Upon the remainder of this expression (καὶ πνεύματος) "and of the Spirit." I beg the reader to observe that the preposition (ἐξ) "of," though omitted in the original, is supplied (and I submit improperly) by the translators. If by (πνεύματος) Spirit we are to understand (as I have no doubt we should) the Holy Spirit, it is impossible that the preposition can be understood of both (water and spirit) in the same sense. It will not be contended by any,† I presume, that a renewed man is born or begotten of water and born or begotten of the Holy Spirit in the same sense—or that water is an *agent* acting concurrently with the Holy Spirit, operating in the same way and with the same kind of efficiency, or in fact with any extrinsic efficacy; and if not, then we must of necessity—if we use the same preposition—use it in a different sense. The truth is, the conjunction (καὶ) *and* in this expression serves to connect (πνεύματος) Spirit with the word (γεννηθῆναι) "born" or "begotten," and the whole expression may be translated thus: "Except a man be begotten out of water, and except a man be begotten by‡ the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

* "Nisi quis fuerit *genitus* ex aqua et Spiritu." *Beza*. So *Fabricius* Transl. ex Syriac, and so *Piscator*. verse 6. Quod *genitum* est ex : arne caro est: Quod *genitum* est ex spiritu, spiritus est. (vs 7.) Ne mireris me dixisse tibi, Oportet vos iterum *gigni*. *Beza*, *Piscator*.

† The Tractarians, (See Tract No. 67, chap. 2.) in an argument upon baptismal regeneration do indeed say, that "baptism is spoken of as the source of our spiritual birth as no other cause is, save God. We are not said namely, to be born again of faith or love or prayer, or any grace which God worketh in us, but to be born of water." Their object is to exalt the use of the element of water as a means of *spiritual regeneration* above all other means; and they evidently wish us to understand the expression ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος as though the evangelist had used the preposition (ἐκ) before πνεύματος as well as ὕδατος, and in the same sense. Hence they cite an expression from 1 Pet. i, 23. being born again, (οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς) not of corruptible seed but incorruptible *διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ* through the word of the living God. It is conceded that the preposition ἐκ may be used in the sense they give to it but it may also be used in the sense given to it above; and where it is not used at all, we may well require an argument or reason to prove that it should be supplied, especially if the object be to prove that water is efficient and active in any degree, as God is efficient and active in renewing the soul of man in this life. Besides, as the sense above given to the expression flows naturally from the words without addition or interpolation, it ought to be shewn, that it cannot be the true sense, especially as the object of the interpolation of the preposition before πνεύματος is to get a ground or reason for giving it the same sense before ὕδατος as it must have before πνεύματος if it were actually joined with it.

‡ γεννητός γυναικός brought forth or produced by woman. ἐν μήτρῃ γεννηθῆναι **** πνεύματος. Except one be begotten *** by the spirit. I cannot but think the preposition was omitted before πνεύματος with design. It is by the power of the Holy Spirit, that the souls of men are renewed in this life, and by his power will their bodies be raised from the dead, or be changed

These observations premised, I proceed to state a point of connexion between the doctrine of our Lord as differently expressed in the third and fifth verses. In the first expression, our Lord referred, as I have supposed, to the resurrection itself, which is a work the Holy Spirit will perform at the last day. By the expression "begotten from water or out of water," our Lord referred to baptism as an action symbolical of the resurrection. The difference then in this respect is that which exists between a symbol, and that which the symbol represents. Baptism was an ordinance appointed by God, the meaning of which, Nicodemus as a spiritual guide of his people, should have known. Its use was to set forth, symbolically, the resurrection of the body, or, rather I would say, this was one of its uses. Hence, as I apprehend, our Lord, upon resuming his discourse, after the interruption of Nicodemus, (see verse 4.) maintains the figurative form of expression he had previously adopted. "To be born of water," or "to be begotten out of water," is a singular expression to denote the rite of baptism. But having (in verse 3d) expressed the idea of resurrection, under the image of a "begetting from the dead," by a power of the Holy Spirit *from above*, our Lord extends the same figurative form of expression to baptism which he here refers to especially as symbolically setting forth the same event.*

at the coming of Christ. If the word *ex* therefore were supplied in this phrase after *exi* it must mean something *toto celo* diverse from what it does before *υδατος*. In verse 6 it is true the preposition is used, both before *σαρκος* and *πνευματος*, but there is a sort of analogy between natural and spiritual generation; which does not exist between the use of water as a sign and the energy of the Spirit.

* We hear much of "baptismal regeneration," but nothing of "baptismal resurrection," and yet "baptismal regeneration" can mean nothing more than *baptismal resurrection*. Theologians have as ample warrant for the use of the latter phrase as of the former. "If ye then," says Paul, Col. iii, 1, "*be risen (or have been raised up) with Christ, seek those things,*" &c. The Apostle's allusion in this place is to what he had said (in the previous chapter, vs 12.) *Buried with him in baptism wherein ye are also risen with him through the faith of the operation of God who hath raised him from the dead.*" Here then is a comparison or contrast stated by the apostle between the symbolical action of baptism, and the real things which baptism represents. The death of Christ was real; his burial was real; his resurrection a glorious reality. The bodies of the Colossian saints (which though supposed to be dead, vs. 13, were not so in the sense of the actual extinction of animal life,) had been buried symbolically, that is in baptism, by being put under the water, and afterwards symbolically raised from the dead by being raised out of the water. On the ground then of this resemblance, the apostle addresses the Colossian saints as persons raised from the dead: but they were such only in figure. They had been begotten from or out of water. But we must observe that the apostle follows the example of our Lord, in not resting the matter upon their mere baptism or resurrection in a figure: For, as our Lord adds, "and by the spirit," so Paul (v. 12.) connects with their baptismal resurrection, "*faith of the operation of God,*" who raised up Jesus from the dead really, and not merely in a figure. I add an extract from Chrysostom on John iii. "*Nisi quis renatus fuerit etc. Sicut in quodam sepulchro in aqua submergentibus nobis capita, vetus homo sepelitur, et submersus deorsum occultatur, et deinde novus rursus ascendit.*" It is on the ground of this symbolical import of baptism, that it is called a putting off of the body, Col. ii, 11, and the Colossian Christians on the same ground are said to have "put off the old man," iii, 9. It is with the same allusion the apostle exhorts the Ephesians to put off the old man. Eph. iv, 22. They had done so in the figure of baptism. So he alludes

That baptism is designed to shew forth symbolically the resurrection of the body, is proven by Rom. vi, 4. and Col. ii, 12.* In fact it also represents in the same way the burial of the body, which presupposes its death. The rite, as I suppose it was anciently performed, consisted in putting the body under water, which represented its burial, and the raising of the body out of the water, which set forth its resurrection to a new life. But as baptism is man's act, though symbolical of an act which the Holy Spirit will perform, it was needful to add the clause (καὶ πνεύματος) "and by the Spirit." Baptism is not the resurrection, and although performed by the appointment of God, it insures not the performance of that which it sets forth. If connected with a work of the Holy Spirit upon the soul it becomes a symbol of that which God will surely perform: for we know that if the Holy Spirit begins the work of renewing he will surely carry it

to their symbolical resurrection from their baptism when he exhorts them (Eph. iv, 24) to put on the new man; because in the resurrection they will really put on new bodies.

Much of the apostle's reasoning in his different epistles is to be explained upon this principle. As where he speaks of the Corinthian church as *having reigned* (1 iv. 8.) the point of the observation is found in this figurative import of baptism, to which he tacitly refers. For as the saints, when they shall be actually raised from the dead will actually reign with Christ, (2 Tim. ii, 12; Rev. v, 10; xx, 6.) so these Corinthian Christians having been baptized and thus figuratively raised from the dead, might also (in a figure) think themselves to have reigned already, but only in a figure. For the apostle adds, "I would to God ye did reign," not figuratively merely but in reality, for then Christ's kingdom would in reality have come in open manifestation; his dead saints would in reality have been raised from the dead, and his living saints in reality changed into new life, and in this we (Paul and Sothenes) have a great personal interest for we then should "reign with you" in Christ's kingdom come in reality and power. This expression (which is parenthetical, or aside of the train of thought) is therefore nothing more than the utterance of a desire for the coming of Christ; as much so as John's "Come Lord Jesus, come quickly." Commentators, I am aware, explain this place differently, but they differ among themselves as widely as they do from this interpretation.

* Rom. vi, 4. Therefore we being buried (in a figure) by baptism (which is performed by putting the body under water as the dead body of a man is put under ground) with him (that is Christ) unto death; that, as Christ was raised up from (among) the dead by the glory of the Father; so we too (being raised from the water after our baptism which figuratively represents the resurrection of our bodies from among the dead) should walk in newness of life (or as those should walk who have been actually raised from the dead to a new life—that is to a physically or corporeally, as well as spiritually, regenerated state.)

Col. ii, 12. Being buried together with him in baptism (by being put under the water as the dead body of a man when it is buried is put under ground) in which ye are also raised together with him (as the body after being submerged in baptism is raised again out of the water; and thus symbolically representing the resurrection from the dead) through faith, &c.

I do not suppose, however, that baptism *by immersion* is the only proper mode of baptism, any more than I suppose that none will hereafter be raised from the dead, whose bodies were not actually buried under the ground. It is however a proper mode, and probably it was the mode commonly practiced in the early Christian church; and when so performed the action more significantly represents the resurrection. But however performed if rightly performed (and the scriptures do not prescribe the mode) it signifies the things which God has appointed it to signify. See Dan. iv, 30. lxx. where it is said the body of Nebuchadnezzar (ιδάφῃ) was wet with the dew of heaven.

on to its consummation in the day of the Lord's coming in power. This work of grace upon the soul of man in his conversion, is commonly called regeneration. That it is a real work of the Holy Spirit of God,—that it is a work indispensable to salvation, I not only grant, but firmly maintain. Not only this, I maintain further, that the inception of this work of the Holy Spirit, is a sure pledge of its completion in the resurrection of the body in glory. But I maintain that this is not the whole of regeneration. It is, on the contrary, but the inception of the work of regeneration in the scriptural sense of the word. According to the view suggested, our Lord did not in this place refer to baptism, as a figure, or a symbolical representation of the work of the Holy Spirit upon the soul of man in this life, but rather as a representation of that *future* work which the Holy Spirit will perform upon the body of the believer (whose soul he has already renewed) in raising it to a new and glorious and immortal life at the resurrection. This work we may call perfect regeneration. In the first of the expressions I have considered, our Lord refers *directly* to this perfected work of regeneration. In the second, he refers to the same work through the symbolical action of baptism, but connecting with it (what is indispensable to the production of new life, whether in soul or body,) the agency of the Holy Spirit, always begun in this life (if begun at all) often carried on through a series of years in the progressive sanctification of the believer, but which will be completed only at the resurrection in the reproduction of the whole man in the image of the glorified manhood of the Lord Jesus.

[For the Spirit of the XIX. Century.]

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

PART I.

PERHAPS there is no section of ecclesiastical history of equal importance to American Presbyterians, which has been so little studied by them as that which describes the rise and progress, the decline and ruin of the English Presbyterian church. On some accounts, this appears remarkable. The literature, the laws, the politics, the customs, the traditions, the very superstitions of England, at least up to the epoch of our revolution, possess a peculiar charm to Americans in general, and are, very properly, studied by us, as though they were our own, and not those of a foreign nation. The American student explores the rubbish of Saxon chroniclers to detect amid the darkness and confusion of the heptarchy some precious principle of human liberty. He notes it in the institutions of the Confessor. He beholds it crushed beneath the iron heel of the earlier Normans. He sees it spring forth in newness of life on the plain of Runimede. He traces its varying fortunes as it is alternately acknowledged or disavowed, among fierce Plantagenets, and overbearing Tudors and hypocritical Stuarts, until he beholds its triumph in 1688. He traces its progress in this western hemisphere until he sees it in '76 commencing a new and loftier course, never, as we trust, to be terminated until its light shall be lost in the brighter

glories of the millennial day. None of our people pursue these investigations with a more intense interest than Presbyterians. To what then is their neglect of the history of English Presbyterianism to be ascribed? Not to the fact that we owe no debt of gratitude to English Presbyterians. It is to them, under God, that the world is indebted for whatever of freedom, civil or religious, it now enjoys. It is to them that the church of Christ is indebted, under God, for that Confession of Faith, and those Catechisms, and other precious theological treasures which Presbyterians believe will be approved by the wise, and loved by the pious till time shall be no more. It is not that the men who composed the English Presbyterian church, in its better days, were men unworthy of being remembered. On the roll of British history, not even the name of Alfred shines more brightly than that of Hampden. And the divines of that church in his generation and that which followed, have not their superiors among uninspired men. Whence then, I repeat, *our neglect of the history of English Presbyterians?*

I think it may be ascribed to various causes. In the first place, we derive our knowledge of that body of men, chiefly from their enemies. After they lost their power, it became fashionable among those whom they had foolishly restored to authority, to assail them with every weapon. Whilst by some of the tools of tyranny they were consigned to the dungeon and the scaffold, by others they were held up to the hatred of the vulgar in low life, or the ridicule and contempt of the more magnificent vulgar in court circles. The literature of the times was tainted with detestation and scorn of these men, of whom the world was not worthy, and the ungodly wits of every succeeding age, have delighted to re-echo sometimes the serious slanders, sometimes the bitter sarcasms of that day. Even those who were not disposed to treat them with scorn, belonging generally to the established church, could not look upon Presbyterians except with a disgust not to be concealed, when they had occasion to refer to them or their principles. Even the pious dissenters who wrote the histories of these times, have been generally Congregationalists, and when they refer to the peculiarities of Presbyterianism, they shewed that for these they have no relish. Most of us, indeed, have received our first impressions of England and her great men, from Hume, (whose love of arbitrary principles and his hatred to the gospel would equally disqualify him from doing justice to Presbyterians) and from Goldsmith, the servile copyist of Hume. In a word, "Lions are not painters."

I conceive another and perhaps a more influential cause of the strange neglect of which we are speaking, is to be found in the fact that the early glories of the Presbyterian church in England were so soon obscured, and that both by its doctrines and its polity this once glorious but now apostate church, has so long disgraced the venerable name it bears. But painful as it is to behold the gradual neglect and the final abandonment and denial of God's most precious truth, where once it reigned supreme, it is not, on that account, the less instructive to trace the process by which that truth was first undervalued and finally abjured. It is indeed painful to behold the beach bestrewed with the broken fragments of a gallant ship, but surely this should

impress the more deeply on the mariner who follows in the same track, the propriety of searching for the hidden rock on which his predecessor has been broken.

It is this last consideration which makes this history—especially the portion of it which describes the downfall of that church of which we are speaking, rich with instruction to us. I am satisfied that if this history had been thoroughly known to the fathers of our church at the beginning of the present century, and if they had rightly understood its salutary lessons, and duly heeded its solemn warnings, much that as a church we have suffered, would have been averted, and much that we have dreaded, would have afforded no ground of alarm. A recent examination of this subject has fully satisfied my mind that the very same step which our fathers took, and which afterwards threatened to fill our own church with Pelagianism, was taken, a century earlier, by men equally as wise and equally as good as they, and was the primary and most influential agent by which the Presbyterian church of England was buried beneath the dark, cold manes of Socinianism.

That step was an unconstitutional union with Congregationalists—not with Congregationalists unsound in faith, or dissolute in life, but as in our own case, Congregationalists orthodox in their opinions, evangelical in their sentiments, and holy in their lives. But we must not anticipate.—I have, in this place, referred to the fact above stated, only to show as clearly as possible, the lessons of practical wisdom to be deduced from the historical enquiries in which I desire to engage my readers. We must now proceed to a rapid review of the history of Presbyterians in England from their origin.

He who would do justice to the history of English Presbyterianism, must go back to the times of Wickliffe, if not to the still more distant day of St. Columba and his presbyter monks, sending the gospel to every dark corner of Scotland and northern England, and ordaining bishops as well as priests. But to us, no such minuteness of research is permitted, and we come down at once to the days of Henry VIII. and Cranmer.

The reformation in most parts of Europe was commenced and carried on by faithful ministers of the gospel, men of evangelical principles and evangelical piety. In England, on the other hand, it was conducted mainly by arbitrary sovereigns and worldly minded statesmen and courtiers. His personal quarrel with the Pope, and his desire to be rid of a disagreeable wife, many years older than himself, first set Henry VIII. in opposition to that system, his earnest support of which had gained for himself and his successors the title of Defender of the Faith. He would have done battle even to death, against the supremacy of the Pope, but it was because he claimed himself to be head of the church. In many most important particulars, his theology at the time of his death, was as thoroughly popish as it had been at the period of his controversy with Luther. On the same hurdle were dragged to execution, Protestants who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation and Papists who maintained the supremacy of the Pope. To pass over the intervening reigns, when Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, and Protestantism again became the established religion of the realm, and was once more the

professed faith of those thousands of English clergy, whose chameleon doctrines had assumed a new hue with every varying whim of Henry, and who had become decidedly Protestant under Edward, and as decidedly Popish under Mary, there was professedly a general agreement among English Divines as to the great points of Christian doctrine. Parker, and Grindal, and Sandys, and Aylmer, and Whitgift, and Bancroft, like their predecessors Cranmer and Hooper, Latimer and Ridley, held from their hearts, the same doctrines which were taught by Calvin in Geneva, and by Knox in Scotland. As to church polity, though all these men were decided in their preference of the episcopal government, yet history tells us that it was not until the year 1588, that Bancroft asserted the exclusive claims to the ministry of those who had received episcopal ordination. It was admitted by the earlier English reformed divines, and even by act of Parliament, 13th Elizabeth, that there were only two classes of clergy of Divine authority, presbyters (who they agreed were in the first age of Christianity of the same order of bishops) and deacons.

An episcopal government established on this moderate basis, and administered on Bible principles, would have been peaceably submitted to by all parties, in the reign of Elizabeth. The first controversy which arose, by which the Puritans began to be distinguished from other classes of the English nation, had its origin some thirty years before this celebrated sermon of Bancroft, in certain Romish vestments prescribed to the clergy, and certain Romish forms and ceremonies required to be used in public worship, all which the Puritans held to be unwarranted by scripture, and of exceedingly dangerous tendency. The introduction by Bancroft, of the arrogant pretensions of episcopacy, as being the only channel through which covenant mercy could descend to a ruined world, afforded another topic of dispute to men, who, judging of the tree by its fruits, had been able to recognize in the spirit of the Anglican bishops of Elizabeth's day, no peculiar family likeness to the apostles from whom they claimed a lineal ecclesiastical descent. When in the reign of James I., Arminianism began to gain ground, and under the auspices of that unkingly pedant and his oracle in church affairs, Archbishop Laud, to be generally received by the higher toned Episcopalians, this afforded another ground of dispute between them and the Puritans, the latter, almost without exception, adhering to the doctrines of the reformation. Lastly, the principles of civil liberty, which were maintained by the Puritans, when few others dared to avow them, became in as eminent a degree as any of the topics already enumerated, matter of controversy between them and their opponents, and at last seemed almost to absorb every other ground of difference. It was in the midst of these noble champions of truth and liberty, that English Presbyterianism arose. It was their clear minds that early learned to perceive its sacred truths on the pages of inspiration; it was in their holy hearts that these truths were embalmed; it was by their strong arms and their dauntless spirits that they were sustained, against the opposition of principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places, until the triumph of victory (alas for the world, a too short lived triumph) crowned their efforts. Up to the breaking out of hostilities between the Parliament and the King, the

great mass of the friends of religion and liberty in England, were Puritans, and the great mass of these Puritans were Presbyterians.

The first Presbytery or Presbyterian Church, in England, was formed in the year 1572, at Wandsworth, a village on the Thames, five miles from London. It soon consisted of fifteen ministers, and in the course of that fall, eleven elders were chosen: "All imaginable care" (says Neal) "was taken to keep their proceedings secret, but the bishop's eye was upon them, who gave immediate intelligence to the high commission, upon which the Queen issued out a proclamation for putting the act of uniformity in execution, but though the commissioners knew of the Presbytery, they could not discover the members of it, nor prevent others being erected in neighbouring counties."

It was asserted in a dialogue published in Queen Elizabeth's reign, that the number of Presbyterians in the kingdom, was not less than 100,000. It must be borne in mind, that at that period, the whole population of the kingdom, of every age, was only from 900,000 to 1,600,000, according to the varying computations of different writers.

It was not till the quarrel between King Charles I. and his Parliament broke out, that either the Independents or the Baptists had become sufficiently numerous to attract much attention. At that period, however the Independents began rapidly to increase, and by combining with other sects, (some of them madly enthusiastic,) and by the profound wisdom, and overwhelming power of Cromwell, (aided it must be confessed by the intolerance then prevailing among the Presbyterians,) succeeded in preventing the settlement of the Presbyterian polity in the southern part of the island as fully as it had been effected a few years previously, in the more northern kingdom. For a number of years, the Independents wielded the power, and directed the policy of the great commonwealth of England. But that the Presbyterians were after all, a more powerful party than either the Episcopalians or the Independents, backed as these last were by every other sect in the kingdom, seems manifest from the fact, that the Parliament which restored Charles II. to the throne, chosen as it was, with entire freedom, contained a large majority of Presbyterians; as the long parliament had done, until by Pride's purge, it was reduced to the Rump.

But before this time, the Presbyterian ascendancy in England, had been much more marked than would perhaps be inferred from what has been said. When the long parliament was convened, all its members appear to have been communicants in the Episcopal church, and the great majority of them to have preferred that form of government. In the progress of affairs, a great change was wrought. The tyranny and perfidy of the king brought on the civil war. The bishops took part with the monarch. On the same side were found all the members of parliament who believed in the Divine right of episcopacy. These seceded from the parliament. Those who remained, although they had once believed episcopal government to be the most expedient, and although probably most of them still supposed that it was not absolutely unlawful, yet were now satisfied that its continuance would be injurious, not to say destructive

to the best interests of the country, and conceding to it no Divine authority, determined to unite with the great mass of the nation, (the very highest and very lowest excepted) in the support of Presbytery. Under the influence of these views, in convoking the Westminster Assembly, they selected as its members, a vast majority of Presbyterians. Even of those who were not Presbyterian, but gave a preference to Episcopacy, the most eminent by far, Lightfoot and Selden, Coleman and Whitlock, were Erastians, believing no particular form of church government to be prescribed in the Bible, but holding that it was the right and duty of the civil government to make such provision in ecclesiastical matters as they might judge best. These views, which had been held by most of the English reformers, were probably those of the majority of that parliament; as we shall see, by and bye, that even when they were about to establish Presbytery in England, they insisted on retaining an appellate power over ecclesiastical sentences, clearly inconsistent with Presbyterian principles. Indeed it seems probable that a desire to conciliate the true Presbyterians of Scotland, and to bring about uniformity of religion throughout the three kingdoms, had much influence in bringing over many of these statesmen to the support of Presbytery. Yet it is impossible to consider their swearing to the Solemn League and Covenant, as any thing less than a recognition of Presbytery, and an engagement to establish it as early as practicable. From this time then, Sept. 1643, until the restoration, Presbytery may be considered as the national religion of England, though strange as it may appear, the Presbyterian system, in its fulness, was probably never operative there for a single moment, and, as has been remarked, at one time the power of the nation was vested for years in the hands of their opponents.

I have heard that the witty but unprincipled and unfeeling monarch, Charles II., was in the habit of characterising the Presbyterians, as "God's silly people." In their conduct to him at the period of his restoration, they gave evidence that they deserved the opprobrious epithet. Instead of imposing on him terms by which there would at least have been secured to them, toleration in the exercise of their religion, they recalled him unconditionally to the throne. It was not indeed that they all confided in his pursuing towards them the course of conduct, which policy, justice and gratitude would equally have prompted. Richard Baxter, one of the most eminent of their number, gives the following reasons of their conduct: "The Presbyterians (says he) were influenced by the covenant, by which, and by the oaths of allegiance to the king and his heirs, they apprehended themselves bound to do their utmost to restore the king, let the event be what it will." He adds indeed, "Most of them had great expectations of favour and respect, and because the king had taken the covenant, they hoped he would remove subscriptions, and leave the common prayer and ceremonies indifferent; that they might not be cast out of the churches. Some who were less sanguine, depended on such a liberty as the Protestants had in France; but others who were better acquainted with the principles and tempers of the prelates, declared that they expected to be silenced, imprisoned, and banished, but yet they would do their parts to restore the king, be-

cause no foreseen ill consequence ought to hinder them from doing their duty."

To this statement, I will add, that in order rightly to appreciate the conduct of the Presbyterians in their ill advised course on this occasion, there are several circumstances which we should consider—some of which Baxter had alluded to. In the first place, though ardent and devoted friends of liberty, they were friends of liberty regulated and secured by law. From the execution of Charles I., an act to which they had been ever most strongly opposed, there had been a succession of revolutions, and there seemed no prospect of a peaceable settlement of the nation except by the restoration of the king.

• 2d. They were and always had been, as they had professed to be, monarchists on principle.

3d. They were grossly duped by the perfidious hypocrite whom they were about to place on the throne of his ancestors. He not only made them promises which he never intended to perform, but he pretended to be engaged in private prayer, when their agents were in an adjoining room, and uttered the most pious petitions in a tone so loud that they could overhear all he said*

4th. They had sworn with uplifted hands to the Solemn League and Covenant. By so doing, they had bound themselves not only to uphold Presbyterianism, but to support the king and his heirs in the possession of their throne. To them this transaction was no empty pageant—no unmeaning form. It was a solemn reality—never to be forgotten in this life, and to be confronted at the judgment seat of Christ. Charles II. indeed had three times taken the same covenant, binding himself to uphold the Presbyterian church in Scotland—and the Duke of Lauderdale had entered into the same engagement. And yet Charles as king, and Lauderdale as minister afterwards endeavoured to extinguish the Presbyterianism of Scotland in the blood of its votaries. Many others who had taken the covenant equally disregarded its obligations. But Presbyterians never abandoned nor threw it off, nor denied its binding force.

Great indeed was their error, but it was honest. Grievous indeed was their fault, but "grievously did they answer it." Although the king when he first came over, shewed them some favour, it was because he could not yet declare his real sentiments. A large majority of the Parliament were then Presbyterians. So far did the king dissemble as to appoint twelve of their ministers his chaplains in ordinary. He appointed a conference too, between the Bishops and the Presbyterians, to see whether a reconciliation could not be made, on terms that might comprehend both these parties in the established church. But soon a different policy was adopted. The act of uniformity was passed, and on St. Bartholomew's day—a day rendered doubly infamous in the annals of the church, by the massacre in France, and the proscription in England—about two thousand mi-

* "He thanked God that he was a covenanted king; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving spirit, that he might have forbearance towards his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended heaven." Upon hearing which, old Mr. Case lifted up his hands to heaven, and blessed God who had given them a praying king.—*Neal*, vol. iv. 277.

nisters of the gospel—most of them Presbyterians—loyal subjects of the king—many of them efficient instruments in his restoration—men who by their conduct proved their disinterestedness—men highly endowed with talents and learning—abandoned their livings rather than wound their consciences. Such a sacrifice to principle has not since been paralleled, until in the formation of the free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, it has found its counterpart. This, however, was but the beginning of sorrows. To detail all that followed, would be inconsistent with my present purpose. Let me borrow the language lately read by those who peruse the present lines. The history of twenty-six years, is condensed into two sentences, in an article in the August number of the XIX. Century. "Puritans, Non-Conformists and Presbyterians, as the bulk of them were variously called, together with Independents, Baptists and Quakers—all, in short, who had knowledge, conscience or sense enough to set their faces against the spirit and proceedings of a debauched and unprincipled court, a corrupt parliament, and an ungodly clergy, were enveloped in one common ruin. Corporation acts, test acts, conventicle acts," five mile acts; "oaths of supremacy, oaths of allegiance, oaths of abjuration; vexations, fines, whippings, croppings, imprisonments, and hangings; these from 1662 till 1688, were the common lot of the best ministers of Britain; the fruits of the second St. Bartholomew."

Is it alleged that this is the language of a Presbyterian and a republican, who, (as he evidently writes under the influence of deep feeling,) may unconsciously colour his statements with a darker dye than would be exhibited by an impartial narrator? Or is it objected, that after the lapse of nearly two centuries, any statement now made, must be liable to all the objections that may be urged against second hand hearsay testimony? Hear then the language of the earl of Castlemaine, a cotemporary and a Papist:—He says, as quoted by Neal, vol. v. 109. "'Twas never known that Rome persecuted, as the Bishops do, those who adhere to the same faith with themselves: and established an inquisition against the professors of the strictest piety among themselves; and however the prelates complain of the bloody persecution of Queen Mary, it is manifest that their persecution exceeds it, for under her, there were not more than two or three hundred put to death, whereas under their persecution, above treble that number have been rifled, destroyed and ruined, in their estates, lives and liberties, being (as is most remarkable) men for the most part, of the same spirit with those Protestants who suffered under the prelates in Queen Mary's time."

In another number, I design to complete what I have to say on this subject, and especially to investigate the causes of the decline of a church once honored by suffering so signally for "the testimony of Jesus."

CALAMY.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON SEVERAL PARTS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE POLITY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, COMMENCED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1843; WITH A DETAILED STATEMENT AND EXAMINATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS USED TO DEFEND THE REJECTION OF RULING ELDERS FROM PARTICIPATION IN PRESBYTERIAL ORDINATIONS.

Few Assemblies of the Presbyterian church in the United States, have received more loud or unqualified praises from certain parties and descriptions of persons, than that of 1843; yet no Assembly, claiming to be orthodox, has ever done more that was repugnant to the previously established principles and practices of the church; more that was liable to serious question; more that will be obliged to be set aside in time to come. It was an Assembly whose vast majority appears to have consisted of the old moderate party—and its labours were commenced by electing as its Moderator a gentleman who, just four years before, had put on record in the Presbytery of New York a formal protest against adhering to the Assembly, or recognising it as the Assembly; and by appointing as its clerk, a gentleman, who at the same recent and critical period, had united with others in passing through the Presbytery of Elizabeth-town, an order to its commissioners not to sit in the Assembly of 1839, unless that body would first reunite itself to the New School faction. We have not a syllable to utter against the fitness of either of these gentlemen for the high offices to which they were called; nor against their general excellence, personal and professional; but such appointments may well indicate the prevailing type of that Presbyterianism which made them, and that is precisely the point of our reference to these incipient acts of the last Assembly; acts, which materially diminish our surprise at others, far more important and really dangerous, which followed after.

It is not, by any means, our purpose to write a commentary on the doings of the last Assembly. We deeply regret the necessity which seems laid upon us to say a word touching any part of them; and are more and more anxious, and if God permit, more and more resolved, to withdraw from a struggle which during thirteen years, we have zealously and unflinchingly maintained for a faith and order which new disasters constantly compromise, and which, it seems to be the will of heaven to permit to be endlessly endangered, if not betrayed. Oh! that God would pity his poor, misgoverned, misguided church.

If there is one thing absolutely distinctive of Presbyterianism, it is its form of government; by which it is widely separated in outward aspect from every other body, true and false, of professing Christians. If, therefore, there is one thing that should be thoroughly understood amongst us, surely this would appear to be it. And yet some of the most distinctive points of this whole subject have been handled and settled by the last assembly with a recklessness of past experience, of settled law, and of fundamental principles, nearly incomprehensible; while others, about which, the church is, unhappily, still divided in opinion, were disposed of with a flippancy most edifying to

those who, from a distance, stood and marvelled. Let us state a few samples.

Did any body ever suppose that as soon as men become ministers of Jesus Christ, they cease to be "*church members*?" Who ever heard of such a notion? Softly reader, softly, if you please. The *committee of bills and overtures* of the last assembly, of whose eight members, one-half were doctors of divinity, recommended, in their overture 7, that the Assembly should decide that "*ordained ministers of the gospel ought not to be considered church members!*" And verily, the Assembly did so decide! (p. 176, printed Minutes of 1843). The Presbytery of Miami asked if ministers were to be considered church members, *and* have their names enrolled on sessional records: pat—no, say the committee with four doctors; and the assembly add—*visa*—all right! There are plainly two questions and propositions; the two do not necessarily hang together; the first might be answered one way, the second another, for any logical necessity that appears. But the committee and the Assembly make one lick suffice, and kill all at a blow. Pray now, what are "*ordained ministers*"—being, by solemn decision of the Assembly, committee, four doctors and all—no longer "*to be considered church members*?" What are they? Upon what grounds are they entitled to enjoy ordinances? much less to rule a church of which they are not even members?

Take another sample. It is the settled constitutional law of the church: that the General Assembly shall be *opened with a sermon*; the last Moderator of the body, if present, shall preach that sermon; but if he is not present "*some other minister*" shall preach it: but the sermon must be preached, for it "*opens the meeting*," and without it, the meeting is not regularly or legally *opened* according to the constitution: and until it is regularly and legally opened, manifestly it can regularly and legally do no business. But, moreover, to put this out of dispute, the article adds, that he who preaches shall also "*preside until a new Moderator be chosen.*" (Ch. XII. sec. 7. *Form of Government.*) There is no dispute, there can be none, about the rights and powers of the last Moderator, if present: there never has been any, even when the last Moderator is not a member of the new Assembly which he opens and over which he temporarily presides; many cases have occurred—one only two years ago, when Dr. Engles, Moderator of the Assembly of 1840, opened and presided in that of 1841, of which he was not a member. Who that "*some other minister*" should be, the church has settled in every form possible; settled by practice; settled by positive rules; settled by deliberate exposition. Who he could not be, seems perfectly clear; he could not be a person selected on the spot by the new Assembly about to be opened, for to select him, it must already be a constituted Assembly—else how can it perform any act as such? But his sermon is to *open it*: ergo, the pretension is absurd and impossible. But who he shall be—is settled from the beginning: settled by positive rule passed in 1821; (*see General Rule No. 2, in the Appendix to the Confession*;)—settled again in 1835 at Pittsburg. This was a memorable case: Dr. Lindsey, the Moderator of 1834 being absent, Dr. Ely, then stated clerk, took on himself to lay down the law *ex cathedra*, "the duties of the

chair devolve upon the last Moderator, *who is present and has a commission;*" and therefore moved Dr. Beman to the chair. But that same afternoon the house reconsidered the vote, and directed Dr. W. A. M'Dowell, a Moderator subsequent to Dr. Beman, and then present but not a member, to preside, which he accordingly did. And to make the matter complete, Dr. Miller, a former Moderator, then present with a commission, had opened the Assembly with a sermon, "*at the request of Dr. M'Dowell,*" as the record expressly declares, who, himself had no commission, (see printed Minutes of 1835, p. 4—7.) And this whole matter has been judicially expounded, and not a little of the reasoning of Chief Justice Gibson, in 1839, in that decision, which sustained Dr. Elliott's decisions in 1838, and settled the great church case, for the orthodox, is exactly in the teeth of the reasoning of the Assembly of 1843, and of the new and incompetent rules made by it. Let the reader turn to pp. 194 5, and then he will see that same committee of four doctors and four more, recommending, in overture 26, and the Assembly voting that it is its "*deliberate judgment,*" that no one but the Moderator of the *immediately preceding* Assembly, "or in case of his absence, a Commissioner to the General Assembly, selected for the purpose, by the other Commissioners, met at the time and place fixed for said meeting," can "*open the sessions,*" or "*preside at the opening of said sessions.*" Then we should be happy to know, how they are to be got open? For if this most "*deliberate judgment*" is just, and the "*immediately preceding*" Moderator happens to be absent, as no one else can preach or preside but one selected by those who cannot legally select, till some one does preach and preside—it is certainly a very notable case; and we hope the committee, with the four doctors, will be ready with their instruments, to operate when it arises—or else "*deliberate judgment*" will do little good then. This most idle and absurd proceeding, if it were possible to carry it into practice, makes a revolution in the constitution of the Assembly, not less complete than that made in the position of ministers, by the decision about their membership in the church. According to the constitution of the church plainly taken, any minister belonging to the church may, in the absence of the last moderator, open the Assembly with a sermon, and preside temporarily; the last Moderator, if unable to attend, being at least capable of designating "some other minister" to act in his place. By positive rule, and universal usage, as well as express decision, all combined, other preceding Moderators, of whom many are presumed to be always *in esse*, (there are about twenty alive at present)—are designated inversely in their order of service as that "other minister." And thus, plain, orderly, convenient, decorous, and every way appropriate arrangements, perfected during fifty odd years, had settled the matter. But suddenly there rises above the horizon, new and glorious light; mighty principles are found to have been awfully compromised: and, *presto—veto*—one whirl, and whiz—the Assembly is flirited into a corner in which forty doctors instead of four can't keep the law (new and old) and open the body at all—if one certain minister out of one thousand five hundred, once happens to be out of the way. Blessed fruits of having ministers to govern the whole church, who have no churches

of their own to govern; ministers to direct the assembly who have no right to sit in a church session; ministers to expound and settle affairs ecclesiastical, whose whole ministry has been devoted to affairs secular; and who, by their habits and employments, are about as well qualified to pronounce on questions of church order, as Paul or Peter was to decide on the price of wheat, or the true scanning of an ode in Horace. If, when a thing be done, it is well done, it is well that it is done quickly. So let us be thankful; for we are well done, and quick done, and done up effectually.

Let us take another sample. The committee of four doctors and four more, reported on Monday morning, May 29th, 1843, (we love to be particular,) their overture, No. 20, founded on two questions propounded to them "from Alexander Smith," as they say, (not Alexander Smyth, who wrote an Exposition of the Apocalypse, we presume,) about the necessity of the presence of Ruling Elders to constitute a Presbytery, and about representation from vacant congregations. (See p. 190, *Printed Minutes*.) The next day the Assembly took up the overture, and decided, by yeas and nays, 83 to 35, (see p. 196,) "That any three ministers of a Presbytery, being regularly convened, are a quorum, competent to the transaction of all business, agreeably to the provision contained in the Form of Government, Chap. X. Sec. 7." To put the pertinence, and the admirable sense of the exposition past doubt, we add the passage cited: "Any three ministers, *and as many elders as may be present belonging to the Presbytery*, being met at the time and place appointed, shall be a quorum competent to proceed to business." Now the sense of this, say the Assembly, the committee, the four doctors and all—is simply this, that supposing this sentence of thirty-two words, to be disembowelled of the twelve words printed in italicks, it would be precisely the same sentence after as before; for the words that would be left, express precisely the sense expressed by the resolution of the Assembly, except that the quorum of the constitution can only "proceed to business," while the eviscerated quorum of the Assembly, is "competent to the transaction of all business." Any man who will look at the sentence, and say it is the same, in sense, without as with the words printed in italics, will, of course, agree with the decision of the Assembly, and believe that two or three, or four or five elders, more or less, amount to nothing more than a parenthesis, or a figure of speech. The extreme reasonableness of this exposition is made the more manifest when it is considered that the same Form of Government, thus strikingly elucidated by the—we doubt not—most "deliberate judgment" of the Assembly, declares it to be "agreeable to scripture," as well as otherwise proper, "that the church be governed by Congregational, Presbyterial, and Synodical Assemblies," (Ch. VIII. Sec. 1); that every one of these Assemblies consists, organically and scripturally, of Ministers *and Ruling Elders*, (Ch. IX. Sec. 1; Ch. X. Sec. 2; Ch. XI. Sec. 1, and Ch. XII. Sec. 2.); that these ruling elders are, by eminence, *the governors, the rulers* of the church—"the representatives of the people," that is, of the church, (especially as ministers are no longer church members,) in these very Assemblies, Congregational, *Presbyterial*, and Synodical, (Ch. V.); and that even an extraordinary meeting of Presbytery, and

that on the most urgent occasion, cannot be called without the consent of at least two of these elders, and they of different congregations, who, along with the ministers required, make exactly the quorum of the constitution. (Ch. X. Sec. 10.) How plainly and exactly does the decision of the Assembly accord with these provisions, and with the entire scope of our constitution, and the word of God? How precisely with the usage of the old synagogues, after which Vitranga and others have proved the primitive church was modelled, and in which the elders were, as we all know, what ours are now become, a mere parenthesis, or figure of speech? How admirably with the usages and principles of our fathers—for example, the Westminster Assembly, and the London ministers of that day who made their provincial and classical Assemblies consist of twice as many elders as ministers, and required the assent of ten elders to every act of classis to make it valid, and that of twenty-four elders, or the major part thereof, to make any act of a provincial assembly valid? (See Neal, III. 324.) Poor Dr. Gouge, poor Mr. Whitaker, poor Ed. Calamy, poor Dr. Manton, poor Mr. Tuckney, poor Mr. Spurstow, poor Dr. Seaman; a pack of numsculls were ye all, with all the fifty-eight London ministers, of whom seventeen had been members of the Westminster Assembly, and the sixty-four ministers of Gloucestershire, and the eighty-four of Lancashire, and the eighty-three of Devonshire, and the seventy-one of Somersetshire, who subscribed with you to your follies, besides others whom we know not by name. Poor old fellows! what a pity you died before Tuesday afternoon, May 30, 1843—on which blessed day it was voted, 83 to 35, by yeas and nays, all told—that ruling elders are, in effect, a parenthesis or a figure of speech. And you, gentlemen, ruling elders, *in*, not *of*, the Presbyterian church—you eight or ten thousand nondescripts—now decide, we pray you, this grave and deeply momentous question; which will you be, a parenthesis or a figure of speech? You can choose, each for himself; which will you be, parenthesis, or figure of speech? What else you can be under our new law, made by the last Assembly, the committee, including the four doctors, and the 83 to 35, by yeas and nays, passes our skill to guess.

But we ought to be reasonable; and reasonably speaking, of what use are members of a body, who are incompetent to partake in its duties and acts? *Rationally*, of what use are ruling elders, who sit by and see themselves turned into a parenthesis? *Legally*, of what use are they, if when they are members of Presbytery, they are denuded of the essential powers of Presbyters? Better tell them, by 83 to 35, that they need not come to Presbytery—than tell them by 138 to 9, that, essentially, they are not Presbyters at all. But the Assembly did both; as we read their acts, they said, the elders need not come to Presbytery at all—that is, it is not constitutionally essential; and if they do come, they cannot impose hands in ordination—that is, they are not Presbyters. This last is the main matter we set out to examine; that is, to examine the principal arguments so far as they have come to our knowledge, by which a proposition which seems to us, at once, so preposterous and so destructive, was so triumphantly carried through the highest court of a church so recently and so thoroughly agitated upon questions which surely ought to

have made its officers acquainted with their own faith and order. We are not about to attempt to prove that elders have the right which the committee of eight, four being doctors, and the Assembly, by 138 to 9, say they have not; but we intend briefly to examine the arguments used to strip and degrade this scriptural office, to bring into contempt this most marked feature of our church order, to effect this portion of the revolution that is working in our church, a revolution which, if it cannot be arrested, will entirely and effectually change our whole system.

On p. 183 of the Printed Minutes of 1843, Overture, No. 14, was adopted in the following words, viz: "*Resolved*, That it is the judgment of this General Assembly, that neither the constitution, nor the practice of our church, authorises Ruling Elders to impose hands in the ordination of ministers." Yeas 138; *Non siquet* 1; *Excused* 2; *Nays*—Lowry, Wm. L. Breckinridge, J. Montgomery, Matthews, D. B. Price, Cummings, Auld, James, 9. We give their names, with reverence, and would have rejoiced to record ours with them; and intend, if it becomes necessary, and the Lord permits, to plead this cause at the bar of the next Assembly—to which we will take it, unless our Synod, which may the Lord grant, shall decide it exactly the other way from that in which the Assembly decided it. It is this purpose which decides the shape of our present examination. Our direct argument, we prefer to make in the ecclesiastical courts; the examination of such arguments as we have yet seen, we are content to make in the present form; arguments which appear to us entitled to consideration mainly because of the persons who have uttered them, and the effects they seem to have produced.

The Minutes contain (pp. 199—202) a protest against the act of the Assembly about a quorum of Presbytery, signed by twenty members of the body; a protest signed by W. L. Breckinridge and J. Montgomery, against that act, and also the act in regard to imposition of hands; and what purports to be an answer to both protests. It appears by the minute on p. 198, that of the three gentlemen appointed to answer these protests, two were two of the four doctors of the committee of overtures, the committee through whom so many wonderful things were disgorged upon the last Assembly; and we happen to know, personally, that the chairman of this committee to answer the protests, was the prime mover in the matter about the Moderators, of which something has already been said, as he was also the author of the extraordinary motion to restore the person deposed by the Assembly of 1842, for incest, which we must say, for the credit of the Assembly, received no countenance. These things, in any ordinary record, would publicly appear; but the last Assembly, wishing, perhaps in its modesty, that all its members should share and share alike in its glory, ordered its clerk to suppress the names of persons moving resolutions in the body. (See p. 185.) The paper headed "*Answer to the above protests*," is an answer to nothing either in or out of the minutes; it is made up, for the most part, of some general statements, of and concerning Ruling Elders, congregations, &c., &c. As for an argument to sustain the previous doings of the body, it does not even look in that direction, and but for the formal part of it, no one would suppose it was ever written with such a view.

If the Assembly will do strange things, the churches at least have a right to ask that it will drop vague and common place generalities and idle assumptions, and tell them its reasons fairly and pointedly, when it expressly sets out to do it. The general assertions of the answer are, also, sometimes as incorrect as they are irrelevant; for example, on p. 201, it asserts that congregations are not required to send delegates to every meeting of Presbytery, and on p. 202, that Presbytery has no authority whatever to compel the attendance of elders. Pretty Presbyterianism, indeed, to be set forth by the highest court of the church, in a formal, official exposition of its acts; pretty government, truly, where the most essential acts are purely voluntary, and the courts established by God, have no authority to see God's institutions carried on. We shall, by and bye, have the church emptied of its duties, powers and immunities, and bowed out of doors. As regards the question of the imposition of hands, the answer fights shy: all it says on that subject is embraced in one sentence, and amounts just to this, that nothing is required to be said, further than that the Assembly sees no "possible connection between the two decisions." And so the curtain drops, and for reason, the Assembly gives us none. The 22 question the act of the 83, and the answer they get, is rigmareole. The two, (they were both Kentuckians) question the act of the 138, and being but two, they deserved no answer—and so got none. Never mind; children's children will remember the names of these two bold and faithful men.

It appears from the Minutes, that this subject was under discussion during parts of several sessions of the Assembly. (See pp. 181, 2 and 3, under the head, *Overture No. 14.*) The fullest report of the debate, which we have seen, is contained in the *Protestant and Herald*, of June 8th and 15th. An effort was made by Mr. W. L. Breckinridge of Kentucky, and some others, to have the subject laid over, which was opposed by Messrs. D. V. M'Lean of New Jersey, John Leyburn of Virginia, Frazer of Illinois, and others, and lost. Upon the question of postponement, some arguments in favour of the resolution, which afterwards passed, were urged, which it seems proper not to pass by.

Rev. D. V. M'Lean of the New Brunswick Presbytery, New Jersey, argued that the views of those who contended that Ruling Elders should unite with ministers in imposing hands in the ordination of ministers, were new, and were without authority either in the constitution or the practice of the church, as alleged in the resolution; and, moreover, that a portion of the church had gone on to put "their new discoveries" in practice, therefore, &c.—Now, as we shall not repeat our answers to the same arguments, we at once reply: 1. Suppose the claims set up are new, that proves nothing against them; the doctrine of justification by faith, was so new at the Reformation, that it had not been whispered by the teachers of Christendom for 1000 years; the Bible is the sole authoritative and infallible rule of faith and practice—and no church is infallible. 2. As to the practice of the church, that is just as good an argument for committee men, as against Ruling Elders; and besides, the facts are the opposite of what is stated, in one aspect of them, e. g. it was the uniform habit of the church, from the earliest period, in this coun-

try, to ordain *by committee*, both of Presbytery and Synod, up to the very day of the meeting of our first General Assembly; and there is not a single ordination recorded to have taken place under the *original Presbytery*, in their published Minutes, otherwise than by committee; but from the moment of the change in the constitution, and the meeting of the first Assembly to the present hour, ordination, by Synodical authority, and ordination by committees ceased utterly. Now why this total change of practice, at that precise era? Tell us that gentlemen. 3. We assert that no definitions could be plainer than those of the constitution are: A Presbytery is so defined as necessarily to include Ruling Elders as members, and the definition was so changed as to make "members" instead of ministers impose hands; so that to take the sense so as to exclude elders, is mere paltering with the King's English. 4. As to the objection that we practice what we teach, and must, therefore, be stopped, all we have to say is, we hope there will be more ground for it in time to come than in time past. Surely Mr. M'Lean will himself admit, on reflection, that men ought to follow their convictions?

Rev. John Leyburn of East Hanover Presbytery, Va. said he was instructed by his Presbytery; deplored the rise of new contests after the close of a ten years' war; said the points were never called in question till lately, &c. 1. We reply, with great respect, we will not now argue the matter of Presbyterial instructions to commissioners; which is, surely, as great a *novelty* as any can be; and leading gentlemen in the East Hanover Presbytery have been vehement against innovations. 2. We beg Mr. L. to examine carefully the Second Book of Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland—which is certainly no affair of yesterday—and see if he can discover how a minister could possibly be ordained under it, in ordinary circumstances, without running the most imminent risk of having the hands of ruling elders laid on him. 3. No one, we presume, who loves the church, but desires its peace; but how can there be real *peace* when *truth* is banished? Is it not better to fight *for* ramparts than *without them*? And why should men seek to remove ramparts except that they may reduce what those ramparts defend?

Rev. Mr. Frazer of Peoria Presbytery, Illinois, had often supposed he might, in reading church history, have overlooked the recent discoveries made in Kentucky, about the rights of Ruling Elders; but after the discourse delivered the night before (by Dr. Miller) he was convinced "such a right had never been claimed nor was ever thought of till lately," &c. 1. As we are not told what books he read, we can't pretend to say what he did not find. 2. We are not aware of there being any thing so fatal in the soil or atmosphere of Kentucky, that all discoveries made in that region are necessarily worthless. 3. We do not think it necessary to say any thing in regard to the manifest attempt to influence an important question pending in the Assembly by set discourses, at the moment, out of doors. 4. Dr. Miller could not, we presume, have been correctly understood by Mr. Frazer; for we personally know that after that learned divine had publicly taught Church History and Government, for nearly twenty years, and long after he first published his valuable works on the Office of Ruling Elder, and on the Christian Ministry, to wit: as late

as 1831, he distinctly held and avowed the belief that Ruling Elders ought to lay on hands in the ordination of ministers; and therefore, although he has, as we have not long ago come to know, changed his opinion, he could hardly say what Mr. F. understood him to assert. If Mr. F. will do himself the justice to study carefully any *Collectio Confessionum*, for example, *Niemeyer's*, we are sure he will never expose himself to ridicule by repeating such statements as are attributed to him; for he will then see the doctrine he so boldly contemns and so fiercely assails, *explicitly* professed nearly three centuries ago, by the bulk of the Reformed Churches of Europe.

Mr. Baker, a Ruling Elder, from Winchester Presbytery, Virginia. The motion to postpone being lost, and the question being on the adoption of the resolution, Mr. B. argued that the usage of the church had settled the sense of the constitution; that the claim set up was new, and therefore suspicious; that the act of ordination is not an act of government, and therefore not appurtenant to the office of elder, but is purely a ministerial act, and so confined exclusively to ministers; that Ruling Elders not being ordained by a Presbytery, cannot ordain as part of the Presbytery; that to allow the claim, is in reality to merge the office of elder in that of minister, &c. 1. About *usage* and *novelty*, we have only this to add, that of all settled rules, not one is plainer than that every written instrument must be interpreted by its own terms; yea, it must be, even if the men that made it would swear till they turned black that it meant another thing from what it said; there is neither sense, safety, nor practice, for any other rule: for any other vacates the instrument to which it is applied, by stultifying its authors, since how can they tell now what they meant, better than when they first said it? 2. The act of ordination is *an act of government*, and Mr. Baker, in asserting the contrary, flatly contradicts every reputable *Protestant* authority that ever spoke or wrote on the question of church order; he is out and out on *Popish* ground, and pleads for the fundamental principle of the *sacrament of orders*; and, we will add, it is not possible to frame a general argument with that aspect, on his side of this point, that is not wholly *Popish*. The great Samuel Davies formally asserts in two different ordination sermons, (Nos. 77 and 78 of his sermons,) that it is "*universally acknowledged*" that ordination is "*an act of government*," belonging indeed to ministers, because, as he held, government belonged to them. 3. Ruling Elders, if ordained at all, must, on our common principles, be ordained Presbyterially, i. e. possibly by an evangelist, or one acting as such, being for this purpose clothed with the power of the Presbytery by its vote; or, regularly, by a Parochial Presbytery, viz: a Church Session, composed of a pastor and bench of elders; and that such a body was held to be essentially competent to *all ordinations* in the primitive church, *Stillingfleet* and *Sir Peter King* have put out of dispute amongst the learned. If the right to unite with ministers in ruling and in discipline, does not merge the office of elder in that of preacher—why should the right to unite in ordination to do it? Still more, if uniting in the *material* part of ordination, viz: examining, voting, approving, rejecting, &c. does not merge the office of elder in that of minister, why should uniting in the purely *formal* part, viz: laying

on hands, do it? That the former acts do not—is undeniable; that the latter act, therefore, cannot, is self-evident.

Rev. Dr. Leland, of Charleston Presbytery, South Carolina. We are not sure we comprehend the drift of Dr. L's argument, as stated in what seems a very imperfect, and perhaps, erroneous summary of it. As we gather it, it appears to be, in effect, that elders cannot impose hands on ministers in their ordination, because elders are not personally, and by right of office, members of Presbytery, to which alone it belongs to ordain, but are only members of it by delegation; that being members only in that way, they possess, when in Presbytery, not the powers of organic members, but only the powers of those who sent them, to wit, the churches, which, themselves, have no such power; the power of ordination being exclusively a *Presbyterial* power, not possessed even by a Synod, or a General Assembly, much less a church, can be exercised only in Presbytery, and only by organic members thereof; imposition of hands is "a symbol of the transfer of ministerial power," and the whole "church, aside from the ministry, does not possess the power of ordaining"—much less can an elder pretend to take part in it, &c. 1. It will be seen at once, by the attentive reader, that supposing all these propositions to be true—the inference from any one or from all, is *a non sequitur*. Suppose it were true that churches cannot ordain, that elders are delegated by churches, and that they can only exercise the powers delegated to them by the whole body of the church; it would not follow that elders cannot ordain; for every community possesses abundance of powers which it cannot possibly exercise in person—which no separate and isolated portion even possesses, but yet, which the whole body may easily delegate; which is precisely the case with every form of administration that ever did or ever could exist. Bodies may possess complete powers, separately, and may delegate them to a common agent; but even in that case, the argument of Dr. L. is incomplete and illusive; but many separate parts of the same body, may possess, each a portion of the common authority, in which case, a common agent, acting for all, does what no part can do; and it is a fundamental principle of Presbyterianism, that the church is one church, made up of many parts, not many churches united into one; so that every church court can do multitudes of things, which none, nor all, of their members can do, except as they constitute those courts. 2. It is equally manifest that the general drift of the argument involves repeated misconceptions of the facts of the case; for example, elders are not delegated by congregations but by parochial Presbyteries, which being true Presbyteries, cuts the throat of the argument, even on its own hypothesis. 3. The logical assumptions are wholly fallacious; for example, what possible relation can the power to be exercised under a written constitution, have to the tenure by which office is held under it? Suppose a man to be born a senator as in England, to be appointed by the king as in France, to be elected by the states as in the United States' senate, to be elected by the people as in the states generally, to hold for life, for years, or for good behaviour: now what conceivable relation has any or all these accidents, to the nature of legislative power abstractly considered, or to the meaning and intent of the terms in which its exercise

is defined in the written constitution under which these senators respectively act? Substitute the word Presbyter for the word senator, and if an elder is a Presbyter, this illustration is complete and conclusive; and that he is a Presbyter is the bottom rock of the whole Presbyterian fabric of church order. 4. The whole argument misconceives the nature of ordination; to say that imposition of hands transfers any thing, or is the symbol of any thing transferred by those who impose hands, is Popery. Ministers, elders, and deacons, ought, "*confirmari in muneribus suis per impositionem manuum*," says the Confessio Belgica, (Art. XXXI.) and thereto agree all the Confessions of the Reformation. Ordination, says the Directory of the Westminster Assembly, "is the solemn setting apart of a person unto some public church office." God chooses the office bearers of his church; that church by formal acts, and by various methods, signifies her sense that God has so called A. or B.; and imposition of hands is the ordinary and final manifestation she makes thereof, in a solemn dedication of the man to the work to which God has before called him, for which he has fitted him, and the whole power and rights of which, are at last, from him. 5. The whole doctrine of the argument in regard to the authority that ordains, namely, a *Presbytery*, in the exclusive and narrow sense, to wit, the ministers organized into a church court called Presbytery, who must, to make the ordination valid, impose their hands, is tip-top high-churchery. Old John Knox, in compiling the First Book of Discipline for the Scottish Kirk, rejected imposition of hands utterly; and every minister and elder, ordained in Scotland, from 1560 till 1578, when the Second Book of Discipline was agreed on by the Assembly, were ordained without imposition of hands, and, therefore, according to the argument of Dr. L. without a transfer of ministerial power. And, besides, from 1560 to 1581, there was not, in all Scotland, such a thing as a Presbytery at all, in Dr. L.'s sense of one; so that all ministers ordained during that period must have been ordained by a Committee, by Kirk Session, by Synod, or by General Assembly; all which methods the argument adjudges void. It is very strange how doctors and teachers of theology differ. In the *Biblical Repertory*, for July, 1843, p. 441, 2, it is laid down that "Presbyterial ordination is ordination by a Presbyter or Presbyters, and not by a Presbytery, in our technical sense of the term;" and this principle, as strictly scriptural, is largely insisted on. Now if this be true, then two consequences seem inevitable, viz: *First*, that whether elders can ordain ministers or not, at least every elder has the scriptural right to ordain other elders *ad libitum*; and, secondly, that as all limitations, much less any abrogation of powers which God has, by scripture invested any office with, are clearly null—the constitution of the Presbyterian church, which, upon the narrowest interpretation ever put on it, requires three ministers to ordain a minister, is, in the eye of God, null and of no effect. And it is no answer to reply that our constitution, though different from scripture, is binding on us as a mutual covenant, in which certain rights and powers are given up; for we have no authority to vacate scripture by our covenants, and as the Repertory well says, in the very argument under consideration, "the constitution is but the declaration of the powers which belong"

to officers and courts, by an authority far above its own. Now what is the poor church to believe? Here is one of our schools of theology teaching that every Presbyter has scriptural authority to ordain other Presbyters; and another school teaching that all the Presbyters in America united, have no such power, except only as they are *Presbyterially* organized! And what is not a little odd, they both manage their doctrine so as to denude seven-eighths of those whom neither of them, as yet, deny to be Presbyters: for Princeton seems to teach, that while Presbyterian ordination means that God confers on every Presbyter the right to ordain other Presbyters—yet this is to be so understood as to exclude those Presbyters whom we call elders, and embrace only those we call ministers: while Columbia seems to teach that while Presbyterian ordination is strictly and purely that by an organized Presbytery, yet it is so, as that one class of the members thereof, to wit, those called elders are incompetent! Well, well; some of us are on the way of digging out *new doctrines*; and, before the thing is finished, the church is likely to have a great store—a new chamber of imagery—and may surely please her most capricious fancies. We could laugh outright if it were not for sadness, to hear learned ministers, whose chief agreement in the premises, lies in rejecting the doctrine of the church, and clamouring against those who hold it, confidently set forth their thousand faced theories, and all the while talk about the settled and universal consent of the churches. Truth is simple. But how various is error?

The Rev. Professor Maclean of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey. Dr. Maclean has reported his speech—being thereto “urged by several individuals who take a deep interest in the subject.” It is printed in the *Presbyterian* of July 15th, and being reduced to its ultimate grounds of positive argument, seems to present the following outline, to wit: That in fact, elders are not an essential part of the Presbytery, and that word itself, when used in our standards, is very often, and when used in connection with ordination, always, to be taken as meaning only ministers—which he proved largely by *usus loquendi*, practical exposition, &c.; that there is a material difference between “*designation to office and the act of ordaining*,” proved at large, and that elders may take part in the former, but not in the latter, proved to be the doctrine and practice of our own and all Presbyterian churches; that the changes in the phraseology of our standards, which are used as proving the claims now set up are capable of a different and more natural explanation, largely urged, &c. In replying to these statements, we need hardly say, that they must, of course, present very imperfectly, the force of an argument which occupies three columns of a newspaper, and which in its very nature is only analogical, and, therefore, difficult to be reduced. But we observe—1. That so far as we can see, the first head of argument is wholly beside the question, for even if it were true that elders are not *essential* members of a Presbytery, it might, nevertheless, be true, that when present and members, they are entitled to exercise the rights of members. 2. We deny wholly, that there is any such difference between “*designation to office and the act of ordaining*,” as is contended for; we deny that any of the proofs adduced, fairly considered, prove this; we assert that ordination is itself only part of

a series of acts designating to office; moreover, it is evident, that if the distinction taken, really existed, then, as prayer and fasting, as well as imposition of hands, are formal parts of the "act of ordaining," Professor Maclean's argument disables elders from the two former as completely as from the latter—which is absurd; and, again, if it did not lead to this, then it would be true according to his argument, that imposition of hands is the sum total of "the act of ordaining"—which is absurd again; and even if this last be not absurd, and imposition of hands be really the sum total of "the act of ordaining," then the argument from use and consent is false, as we have before shown that the Kirk of Scotland rejected the imposition of hands altogether during the whole period of the First Book of Discipline; according to which venerable Standard, (Ch. IV.) "The lawful vocation (to the ministry) standeth in the election of the people, examination of the ministry, and admission by both;" hard doctrine for such as never were elected by the people at all, nor admitted by them at all—and, therefore, no matter how many hands have been imposed on them, are destitute of any "lawful vocation" at all to the ministry, if we dare trust *John Knox* and the early Scottish church.

3. Even if there was such a distinction between "designation to office and the act of ordaining," it does not follow, and is not and cannot be proved, that elders may unite in the former, and that ministers alone must perform the latter; and the authorities relied on to prove it, prove such states of case as really work for us, and against those who cite them; e. g. the ordinations in the English Presbyterian churches, were ordered by *Presbytery*, but might be, and generally were, performed by *committee*; and the directory of the Westminster Assembly contemplates ordinations as appertaining to *Presbytery*, but performed by ministers even casually met; both of which agree with our practice before 1789, but since that, are contrary to the letter of our Book and to our practice; but the *rule* being altered, gentlemen contend that the practice should, nevertheless, continue—which is absurd. Again, while they cite the church of Geneva to exclude elders from ordaining, they reject the church of Geneva, which admitted only *pastors* into *Presbytery*. Again, when they cite the Kirk of Scotland, to keep off elders, they who are not pastors, but only teachers, reject the same Kirk, which expressly declared such persons to be nothing but elders themselves; and Professor Maclean himself, and many more, who are set against the rights of elders, unless we are utterly deceived, would find it difficult to produce an outward vocation which would be allowed at all under the First Book of Discipline, (see Ch. IV.) or which would place them any where but amongst Ruling Elders under the Second Book of Discipline. (Compare Ch. I. sec. 5 and 7; III. 6; V. 5; VII. 1, of that noblest and best reasoned model of church order.)

4. But supposing the distinction to exist, to be valid, and to be proved, then the result in practice as well as in theory is very curious—us: ministers ordained, *sine titulo*, as Dr. Maclean may have been, and who, by the general consent of the Reformed Churches, cite by themselves to keep off elders, are not entitled to the rights and powers of *Pastors*, and do not hold the office of a *Bishop*, are allowed to ordain *Pastors*; while Ruling Elders, who are declared to be *Scriptural Bishops*, by

Dr. Miller, in his admirable *Essay on the Office of Ruling Elder*, (Ch. III. p. 69, edition of 1840, a work now published under the authority of the church, and never called in question in it, that we know of,) are rejected from the same act! Arguments which prove that *Scriptural Bishops* shall take no part in ordination, and that those *who are not Scriptural Bishops*, may take every part—do certainly conduct to a very odd result, to be called Presbyterian! 5. As to the argument, from the change of phraseology in our standards, made in 1788, it seems to us conclusive. That men should find an instrument so constructed as that by it, ministers and elders unitedly ordered the whole work of ordination, while committees of ministers only, actually ordained; that they changed the words of this instrument in such a manner as to make it the duty of the same body that ordered the work also to perform it; that from this moment the practice of ordaining by committees of ministers only, ceased absolutely; that the united body required to do the whole work is formally defined to consist both of ministers and elders; and that the sense of all this should be, that imposition of hands, which is a part of the work, shall be performed by *ministers only*—seems to us utterly ridiculous. And that learned and able men should set about proving that an instrument which clearly defines that a Presbytery consists of ministers *and elders*, and then clearly directs that Presbytery to do a certain work as a Presbytery—really means, that *that Presbytery shall not do it*, but that *part of the members of it*, shall do it; does appear to us, a wonderful illustration of the extreme nakedness and barrenness of a cause that will tolerate such attempts upon common sense; and of the extent to which prejudice, ignorance, or preconception can carry sensible people.

Chancellor Johns of Delaware, a Ruling Elder from the Presbytery of New Castle, in advocating the passage of the resolution proposed by the Committee of Overtures, urged, that this is a simple question of power amongst several agents, and to decide it, we are thrown back upon the source of their power: that the constitution of our church confers upon its officers three kinds of power—legislative, judicial and ministerial; that of these, the first two only belong to the Ruling Elder, who cannot in any circumstances exercise any power that is not either legislative or judicial; that all ministerial or executive power resides solely and entirely in the ministers; that ordination is a ministerial or executive act; and, therefore, it is impossible a Ruling Elder can take part in it. In replying to this lucid and compact argument, we are obliged to say, that, as we conceive, its essential statements are erroneous, and of necessity, its conclusion must be incorrect. 1. It is true, no doubt, that this is a question of power, and is to be decided by a sound construction of the instrument investing the power; but it is also true, as would, perhaps, be admitted, that the constitution is not the source of power, either mediate or immediate: that instrument does not profess to cover *the whole ground*; and at most, it only *defines* what the church conceives to be the mind of God contained in the Bible; important distinctions, which are but little attended to, as the whole course of this discussion abundantly proves. 2. The constitution, so far from *conferring legislative power* on any officer or church court, solemnly and re-

peatedly declares that God gives no such power to the one or the other; but contrariwise, that the sole and total powers possessed by both, are "*only ministerial and declarative*" (See Form of Gov't, Ch. I. Sec. 8, and Ch. VIII. Sec. 2.); and this is the fundamental doctrine of Presbyterianism, the earth over, and the very undermost stone of all her battlements against Erastianism, Prelacy, and Latitudinarianism for three centuries. So the total ground of the Chancellor's distribution of church power being gone, the whole argument, upon one point at least, collapses. Elders are not appointed to *make laws*; therefore another office must be found for them. 3. It does by no means follow, that Ruling Elders cannot, *in Presbytery*, exercise powers which they can exercise no where else, as we have before shown; so that even if it were proved that elders have no ministerial powers *out of Presbytery*, it is a *non sequitur* to assert from thence, that they have no such powers *in Presbytery*; e. g. Chancellor Johns has many powers when *sitting as a Judge in open court*, which he has not in vacation, not even when performing strictly judicial functions, (granting an injunction for example) out of term time. This is a principle which must be perfectly familiar to every lawyer, and easily comprehensible by every one who will reflect; and it shows how clearly absurd it is, to infer that an elder cannot ordain *in Presbytery*, because he cannot, for example, officially intimate a church censure or execute one publicly, *out of Presbytery*. 4. It is the farthest thing possible from the fact, that all executive powers reside solely in ministers; the reverse is so far true that it is, in fact, because ministers are themselves *Presbyters*, and not because they are *Bishops*—that is, because they may *rule*, and not because they may *preach and administer ordinances*, that they take part in the exercise of *executive powers*. What are elders for? The Bible, the Reformed churches, and our Standards, all say—they are for the exercise of *Government and Discipline*! And what is Discipline, but the practical execution of the laws of God? And what is Government but the administration of law? And what are both, but *executive powers*? Why the very name of the officer, *Ruling Elder*—(and still more in Greek than in English)—indicates the super-eminent investiture of *executive powers*, the powers of carrying on government and discipline. If then the Chancellor is right in saying that ordination appertains to executive power, (as indeed he most assuredly is, if he means thereby, government,) then to infer from that position that the main depositories of this very power cannot take part in that act, is a most extraordinary conclusion. 5. But if it were true that ministers are the sole depositories of executive power, that is, the sole rulers of the church, (which, indeed, they seem resolved to become;) and that ordination appertains solely to them, on that account, then why are elders allowed to take any part at all in the work? and why are they not excluded from the whole, and from every part of ordination, as well as from that part which we call imposition of hands? The argument, therefore, proves too much, and is, for that reason also, groundless.

Rev. D. X. Junkin of Newton Presbytery, N. J. said his mind had not been made up on the subject, but the discussion of it, and especially the arguments of Chancellor Johns, had convinced him. "Ministers

are the representatives of the Head of the Church; elders are the representatives of the body—the former, Christ's representatives, the latter, the church's;" there are also "two elements of office, election by the people (through their representatives, the elders,) and ordination by Christ, through his representatives or ministers."—Such is the summary, (we would fain hope, false in every respect,) of an argument—which, omitting to characterize it, in replying to, we say, 1. That the *argumentum ad hominem* is first to be met by Mr. J., for if, as he contends in his protest against the act of the Assembly about a quorum of Presbytery, the court cannot proceed to any business, except one elder or more be present, and members; then we crave light how it can be possible, on that hypothesis, for it to proceed to *this* business without elders? Is it that ordination is no business at all? Or is it that the Presbytery can do Presbyterial business, without a quorum? 2. If any such meaning, as the words imply, is to be attached to such declarations as that "ministers are representatives of Christ," and are to be "ordained by Christ;" &c. then the whole is arrant Popery, and the sacrament of orders follows of course. If no such meaning is intended, as we must believe there is not, then there is no argument couched in them, for all offices in the Christian church are equally the gift of Christ, and all officers equally his representatives in their lot; and the nature of their particular functions arises not all from this fact, in one case more than in another. 3. There is no sense at all in which it is true that elders elect ministers; as church members, they may vote with other church members, if this is the election meant; as members of Presbytery, they may vote on questions of ordination with the ministers, if this is the election meant; in either case, the analogy is idle and feigned, and has not even a figure much less an argument in it.

Rev. J. Eagleson, of Washington Presbytery, Pa. argued that the presence of elders is not necessary in any church court (above a session we suppose); that the present claims amount to Independency, inasmuch as if the elders can ordain, of course the people whom they represent can also ordain; that the whole tendency of the theory is to radicalism, &c. 1. We have before shown that the first argument used by Mr. E., even if the facts on which it is based were true, is wholly beside the present question; though it might be good, if true, so far as to require those who assert that a Presbytery can't exist without elders, to answer further: in other words, if a Presbytery can't exist without elders, then, of course, it can't ordain without elders; but even if it can exist without elders, that is far from proving that elders, when present, may not unite in ordination; a distinction not observed in the conduct of the debate. 2. The tendency of the argument in favour of the rights of Ruling Elders is so far from being towards Independency, that it uproots Independency; for we contend that God has appointed a class of officers invested with duties which the independent asserts are vested in the *brotherhood*, and Mr. E. asserts are vested in the *ministers*; from which mere statement, it is clear that our doctrine is purely Presbyterian, that above us (Mr. E.'s) is Prelacy, (for even the highest churchmen admits one Bishop to be equal to another), that below us, Independency. 3. The supposed tendency to radicalism not being explained, we do not

comprehend what is meant. Our doctrine is, that God has set forth in his word, a form of church order, which we are bound to follow; and that according to this divinely appointed church order, a Presbytery, composed of Preaching and Ruling Elders, is the proper and orderly body to ordain; which doctrine, if it be, or if it tend to, radicalism—then radicalism be it. We surely hope to see it tend to a radical amendment of the state and efficiency of the office of Ruling Elder amongst us.

Mr. Smith, (we are not able to say whether Rev. D. P. Smith of Londonderry Presbytery, or Rev. A. Smith of Tuscaloosa Presbytery, or Mr. J. A. Smith, Ruling Elder, from West Hanover Presbytery,) admitted that a strict construction of the constitution, would give the elders the rights contended for, but denied such was the intention of the instrument; admitted the facts in regard to the changes of phraseology in that instrument, but agreed with the explanations offered by Dr. Maclean; considered these two facts clear, from the uniform conduct of the framers of the constitution; argued that ordination confers ministerial power; that imposition of hands is the symbol of this transfer of power; and that as it is impossible for “any one who has no authority to perform ministerial acts, to confer that authority on others,” elders cannot impose hands in the ordination of ministers, &c. Here we have another clear, but utterly fallacious argument, founded on total misconceptions of the whole subject. 1. In admitting that the law is really with us, Mr. S. takes upon himself a fearful responsibility in opposing us; and in setting out to defeat the plain letter of a law, by arguments drawn from the supposed spirit of the same law, he sets the very most dangerous precedent which it is possible to establish in any government of laws. 2. We refer to what we have already said in regard to the changes of the phraseology of the constitution, Dr. Maclean’s mode of explaining their sense—the usage of the men who made them, &c. 3. To say that ministerial power is transferred in ordination, that imposition of hands is the symbol of this transfer, &c. is to misconceive utterly, the whole nature of ordination, of the ministerial office, and of the sources of church power. Now—e. g.—if Christ has established on earth, church courts and church officers, in whom he deposited certain powers, which are to be handed down from one set of courts and officers to another, by means of ordination with hands imposed by those holding these powers in successive ages; then it is clear that we must fully prove this unbroken succession and ordination back to the original giver, to wit, the Lord Jesus, or, else, for any thing we know or can prove to the contrary, we are mere intruders, and have not only no ordination, and no courts or officers, but are sinfully meddling with what God has imparted to other persons. But we should like to see the *proof* of this unbroken succession up to Christ in the days of his flesh. But again, even if all this were true, and were proved—which it neither is nor can be, it would still remain to be proved, that Ruling Elders were always excluded, and Ministers, (instead of Diocesan Prelates) always permitted exclusively to exercise this power; so that it was never vitiated any more than broken, and is now come purely and simply to us. Which, also, we crave to see proved. For, it is vain to say that the mes-

meric current can be started afresh, or purified, after being once broken or polluted; since the very terms of the proposition that excludes elders, forbid it; for it is by *ordination by ministers*, and by means of *their hands* imposed, and in *this way* only that power is *transferred*; so that, by the very force of the terms, the stream must come pure and unbroken, or they who give to-day, have nothing to bestow; as in good truth, they have not, of the kind supposed. 4. We have been greatly amused at the stress which has been laid, by more renowned men, than Mr. S. (either or all three of them) perhaps claims to be, upon the last argument used by him, to wit, elders cannot ordain, because they cannot confer or bestow that which they do not possess, &c. This negative proposition must, of course, logically derive its force from some previously ascertained affirmative one; thus, e. g.—a man may transfer that authority which he does possess; else how could it ever be known that he could not confer what he possessed not? Now no mortal that has an intellect, and will allow it to operate, but will see that both propositions may be false in innumerable cases; and that persons may be invested with ten thousand things, as well as rights, purely personal to themselves, and which they cannot transfer or bestow; and also, that persons may confer ten thousand rights, immunities and powers, which they do not themselves possess. Does any one suppose that all the worthies who make Doctors of Divinity and Law, up and down the country, periodically, from the end of July to the end of September, every year, especially throughout New England where the virus rages, are themselves all Doctors of Divinity and Law? Suppose the New Brunswick Presbytery were to hold a session in Princeton, and by some chance, only the ministers there composed it, and four Professors of Theology, four Professors in the college, and one Pastor, were to ordain and install a man over a church; what, on the hypothesis, would he be, when they were done with him? Would he be a Professor? Eight of the nine ordainers being so, and a man *conferring what he has*—he would be; except for the papal doctrine of *intention*. A Doctor? Six of the nine being such, he might be two-thirds of a Doctor. A Pastor? Surely not—since but one is a Pastor, and a man *cannot bestow authority which he does not possess!* Or suppose a minister and elders composing a church session attempt to ordain Deacons; here is work for you. Not a man amongst them, is or ever was a Deacon; therefore, there is no Deacon virus to impart. But by *intention*, none of them wish to make either a new Pastor or new Elders! So what will be made—who can tell? So under the Old Testament dispensation—when God told Moses to bring the Levites before the Lord and cause Aaron to consecrate them to his service, what did all the children of Israel impart to these Levites, when by the express command of God, they laid their hands on them? (Num. viii.) And when the first Deacons were ordained, if the Apostles laid hands on them, why did they not confer that mystic power which the Deacons could afterwards confer upon other Deacons, and what is the proof they did not do so? Or if the people and not the Apostles, laid hands on them, (which it is by no means clear was not the fact; see Acts vi.)—then what was imparted, and upon what principle? Or if Apostles and people unitedly imposed hands—each imparting what he had, and

neither what he had not, as the theory goes—what in reality, did the first Deacons receive—what do their successors in office receive—and upon what principle?

Rev. W. D. Howard, of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, argued for the final and immediate settlement of the question; contended that those who made the constitution, best knew what it meant, and their practice was against the claims now set up; that the tendency of these claims was wholly subversive of Presbyterianism, and the result would be that every church session would assume the right of ordaining, and then elders alone would claim that power; we had seen “a standing Moderator grow into the Pope of Rome,” &c. 1. We think the Assembly did the worst thing they could, if their design was to settle the question finally; and so the result will show. Unless men are gagged, or given far better reasons than have yet appeared, they will hardly be content to rest the subversion of important portions of our system on the infallibility of the Assembly of 1843. We venture to predict that the vote of the Assembly of 1853, will not be 138 to 9, that elders are a parenthesis. 2. We have sufficiently shown that the makers of the Constitution did make fundamental changes in their practice co-ordinately with the changes in the constitution: and that their recorded definitions and acts, and not vague surmises as to their practice by hasty partisans, who, it is painfully evident, never examined the subject, must determine our judgments. 3. If Mr. H. will carefully study any fair and able work on the primitive church, he will see that Parochial Presbyteries were the only sort that existed upon earth, from the Council of Nice in 325, back to almost the days of the Apostles; so that there lay no choice for ordination but between Prelacy and Parochial Presbyteries. Moreover, we should be most obliged to him for some scriptural or even rational objection, upon his own hypothesis even, to ordination by a church session—supposing that church, by being a collegiate charge, or in any other way had three or four Pastors; yea, more, we would be glad to be informed, supposing elders to be Scriptural Bishops, as Dr. Miller asserts—why any three, nay, upon the present hypothesis of the Repertory, any one of them, may not ordain? Such is the jumble of opinions which sensible men call a system. 4. The last argument is very odd; thus—ministers assumed the right to be not only exclusive, but standing Moderators—from which small beginning the Pope came: therefore, let us assert the claim of the ministers to exclusive ordination—for why?—to become Popes again? This is the logical conclusion; but surely the speaker could not have meant this?

Rev. D. Longmore, of the Presbytery of Newton, N. J. said he had, with much labour, reduced the whole argument into a nut shell, and the result was, that the *letter* of the law was for the claim of the elders, whilst its whole *spirit* was against it; whereupon, he moved the previous question, which the assembly sustained, and the Overture, No. 14, from the committee of four doctors, which we have copied on a previous page, was adopted by yeas and nays, 138 to 9. In regard to which, we note that this is the third advocate of the resolution adopted by the Assembly, who admitted on the floor of the body, that the proceeding was contrary to the letter of our standards. This

then, is our case; a case of chartered rights openly violated; a case of clear law flagrantly transgressed; a case of covenanted obligation publicly set aside. It is vain for gentlemen to plead the *spirit* of laws, to justify a palpable and conceded breach of the direct letter of a positive, written, precise, constitution. It is a plea upon which it is perfectly easy for those who are resolved to do so, to violate every law in the universe; and utterly futile under every other state of the case.

We come now to examine the arguments of *The Biblical Repertory* and *Princeton Review*, which, in its article on the last Assembly, has entered pretty largely into this question; as it had before done in a previous number, that for April 1843. So far as we have had occasion to notice the arguments used by the Repertory, in our replies to the speeches of members of the Assembly, we shall, in general, either pass them by, or only suggest new considerations, or new aspects of suggestions before made. In the article in the Repertory for July, the arguments used in the Assembly are, to a considerable degree, preserved; and in the arguments used in the Assembly, there are frequent traces of the article in the Repertory for April. Our main design, here as before, is to present and consider the *direct arguments* of our opponents; and in doing this, we are as much interested to put their arguments in a clear light, as they who used them are; since, otherwise, our answers would be no answers at all.

The Biblical Repertory for July 1843. Eleven pages (432—43) are devoted to this subject, headed "*Ruling Elders*;" of which a considerable part consists of a recapitulation of facts, an outline of the speech of Wm. L. Breckinridge, and a summary of the opposing arguments in the Assembly, with which the ideas of the editors of the work are apparently blended. The whole is given in a very diluted form; but as far we can determine, the first position is: That although the constitution declares that the Presbytery consists of ministers and elders, and that ordination is the work of the Presbytery; yet it does not follow, that elders can take part in that work; since the idea intended by the book clearly is, that a Presbytery is a body of ministers regularly convened, of which body, elders are delegated, but not constituent members, and have only the power of deliberating and voting: from whence it is inferred that Presbytery often means only the body of ministers; and the word "members" only the ministers. To which we reply, that we have already shown clearly, that the argument, if true, proves nothing, as to what elders may do when they chance to be present; unless it were first proved that when present, they are not members; which never can be proved, since that they *are* members, *when* members, is self-evident. We add, that as for any distinction in *power*, arising from the fact that some members are delegated, and others constituent members; there is no such distinction made in the constitution—nor in the Bible—nor is there any such in the nature of the case, or in reason, as we have before shown; how long, or by what tenure, power is held, having no possible relation to the nature of the power held; and it would not be a whit more absurd to say, a judge has no judicial power because he was elected by the people or the legislature, than to say a Presbyter has no power to ordain, because he is delegated by a church session. Again, there is

not the most remote hint in the constitution, or the Bible, that elders are delegated only to deliberate and vote—while ministers, being constituent members, have other, farther, and exclusive powers; and if there were proof to the contrary, it would amount to nothing unless it were clearly shown, that that further power was the very one in contest. But, “in every Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, at least as many Ruling as Teaching Elders are entitled to a place,” and “in these several *Judicatories* the Ruling Elder has an equal vote, and the same powers in every respect, with the Pastors.” (*Dr. Miller on Ruling Elders*, p. 203.) Again, we insist that it is a dangerous, revolutionary, and incompetent procedure, to defeat the fundamental and most formal definitions of a constitution, by verbal quibbles; and that seeing a Presbytery is, *in totidem verbis*, defined to consist of ministers and elders, it is not capable of proof, that a Presbytery does not consist of ministers and elders; much less that this instrument so defining, does not bind itself to that sense; and, least of all, that a monstrous proposition against the very letter of the instrument can be established, by putting other parts of it to the torture.

The next argument, reiterates that used and afterwards written out by Dr. Maclean; which having sufficiently considered, we pass, simply adding, that we consider the statement of historical facts by the Repertory, inaccurate, and the inference from them illogical, even if they were stated with precision. We make the same remarks, as to the next following argument and statements (top p. 439) in regard to the manner in which the standards have been heretofore understood.

It is next alleged, that the work of ministerial ordination is inconsistent with the nature of the office of Ruling Elder, and, therefore, the word Presbytery must be so taken as to mean not Ministers and Elders, but Ministers only: the major proposition proved, as to our standards, by the words put into the mouths of the members when they say “take part in this ministry with us”—“the word ministry means ministry of the gospel, and in our standards it means nothing else.” Further proved against the competency of elders to ordain, that none can ordain to any office which they do not themselves hold: and this is declared to be the sense “of all churches except the Brownists.” We reply, 1. That as to the nature of the office of Ruling Elder, under our system, and the distribution of church powers, legislative, executive and judicial—stated by Chancellor Johns and endorsed by the Repertory, we have said before what we deem needful at present to expose this extraordinary and unscriptural theory. Or if more need be added, we crave to know what officer can ordain, if a Scriptural Bishop cannot; and Dr. Miller asserts that Ruling Elders are in Scripture, called Bishops. And seeing, moreover, that Ruling Elders are, on all hands, allowed *judicial powers*, how can the exclusion of elders from the ordination of ministers, for want of competent authority be defended, by such as hold that ordination is the exercise of a *judicial* function? as, for example, Hall, in his *Gospel Church*, quoted and commended as “a thorough-going advocate for Presbyterian order,” by Dr. Miller in his *Essay on Ruling Elders*, (Ch. xiii. p. 291.) Moreover, if the facts were, as stated in the Repertory, the inference is against reason; for since the con-

stitution defines that a Presbytery shall consist of ministers and elders, that is conclusive as to the composition of the Presbytery; and if it can be proved from other parts, that the constitution believes elders to be incompetent to ordain, then the result is, not to turn elders out of Presbytery, in order that the ministers left may ordain, but to leave the Presbytery alone, and find some other ordaining power; e. g. the next minister you meet, according to the new theory of the Repertory. For by finding a new ordaining power, you only violate one definition, to wit, that which declares that Presbytery must ordain; but by turning out the elders, and then making the ministers left ordain as a Presbytery, you violate three definitions, to wit, that Presbytery is composed of ministers *and elders*, that thus composed it shall ordain, and that unless thus composed it is not regularly a Presbytery. 2. As to the proof afforded by the words "take part of this ministry"—and the assertion that the word *ministry* "in our standards means nothing else" but ministers of the gospel; we deny totally that the sense of the words *can be* such in the place referred to, (Form of Gov. Ch. XV, Sec. 14,) as to exclude elders; because "all the members of Presbytery" are commanded to use them, or words, to the same purpose; and Ruling Elders are by express law and words, members; so that it is incompetent to attempt to force such a sense, and throw them out in this manner. And again, we deny that this is the exclusive sense of the word *ministry*, even if that and no other word is obliged to be used; and for proof, refer to Ch. XXV. Sec. 3. Con. Faith, as compared with Ch. III. Sec. 2, Form of Government; in the former it is asserted that unto the "*visible church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God,*" &c., and in the latter, that the "*ordinary and perpetual officers in the church, are Pastors, Ruling Elders and Deacons.*" And to this agree our best and most learned writers on church order; Dr. Miller, in his *Essay on Ruling Elders*, (Ch. IX. p. 197,) says, Ruling Elders are not to be considered "as a mere ecclesiastical convenience,"—"but as bearing an office of divine appointment—as *the ministers of God for good to his church,*" &c. And to this also agree the Scriptures; for the whole of the officers of the church, ordinary and extraordinary, are expressly declared to be a part of the ascension gifts of Christ—and all are given "*for the work of the ministry.*" (See Eph. iv. 12, 13, and 1 Cor. xiii. 27—9.) So that according to our best writers, our constitution and our Bible, Elders are *the ministers of God*; are a part of the divinely appointed *ministry*; and the contrary assertion of the Repertory is as unfounded, as the argument it sustains is incompetent.—The assertion that elders cannot unite in ordaining ministers because none can assist in "an induction into a particular office," "who do not hold that office," has been, perhaps, sufficiently noticed; or if more need be said, then we desire to know how, on that supposition, ministers, *sine titulo*, or doctors, can assist in ordaining *pastors*, which they are not and never were? If it be replied, because they are *Presbyters*; we answer, so are Elders. If it be replied, they are *Preaching Presbyters*, and have, in all respects, the same powers as to the word and sacraments as *pastors*; then we reply, first, this is by no means clear, and the church of Scotland held the exact contrary from her first reformation till the

Westminster Assembly, and refused, by explicit reservation, to subscribe to the doctrine of that Assembly on this point, (see Act of Assembly of Feb'y 10, 1645,) and, secondly, that Ruling Presbyters differ not so much from Preaching Presbyters, touching the word and sacraments, as Pastors do from Doctors, touching all that relates to the cure of souls, which is the grand work of the ministry, and in which the Pastor and Elder agree; wherefore, there is more reason to exclude the Doctor than the Elder. Moreover, this whole ground of exclusion, goes on the supposition that there is an essential difference *as to order* between some Presbyters, to wit, Elders, and other Presbyters, to wit, Ministers—which, if it were true, is utterly subversive of Presbyterianism; for if a Presbyter is *in ordine* equal to a Bishop, then the whole argument we now oppose is confuted; but if a Presbyter is not only *in ordine* below a Bishop, but below other Presbyters, so that he cannot ordain from defect of power *in ordine*, how perfectly absurd is it to argue for parity of Presbyters with each other, much less of Presbyters and Bishops? Every Prelatist holds that every Bishop is equal to every other Bishop, and every Presbyter to every other Presbyter, but that no Presbyter is equal to any Bishop; and this we call *imparity*—Prelacy: but the Repertory holds that some Presbyters, to wit, Elders, are not equal to other Presbyters, to wit, Ministers; that some Presbyters, to wit, Elders, are not equal to any Bishop, to wit, any Minister; and that one kind of Bishop, to wit, Elder, is not equal to another kind, to wit, Minister; and yet this three-fold *imparity*, is standard Presbyterianism—of which *parity*, that is parity of all Bishops and Presbyters, to and with each other, and also amongst themselves—is a fundamental doctrine! Oh! Hedge! Oh! Whately! Oh! Aristotle! 4. But “all churches, except the Brownists,” think so. The day will come when learned men will wonder how they ever allowed themselves to say such things. We have already referred to the Second Book of Discipline of the Scottish Church; and to the Confessio Helvetica Posterior, which was subscribed by most of the Reformed Churches; and to the *Confessio Belgica*. In *Art. XXXI, De Vocatione Ministrorum Ecclesiæ* of the last named Confession, it is explicitly declared that the work of holy ordination, as to manner and form, is prescribed in God's Word, and appertains “*verbi ministris et senioribus Ecclesiæ;*” and that by it Ministers, Elders and Deacons, ought to be “*confirmari in muneribus suis per impositionem manuum.*” And the noble Hevetic Confession, above named, is, perhaps, still more express: *Ch. XVIII. De Ministris Ecclesiæ ipsorumque institutione et officiis*, in the sixth section, “*Et qui (ministri, silicet) electi sunt, ordinentur a senioribus, cum orationibus publicis, et impositione manuum;*” *Those who have been elected ministers, are to be ordained by the Elders, with public prayers, and imposition of hands;* and to put the matter past all doubt, a previous section, distinguishes “*Presbyteri, Pastores atque Doctores*” carefully from each other, and declares of the first named, “*Presbyteri sunt seniores, et quasi senatores, patresque ecclesiæ, gubernantes ipsam consilio salubri.*” “*Brownists*”—quotha? If there is one Confession that can be called *the Confession* of the Reformation this is it; and this is its doctrine, hooted—denied—degraded—ridiculed—spurned—by the seminaries, the church courts, the religious press—and kicked out of the Assembly, 138 to 9!

The argument which follows next, (p. 441, 2.) is new and thorough. It had been argued, as it was long ago in the Westminster Assembly, and voted too, that ordination belongs to the Presbytery as a court, and not as so many individuals, and, therefore, the right of the body establishes the right of those who compose it. To this the Repertory replies by a full statement and argument, the design of which is to show that "any two or three ministers," indeed "any one minister" may ordain; in the course of which it is asserted to be evidently "the doctrine of the Scripture," that "Presbyterial ordination is ordination by a single Presbyter or Presbyters, and not by a Presbytery, in our technical sense of the term." To this are attached several subordinate but dependent considerations; one is, that on no other ground can we "hold up our heads in the presence of Prelacy;" a second is, that on no other, can we admit the validity of any ordination but our own; and a third is, that the non-conformity of our constitution with this scriptural doctrine, is the result of "a contract," into which "all the ministers of the Presbyterian church have entered"—"with each other," &c. To this we reply: 1. That there is a want of clearness in the whole statement, resulting from confounding two things which are wholly and radically different; i. e. it may be true that a *plurality* of Presbyters casually met, may be authorized to ordain others; and yet be far from the truth, that *one* Presbyter can, under any circumstances, ordain another. Let us help out the argument by establishing the distinction. 2. We see no objection, rational or scriptural, to admitting that any three or more Presbyters met together, may ordain other Presbyters; nor do we perceive any objections to admitting that this may be done by Bishops or Presbyters, of either sort; nor do we suppose the ordination is null, even if any tolerable number of private members of "the royal priesthood" should, under extraordinary circumstances, find it indispensable; but it is manifest that in none of these cases, could the Presbyter or Bishop, upon this kind of ordination, claim the rights and immunities of any particular church or society, as a minister or officer thereof, without some further proceedings; as e. g. supposing Titus thus ordained, he is truly a Bishop—but not one of the Bishops of the church at Antioch; and upon this general ground, the way is clear to admit the *validity* of ordinations which do not make men Presbyterians, nay, even of those which we may not consider *regular*. 3. We believe it will be hard to find any respectable Presbyterian authority to bear out the Repertory in the other proposition, to wit, that one minister may scripturally ordain another; and beyond question, the notion is utterly and out and out anti-presbyterial, if not anti-protestant. "There is not a solitary instance to be found in all the New Testament, of an ordination being performed by a *single individual*, whether an ordinary, or extraordinary minister." (*Dr. Miller's Tract on Presbyterianism*, Ch. II.) The Jews, from whose Synagogue model that of the Christian church was taken, taught that less than three persons could not ordain; the Council of Nice declared ordinations not canonical, if less than three Bishops performed them; and so the early church in general held; (see the *Irenicum*, p. 309, 10, edition 1842.) And such is the doctrine of the creeds at, and since the Reformation, and of the whole Presbyterian world from that glo-

rious era, till last July, as far as we have been able to discover. Our own system is explicit on the subject. (See Ch. X. Form of Gov.) 3. That under these circumstances, such a figment should be called, by eminence, Presbyterian doctrine—be pronounced “surely the doctrine of the Scriptures”—be declared “the only doctrine on which we can hold up our heads in the presence of Prelacy,” is absolutely pitiable. 4. So far are we from believing, as the Repertory seems to suppose all must believe, who reject its exposition in the premises, “that the right to ordain” arises “from any provision of our constitution;” we confidently assert, that any such contract as that which it supposes all Presbyterian ministers have entered into with each other, not to exercise a clear and inherent right vested by God himself in their office, except under limitations materially distinct from those which God has affixed to its exercise—is null, and impious. We repeat it; if God has said the right to ordain is inherent in the ministerial office, and every minister is invested with complete and entire power to ordain, exclusive of the presence and aid of others, under his proper and responsible discretion; then for any minister, much less for all ministers, thus believing, to bind themselves not to ordain except when two or three are present and aiding, and not even then, except when they are duly organized into a court of a particular form; this is making a religion for God—not executing God’s religion—and is wholly against law, reason, and conscience.

What the Repertory next proceeds to, is the light supposed to be afforded as to the meaning of the framers of our constitution by their practice; and the influence their conduct should have on us, in determining the sense of the written instruments which they adopted; and, by consequence, the sense of God’s Word, as the force and efficacy of those standards depend on their conformity with it. Is there any method by which it would be possible to satisfy the gentlemen who conduct this periodical at Princeton, that the writers of the Bible did not intend to teach the resurrection of the body? If not, it is obvious, that all proof extraneous to a written instrument, by which its sense is sought to be established, must confine itself to such parts thereof as are not of themselves already clear and formally set out. But to attempt to defeat and set aside the formal and detailed expositions of a written document by proof *aliunde*, is utterly inadmissible. Nor will it do to say, the parts now in dispute are not plain; for in the first place, the Repertory itself says they are, and thereby excludes this kind of proof; and in the second, on our side, we can no more be affected by mere allegations that men who say two and two are four, in fact mean that they are twenty, and that we must, therefore, take the fact as settled that two and two are twenty; than the writers for the Repertory would be by the boldest declarations of some Sadducee, for example, that when the Bible speaks of the resurrection of the body, its writers really mean that man has no soul. Now we are not without most instructive examples, that the persons who formally adopted our present standards in 1788, are very far from being practical models, by whose conduct we can safely determine either what those standards do mean, or ought to mean: e. g. their unconstitutional and most injurious conduct in regard to the “*plan of union*,” in relation to which the same sort of arguments were used by the New School party, as are now relied on to degrade

the office of Ruling Elder. Nor are we without abundant evidence on every hand, that no practice can be a safe proof of the sense of the rule by which the practice *ought to be* regulated; e. g. it was never doubted, in Scotland, Ireland, or America, that the office of Deacon is a permanent, scriptural office; and yet, when we entered on our ministry, we took the trouble to examine into this matter, and ascertained that this office had sunk in complete and general disuse amongst most Presbyterians in all those countries; and when, eleven years ago, we caused a Board of Deacons to be elected and ordained in the church we serve—we could not learn, upon strict inquiry, that there had ever been one single Deacon attached to any church within the bounds of our Presbytery until that time, although some of those churches are nearly a century and a half old; and to this hour, we much doubt if one half of the churches in our connexion have Deacons, notwithstanding the great efforts which have been made for years past, in and out of the church courts, to cause the general restoration of this important officer. We simply mean to point out the utter futility of this sort of proof, in a case like this, where it is attempted to control precise and express teachings, by showing that the conduct of the people who used the language, proves that they meant the opposite of what they say; and to show this by vague and idle criticisms, and unguarded assertions touching matters that are uncertain or indifferent. “To be told that the Confession has been long established; that while all the” Presbyterian “churches in the world, receive this class of officers, in one form or other, they are no where” allowed to impose hands in ordaining ministers;—“that this is the custom of the church; that to depart from it would be to innovate and give offence, &c.; that this rite may be omitted without injury, not being an essential part of ordination, &c.—*is surely little adapted to satisfy an inquiring mind, desirous of receiving, as well as of being able to give a reason for every practice.*” (*Dr. Miller on Ruling Elders*, Ch. XIII. p. 287.) Nor would the matter be mended, considering the peculiar notions and reasonings, as well as the strange assertions to which our attention has been directed, if some one should assume a tone of lofty derision and superiority, and tell us, “it is rather late in the day to begin to teach the whole Presbyterian world what are the first principles of their own system.” (*Repertory*, p. 443.) Indeed it rather seems to us, that it is high time that task were well set about, as it regards a very considerable portion of that “Presbyterian world;” for many, who for the time, certainly ought to be teachers, do indeed appear to have made sad mistakes in regard to some of “the first principles of their own system.” Some of us, assuredly, are much in the dark.

We are not surprised to see the *Repertory* devote a paragraph to the purpose of justifying its use of the phrase “*lay ordination*,” as applied to ordination in which elders participate, and the further one of insinuating the propriety of calling elders “*laymen*.” Certainly it is but natural. After a man is stripped, he may be safely and properly said to be naked; and it would evidently be a stretch of civility beyond what sound principles warrant, if, indeed, it were not open mockery, to distinguish a man by names drawn from his apparel or implements of office, when they have been wholly removed as not

rightly appertaining to him. So, if indeed the Presbytery is fully and regularly organised without this particular class of officers; if, also, even when they are present, they cannot be allowed to unite in certain important business on account of their inherent, official incompetency; then it does really seem as if we had better cease to give them any appellation by which the opposite state of case is expressed. Moreover, there is no better way to get a dog hung, than to give him a bad name. We beg, however, very respectfully, to call the attention of the editors of the Repertory, to an argument, covering seven or eight pages, intended to prove that the term "*lay-elders*," much less "*lay-men*," ought not to be applied to Ruling Elders, which will be found in Ch. IX. pp. 205—12, of *Dr. Miller's Essay on Ruling Elders*; and is, we think, conclusive.

The last suggestion, is the repetition of the allegation that the "new doctrine," as the Repertory insists on calling it, is "destructive of the office of Ruling Elder, by merging it into the ministry,"—which is briefly urged. Here, it will be observed, are two propositions jumbled into one conclusion; to destroy the office of elder is one thing; to destroy it by merging it into the ministry is another. As to the first proposition, we observe, that since the constitution expressly defines that it belongs to *the Presbytery* "to ordain, install, remove and judge ministers," and that a Presbytery consists of ministers and elders, (Ch. X. Sec. 8, and 2 Form of Gov't,) it is conceded on all hands, and was never questioned, we suppose, that elders may aid in judging, removing, and installing ministers, and may also aid in taking candidates for the ministry on trial, directing their studies, vote on all questions touching their progress to ordination, vote on that ordination, fast as preparatory to it, and unite in prayer at it; all by reason of that clause of the constitution and the scripture which it rests upon: all this is conceded, and every where practiced. But by virtue of the same clause, every part of ordination appertains to the same Presbytery; and "the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery," being a part of ordination, (Ch. XV. Sec. 14,) of course, and upon the clearest principles of human reason, it follows, *that this ceremony cannot be partaken of by certain members of the Presbytery—without destroying the very office by virtue of which they have done and continue to do, every other thing pertaining to the judging, receiving, installing or ordaining ministers!* Now admitting it to be absolutely certain, that if under these circumstances, an elder should venture to lay on hands, his office is destroyed; we confess ourself in the dark as to the peculiar, mystic and fatal cause of this sudden and singular destruction. As to the second point, that this destruction is effected by the merging of the office of elder into the office of minister—we are still more perplexed; and cannot conceive, either the cause, the manner, or the instrument of so remarkable a result, to wit, that a Ruling Elder, by laying his hands on the head of a man *about to be made a minister*, becomes, *ipso facto*, a minister himself! It is by no means proper, however, for us to reject all we cannot at once comprehend; and supposing there may be some reality in this novel and remarkable theory, it occurs to us that a very large number of our elders may already have been thus merged into preachers, for some of them have actually imposed hands in the critical circumstances

indicated, without being at all aware of their danger; and very many more have been present, and members of presbytery when *the Presbytery imposed hands*—which, they being members, was, in law and in fact their act, as really as the act of the members who imposed their hands—the heads of very few men being large enough (except in their own imaginations) to admit of the actual and physical imposition of the hands of all the members of a Presbytery; and thus, perhaps, the larger part of our elders, are *merged* ministers, if not canonical ones. In which case, we submit, there is little danger, either to themselves or the preachers, to be apprehended from their taking further part in ordinations, and, therefore, the less reason for turning them out of doors, physically or morally, when they occur.

We have now gone over, with as much brevity as was consistent with a clear presentation of the case in its various aspects, all that was said in the last Assembly, and printed since, of any consequence, so far as we have seen, in support of a proposition which, as we firmly believe is, in itself absurd, in its effects likely to be deeply hurtful, and in its foundation utterly unscriptural. It was our purpose some time ago, to notice pretty fully, a previous article in the Repertory for last April; but before we had opportunity to do so, a new aspect has been given to the whole case, which seems to render unnecessary a task which would, on many accounts, have been painful to us.

In the present article we have not had it in view to prove any thing directly; but only to show how the arguments on the other side which seem to have force may be answered; how the statements which appear to be important may be set aside; how things which look plausible are unsound; and, in general, to point out how utterly remote the cause of the 9 against the 138—is from being overpowered by any thing but the nakedest *brutum fulmen*. In the proper place, and at the proper time, as already intimated, we shall, if God permit, set about the direct maintenance of a cause, which is very dear to our heart, and which seems to be much endangered.

One great good, we think, cannot fail to result from the discussion of all the subjects to which we have directed the attention of our readers, in this article. The church will be obliged to look with a careful eye at the great and distinguishing features of her polity; and will thereby, it is to be hoped, understand it better, both in its principles and its action, and appreciate more truly its beauty, its force, its glorious efficiency and its divine obligation. That such an examination is much needed, is made painfully evident by the discordant theories, the ill-considered principles, the extraordinary statements, the contradictory opinions, and the superficial reasonings, which have so abounded for years past in relation to almost every distinctive feature and principle, not only of our own, but of all church government. For our part, we believe that God may have a true church where there is no church order at all; and that churches may be true churches, and yet not be constituted perfectly after the scriptural model, just as we believe they may be so, and not perfectly teach or even hold the whole doctrine of Christ; and we cannot see how an opposite opinion can be maintained for one moment. Yet still we firmly hold that God has revealed in his Holy Word, a form of Church Government, and that it is our business to observe it—our loss and our sin if

we depart from it. And we are deeply and painfully convinced that upon this whole subject the visible church in general, is far removed from a punctual and exact conformity with the divine oracles; and that our own branch of it, is by no means free from the sin and folly of being wise above what is written, and the shame of professing that the truth of God is her rule, while in many things she walks in the light of her own eyes. Holding these opinions, our plain duty seems to be to preserve with sedulous care the best relations with all the true followers of Christ, and at the same time to contend earnestly, but yet with candour, for the scriptural order of God's house. If we can do no more, we will at least endeavour that the records of the church, and the current history of its proceedings shall leave no man room to say in future times, as many are saying now, and contenting themselves with the miserable pretext—that the great principles for which we contend—when they shall be hereafter, and under better auspices, dug out of the rubbish of this perverse generation—were before not heard of in the church of God. In this attempt, we thank God, we have reason to rely on the countenance of men in every part of the church, whose lives are the best answer to the clamour with which those who now occupy the principal posts of influence in our denomination, are striving to bear down our principles; and whose learning and abilities will render another sort of writing and talking, from any that has yet appeared, necessary, before the ministry of our church can be permitted to subvert some of the most essential safe-guards of its rights and liberties, and establish securely though at a distance, the foundations of Prelacy.

[For the Spirit of the XIX. Century.]

LIFE OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

PART II.

From the Swearing of the Covenant, 1638, to the Pacification at Berwick, 1639.

The number of the petitioners against the innovations increased so rapidly, that in a short time the body of the nation was embarked in the cause, and they found it necessary to divide themselves into four companies, consisting of the noblemen, the gentlemen of the shires, the burgesses, and the ministers, and to commit the prosecution of their petitions to a certain number of deputies, or commissioners, appointed by each of these; which was done with the approbation of the Privy Council. After having been amused for some time with promises, their meetings were suddenly prohibited by a proclamation from his majesty—under pain of rebellion. Alarmed by this procedure, and convinced that they could not confide in the court, they saw the necessity of adopting some other method for strengthening their union. They recollected, that formerly, in a time of great danger, the nation of Scotland had entered into a solemn covenant, by which they bound themselves to continue in the true Protestant religion, and to defend and support one another in that cause against their common enemies. The several Tables being assembled, the noblemen having called Messrs. Henderson and Dickson to their assistance, agreed to renew their covenant, and approved of a draught for this purpose. This being sent to the other Tables, was unanimously adopted. It was substantially the same with the National Covenant, which had been sworn by all ranks, and ratified by every authority in the kingdom during the preceding reign, but was adapted to the corruptions which had been introduced since that period, and to the circumstances in which the Covenanters were placed, in which respect it differed from what was called the King's Covenant, afterwards enjoined. On the 1st of March, 1638, the Covenant was

sworn with uplifted hands, and subscribed in the Grey-friar's church, by thousands, consisting of the nobility, gentry, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons, assembled from all parts of Scotland, and copies of it being circulated throughout the kingdom, it was every where sworn and subscribed with the greatest alacrity. This memorable deed, of which it would be improper to forget the authors, was prepared by Alexander Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and Archibald Johnston, afterwards of Warriston, an advocate, in whom the supplicants chiefly confided, and revised by Balmerino, Loudon and Rothes.

About this time the city of Edinburgh fixed their eyes upon Mr. Henderson for one of their ministers. Among other articles of information sent up to the Scottish bishops then at London, by their friends in Scotland, was the following: "That the Council of Edinburgh have made choice of Mr Alexander Henderson to be helper to Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and intend to admit him without advice or consent of the bishops." It is probable that his own aversion to be translated which he afterwards discovered to be very strong, and the desire of the petitioners not to throw any unnecessary obstacle in the way of the settlement, were the causes which hindered the motion from being carried into effect at this time.

In the month of July, Mr. Henderson, together with Mr. Dickson, was sent by the Tables to the North, to persuade the inhabitants to take the Covenant, particularly those of Aberdeen, who by the influence of their doctors of divinity and the Marquis of Huntley had hitherto declined to join with their brethren in other parts of the nation. Upon their arrival at Aberdeen, the doctors presented to them fourteen captious demands respecting the Covenant, which they had drawn up with much care and art. Different papers passed between the doctors and the deputed ministers on this subject, which were published. Those of the latter were written by Mr. Henderson. The deputies being otherwise engaged, and seeing no prospect of removing the prejudices of men who had adopted principles which led them to comply with whatever the court should enjoin, desisted from the controversy, and left it to be carried on by individuals through the press. Being refused access to the pulpits of Aberdeen, they preached to great crowds of people in the open air. Many were disposed to mock, but the only outrage which took place—was committed by a student, named Logie, a profligate youth, who threw stones at the commissioners while Mr. Henderson was preaching; and who, shortly after, was found guilty of the murder of a boy, and executed.

The next public appearance which Mr. Henderson was called to make, was in the celebrated Assembly which met at Glasgow. The petitioners continuing firm and united, the court found it necessary to grant their demands, by calling a General Assembly and Parliament, to consider the grievances of which the nation complained. The first thing which engaged the attention of the Assembly, which sat down on the 21st of November 1638, was the choice of a Moderator. Considering the critical state of affairs, the period which had elapsed since a General Assembly had been held in Scotland, the important discussions expected, and the multitude assembled to witness them, the filling of this station in a proper manner was of great consequence. It required a person of authority, resolution, and prudence—one who could act in a difficult situation in which he had not formerly been placed. Mr. Henderson had given evidence of his possessing these qualifications in a high degree, and he was unanimously called to the chair.

Throughout the whole of that Assembly he justified the good opinion which his brethren entertained of him. His prudence and ability was put to the test on two occasions—the dissolution of the Assembly by the royal commissioner, and the excommunication of the bishops. Of his conduct it is proper to give some account.

Although the King had called the Assembly, it was not his design to allow them fairly to proceed to the discussion of ecclesiastical business, and to examine and rectify abuses, but only to cause to be registered such concessions flowing from his own will and authority, as he found it necessary in present circumstances to grant. The Marquis of Hamilton his Commissioner, had instructions not to consent formally to any part of their procedure, and, at a proper time to oppose a nullity to the whole. On the other hand, the members considered themselves as a free Assembly, and were resolved to claim and exercise that liberty and power which they possessed, agreeably to Presbyterian principles, and the laws of the land, ratifying the Presbyterian government, and the freedom of its judicatories. The declinature of the bishops having been read at the repeated request of the commissioner, the Assembly were proceeding in course to vote themselves competent judges of the libels raised against them. Upon this the Commissioner interposed, and declared that if they proceeded to this, he could continue with them no longer,

and delivered his majesty's concessions to be read and registered. After the clerk had read them, the Moderator addressed his grace in a grave and well digested speech. He returned thanks, in the name of the Assembly, for his majesty's goodness in calling the Assembly, and the willingness to remove the grievances complained of, which he had testified in the paper now read. He condescended upon the power which the Reformed Churches allowed to magistrates respecting ecclesiastical affairs, and declared that the Assembly were heartily disposed to give unto their king and his commissioner, all that honour and obedience which was consistent with the duty they owed the King of kings. "Sir," answered the commissioner, "you have spoken as becometh a good Christian and a dutiful subject, and I am hopeful that you will conduct yourself with that deference you owe to your royal sovereign, all of whose commands will, (I trust) be found agreeable to the commandments of God." The Moderator replied, that being indicted by his Majesty, and constituted according to the acts and practice of former times, they looked upon themselves as a free Assembly, and he trusted that all things would be conducted agreeably to the laws of God and reason, and hoped that their king, being such a lover of righteousness, would, upon a proper representation, agree with them. Having said this, he asked the members again, if he should put the question as to the competency of the Assembly to judge the bishops? The Commissioner urged that the question should be deferred. "Nay, with your Grace's permission, that cannot be," said the Moderator; "for it is fit to be only after the declination hath been under consideration." The Commissioner repeated, that in this case it behooved him to withdraw. "I wish the contrary, from the bottom of my heart," replied Mr. Henderson, "and that your Grace would continue to favour us with your presence, without obstructing the work and freedom of the Assembly." After having in vain insisted on the Moderator to conclude with prayer, the commissioner did, in his Majesty's name, dissolve the Assembly, discharging them, under the highest pains, from continuing to sit longer.

Upon the commissioner's leaving the house, the Moderator delivered an animating address to the Assembly. He reminded them of the Divine countenance which had hitherto been shown to them in the midst of their greatest difficulties. They had done all that was in their power to obtain the countenance of human authority, and now, when deprived of it, they ought not to be discouraged in maintaining the rights which they had received from Christ, as a court constituted in his name. "We perceive," said he, "his Grace, my Lord Commissioner, to be zealous of his royal master's commands, have we not as good reason to be zealous towards our Lord, and to maintain the liberties and privileges of his kingdom?" Immediately after this, upon the Moderator's putting the question, the members did, first by uplifted hands, and then by a formal vote, declare their resolution to remain together until they finished the weighty business which urgently demanded their consideration.

At the opening of the next session, Mr. Henderson again addressed the Assembly, and put them in mind of the propriety of their paying particular attention, in the circumstances in which they were now placed, to gravity, quietness and order: not, he said, that he assumed anything to himself, but he was bold to direct them in that—wherein he knew he had the consent of their own minds. It is but justice to add, that this advice was punctually complied with throughout the whole of that long Assembly. The Assembly having finished the processes of the bishops, agreed, at the close of their nineteenth session, that the sentences passed against them, should be publicly pronounced next day by the Moderator, after a sermon to be preached by him, suitable to the solemn occasion. It was in vain that he pleaded his fatigue, the multiplicity of affairs by which his attention was distracted, and the shortness of the advertisement, with a view to preparation. No excuse was admitted.

Accordingly, at the time appointed, he preached, before a very large auditory, from Psalm cx. 1, "The Lord said unto my lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." After narrating the steps which the Assembly had taken, and causing an abstract of the evidence against the bishops, to be read for the satisfaction of the people, he, "in a very dreadful and grave manner," (says one who was present), pronounced the sentences of deposition and excommunication: the whole Assembly being deeply affected, and filled with mingled emotions of admiration, pity, and awe.

On the day following, a petition from St. Andrews, was presented to the Assembly, supplicating that Mr. Henderson should be translated to that city. This was opposed by the Commissioners from Edinburgh, who pleaded that he was already their minister-elect. Mr. Henderson, himself, was extremely averse to remove from his present charge, and keenly opposed it in the Assembly. He pleaded that he was too old a plant to take root in another soil, and that he might be more useful where he was, than in a public station. If he was to be removed, his love of retirement inclined him rather to St. Andrews, than Edinburgh. After a warm contest between the two places, it was carried that he should be translated to Edinburgh.

Upon this decision of the Assembly, he submitted, having obtained a promise that he should be allowed to remove to a country charge, if his health should require it, or when the infirmities of old age should overtake him.

When the Assembly had brought their business to a conclusion, Mr. Henderson addressed them in an able speech of considerable length, of which we can here present only an outline. He apologised for the imperfect manner in which he had discharged the duties of the situation in which they had placed him, and thanked them for rendering his task so easy, by the manner in which they had conducted themselves; exhorted them gratefully to remember the wonderful goodness of the Almighty, and not to overlook

the instances of favour which they had received from their temporal sovereign. He adverted to the galling yoke from which they had been rescued; pointed out some of the visible marks of the finger of God in effecting this, and earnestly exhorted them to a discreet use, and steady maintenance of the liberties which they had obtained. "We are like a man that has lain long in irons, who, after they are off, and he redeemed, feels not his liberty for some time, but the smart of them makes him apprehend that they are on him still: so it is with us, we do not feel our liberty. Take heed of a second defection; and rather endure the greatest extremity, than be entangled again in the yoke of bondage." In conclusion, he inculcated upon them a favourable construction of his Majesty's opposition to them; expressed his high sense of the distinguished part which the nobles, barons, and burgesses had acted; of the harmony which had reigned among the ministers, and of the kind and hospitable treatment which the members of Assembly had received from the city of Glasgow. After desiring some members to supply any thing which he had omitted, he concluded with prayer, singing the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm, and pronouncing the apostolical benediction. Upon which the Assembly arose in triumph. "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho," said Mr. Henderson, when the members were rising, "let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel, the Bethelite." The distinguished place which Mr. Henderson occupied in this Assembly, and the active part which he took in its proceedings, could not fail, notwithstanding the propriety and moderation of his conduct, to expose him to the resentment of the court and bishops. In the "Large Declaration," drawn up by Dr. Balcanqual, and published in the king's name, he is called the "prime and most rigid Covenanter in the kingdom." Archbishop Laud, in a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, says, that the only thing, in the full accounts sent him of the proceedings of the Assembly, which required an answer, was, "That Mr. Alexander Henderson, who went all this while for a quiet and calm-spirited man, hath shown himself a most violent and passionate man, and a moderator without moderation." Nor was the primate at any loss to account for this transformation of the lamb into the lion: for he adds, "Truly, my lord, never did I see any man of that humour, (the Presbyterian), but he was deep-dyed in some violence or other; and it would have been a wonder to me if Henderson had held free." Meek eyed and merciful Prelate! thou hast ever inspired thy votaries with moderation. The proceedings of the High Commission and Star Chamber will continue to bear witness, that their voice was never disgraced by rude passion, nor their hand stained with violence or blood. The censures of men disappointed in the mad project of subjugating a whole nation under tyranny and superstition, will be regarded as praises by all good Christians and patriots. A short time after this, Laud and Balcanqual were declared "public incendiaries" by the king, and the parliaments of both kingdoms, while Mr. Henderson was honoured by them, and his conduct vindicated as laudable and patriotic.

Whilst his countrymen were making preparations, during the winter of 1639, for defending themselves against the hostile invasion from England, Mr. Henderson's pen was employed in several publications, in vindication of their proceedings. Among other papers, he drew up "The Remonstrance of the Nobility, &c., within the Kingdom of Scotland, vindicating them and their proceedings from the crimes where-with they are charged by the late Proclamation in England, Feb. 27, 1639," which paper, after being revised by the deputies, was published and circulated in England, and was of great advantage to their cause in that country. He also drew up "Instructions for Defensive arms," intended to give information to all among themselves, respecting the just and necessary grounds of the defensive war into which they were forced. As this was hastily composed, and the subject was delicate, he declined making it public; but one Corbet, a deposed minister, who fled to Ireland, carried a copy along with him, and published it with an answer.

As it contains a vindication of the nation in that important affair, and of himself, in the share which he took in it, a short view of its contents may not be improper here. The question he states with great accuracy, to be, Whether or not the body of a nation, with the nobles, counsellors, barons, and burgesses, owning all just subjection to the supreme magistrate, and only seeking the enjoyment of their religion and liberties, established and solemnly guaranteed to them, have a right to stand on their defence against a king, who, at a distance from his people, and misled by the misinformation and malice of evil counsellors, invades them at the head of a foreign force, to overturn their laws, and bring ruin upon themselves and their posterity? That they have such a right, and that it is their duty to use it, he argues from the absurdities of the doctrine of non-resistance; from the doctrine of Scripture and reason, regarding the end of magistracy; the line of subordination in which prince and people are placed; the covenant-bond of both king and people to God; the contract between the sovereign and his subjects; the law of self-preservation and defence in other cases; Scripture examples; the testimonies of the most judicious writers; and similar cases in other reformed countries.

The king being induced, by the determined appearance of the Scots, (at Dunse Law), and the coldness which the English manifested in the cause, to listen to overtures for a pacification, Mr. Henderson was appointed one of the commissioners on the part of his countrymen. He and Mr. Archibald Johnston declined going to the English camp with the rest of the commissioners on the first day of the treaty, but being informed that his Majesty took notice of their absence, they repaired to it on the following day. The King and his English counsellors expressed their great esteem for Mr. Henderson, who, throughout the whole of the treaty, and particularly in his speeches to his Majesty, displayed wisdom, eloquence, and loyalty.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

NOVEMBER, 1843.

No. 11.

[For the Spirit of the xix. Century.]

THE DOCTRINE OF A SPIRITUAL MILLENNIUM BEFORE THE SECOND ADVENT OF CHRIST, INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

MR. EDITOR,—If the following remarks, upon a subject which ought to be deeply interesting to every Presbyterian, and especially to every office bearer in the Presbyterian church, should be thought worthy of a place in your very valuable Magazine, they are at your service. I only regret they are not more worthy of the subject, and of your acceptance.

The Westminster Confession of Faith contains an article in the following terms: "As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded, that there shall be a day of judgment, both to deter all men from sin, and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity; so will he have that day unknown to men, that they may shake off all carnal security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come, and may ever be prepared to say, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly." The Church of Scotland, it is well known, approved of this Confession on the 27th of August, 1647, "as to the truth of the matter; judging it to be most orthodox, and grounded on the word of God," and the article appears without alteration in the Confession of Faith, as adopted by the Presbyterian church in the United States. See Chap. 33, § 3.

The meaning of this article is so plain, that it does not appear to admit of being made more so; yet as it is not received—or if received, as it is not received in the same sense, by all who hold this Confession, it is not improper to attempt a short exposition of it, rather, however, for the purpose of shewing what it does not mean, than what it does mean. It may be premised, that the Confession is a systematic summary of religious doctrines, distributed under distinct heads, and arranged in the orderly succession of subjects. It begins with treating of the Holy Scriptures—the source of all revealed religion—and after having discussed those subjects which have respect to man in this life, treats, in the thirty-second chapter, of the state of men after death, and of the resurrection from the dead. Then follows the chapter "of the last judgment," with which the Confession ends; leading us to suppose, by this disposition of subjects, that the judgment treated of in this chapter is that which shall succeed, in point of time, the resurrection from the dead. What then are we to understand by the day of judgment in the first clause of the article in question: *As Christ would have us*

certainly to be persuaded that there shall be a day of judgment? Obviously that which the title of the chapter indicates, as well as the collocation of the chapter itself. By it, we are to understand the day described in the first article of the chapter, the day wherein God will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, according to Acts xvii. 31—as the day, in which he will judge apostate angels, according to Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4—as the day in which, all persons that have lived upon earth, shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, according to 2 Cor. v. 10; Rom. ii. 16—xiv. 10; Matt. xii. 34, 37; as the day (article 2d.) appointed by God for the manifestation of the glory of his mercy, in the eternal salvation of the elect; and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate, according to Rom. ix. 23; Matt. xxv. 21; Rom. ii. 5, 6; 2 Thess. i. 7, 8; for in that day, shall the righteous go into everlasting life, according to Matt. xxv. 31—34; 2 Thess. i. 7, and the wicked shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power, according to 2 Thess. i. 9; Matt. xxv. 41—46.

The Romanists teach, that the Lord Jesus Christ pronounces a private judgment upon every soul, as it leaves the body,* but that besides this private and individual judgment, at and immediately after the death of each individual, they hold, there will be a universal judgment in which all men will be judged collectively. This opinion respecting a private judgment is also virtually, if not expressly, maintained by some Protestants. If we admit the truth of it, and that it was held by the Divines of the Westminster Assembly, it cannot be doubted, that in the article in question, they referred, not

* Formerly it was disputed among Romanists, whether rewards and punishments are distributed to individuals at their death, upon a *private and individual judgment* of each soul separately, or whether they are to be distributed to them only at the general judgment of all men. It was admitted, that several of the fathers, (among whom are *Irenæus, Justin, Tertullian, Lactantius* and *Victorinus*.) held to the latter opinion. The Council of Florence (held between the 26th of Feb., 1439, and 26th April, 1442, and reckoned as the 18th Œcumenical) at its last session, decided that souls upon leaving the body, without any spot remaining on them to be *purged*, are received immediately into heaven, and that the souls of those who depart this life in any actual mortal sin, or in original sin alone, go immediately to hell, to be punished, though with different degrees of punishment. This was the first authoritative decision of the question in the Roman church. The Council of Trent sanctioned this decree at its 25th session. (This Council was convened in 1545, the year of Martin Luther's death, and it continued till Dec. 4th, 1563.) They decided, that the saints *now reign in heaven* with Christ. By the authority of these Councils, this opinion became an article of the faith of the Roman church, and the authority of the most ancient of the fathers—whom that church professes to revere and follow—was set aside. The fathers above named, it will be observed, were all Millenarians; and held that the *reign of the saints* would not commence, until the second advent of Christ. It was to overthrow this doctrine of the thousand years' reign, that these Councils determined in favour of the doctrine of a personal and private judgment, and immediate retribution upon each soul, as it leaves the body; for by so doing, they laid a foundation for the doctrine, that the souls of the saints in their disembodied state, reign with Christ, which lies at the foundation of the doctrine concerning the invocation of saints, and addressing prayers to them. See Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying, sect. 8; Geddes' Introductory Discourse to Vargas' Letters; Dr. Burnet, de statu mortuorum et resurgentium; Brooks' Elements of Prophetical Interpretation, chap. 3; see also Rev. vi. 10; Matt. xxv. 34.

to any such private judgment, but to the yet future general judgment of all men. The matter is too plain for argument. The article proceeds: "*both to deter all men from sin and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity.*" I hardly know how the meaning of this clause can be made more clear: Christ's will is, that the fact of a future, general and final judgment should operate as a motive to deter men from sin, and to console the godly in their adversity, and, therefore, he would have them to be certainly persuaded that there will be such a day of judgment. If, then, there be a private judgment, passed upon each individual soul as it leaves the body, still the great object of terror to the wicked, and of blessed hope to the godly in their adversity, is the great day of the Lord, in which he will judge all men that have lived, and apostate angels also,—in which he will glorify his justice in the condemnation of the reprobate, and his mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect. To this day the article thus far, without doubt refers. The article proceeds, thus: "*So he will have that day unknown to men.*" The particle *as*, with which this article begins, and the particle *so*, with which this second clause begins, serve not only to state a sort of comparison between the two clauses, but to connect them. "*As*," on the one hand, "Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded, that there shall be *a day of judgment*; *so*," on the other hand, "he will have *that day unknown to men.*" There can be no difficulty in saying the words, "*that day*" refer to that great day of judgment. The difficulty, if there be one, is upon the word *unknown*. All admit, that the day of judgment, (that is the time of its coming) is unknown, but all do not admit that it is *absolutely* unknown. Multitudes believe, and as they think upon scriptural grounds, that the day of judgment *may be known to be remote*, not only from the age in which those lived who compiled this confession, but remote from us who live in this age. But as this word is used without qualification, it should be understood *absolutely*. It occurs in an article of faith, the sense of which does not change with times. If true *at all*, it must be true *at all times*. Those who framed it, professed to derive it from the scriptures, and if truly derived from them, it might have been adopted with equal truth in the first or in any subsequent age of the Christian church. Those, therefore, who lived in the first or any past age, could not, (without knowing when the day of judgment would be) have known it to be afar off from them, any more than those who shall live in the last age (whenever that shall be) will be able to know it to be afar off from them. Nor will those, who shall live in the last age, be able certainly to know the day to be positively near to them, (although it will be so) any more than those who lived in the first age, could certainly know the day to be near to them; which it was not, as the event has shewn. From the nature of the subject therefore, the article must be taken in its absolute sense—it must mean then, that it is the will of Christ, the day of judgment should be unknown to all men at all times, and to the men of every age; so that the men of each and every age, beginning with the first age, should not be able certainly to know that the age in which they lived would not be the last age, or that they would not be alive on earth at the time, when the Lord Jesus should open the clouds of heaven, and summon the quick and

the dead to judgment.* The article proceeds: "*that they may shake off all carnal security and be always watchful,*"—watchful for what? If we answer, for *the day of judgment*; the doctrine of the church and the practical belief of the great body of Protestant churches at the present day are against the answer. If we answer, *for death*, and that individual and private judgment which is supposed to be passed upon each soul at death, the article, grammatically resolved, is against it. For I have proven, that by the words, "day of judgment," at the beginning of the article, the great day of the Lord is meant, and the words "that day," at the beginning of the second clause of the article, must refer to the same day. The meaning of the article therefore, plainly is, that men should be always watchful for the day of the last judgment. That such was the meaning of the Assembly, may be made still more evident by the 88th question and answer in their Larger Catechism. The question is this: "What shall immediately follow after the resurrection?" The answer is: "Immediately after the resurrection, shall follow the general and final judgment of angels and men, the day and hour *whereof*," that is of the final judgment—"no man knoweth, *that* all may watch and pray, and be ever ready for the coming of the Lord." Strange as the doctrine of this article thus understood, may seem at the present day, it was no doubt the belief of the divines of that Assembly, and the voice of the orthodox churches of their own and of preceding ages, is a fair argument to prove that such was their belief. It is justly re-

* What is here said, is not inconsistent with the fact, that our Lord commanded his followers to watch for certain signs, which should indicate his near approach. Luke xxi. 31. For these signs were not designed to enable the church to form any certain conclusion till *all* of them should have come to pass, and, therefore, so long as any remain unfulfilled, it cannot be certainly foreknown how soon the Lord will come, because it cannot be foreknown how soon the remaining signs will be fulfilled. But when all shall be fulfilled, the time of the dispensation will be upon the point of being closed. In the parable of the virgins, the cry is represented as made, just in time for the wise virgins to meet the bridegroom, and this very brief interval between the cry and the actual coming, may correspond with that which will intervene between the fulfilment of the last of the appointed signs and the actual coming of Christ. Nor was it the will of Christ, that the absence of these signs, at any particular time, should warrant the church in believing, that the day is remote, because none can know, at what time, or how rapidly, God will bring them into view. The church is to watch for these signs until they appear, as well as for that, which the signs foreshew. Nor do the chronological prophecies justify any conclusion against this view: For if these prophecies be taken literally, they denote short periods: But upon the supposition that they *may be* mystical expressions of time, and intended to denote long periods, no *certain conclusion*, such as can *confidently be relied on*, can be derived from them, till God shall reveal their hidden meaning in his providence. Take as an example, the period of 2300 days in Dan. viii. 14—if we assume it as highly probable, that each day is put for a year, the apostles did not know that such was its meaning, even after they received the Holy Ghost. Yet, although the apostles were not taught by the Holy Spirit so to interpret this period, the interpretation may still be true; for if it was the design of God, to conceal under mystical expressions, the time of purposed events, so that they might be understood *only by those* who should live in the last age, or on the eve of the happening of the events with which they are connected, the very purpose required that the meaning should not be revealed to the Apostles, nor to any other in any other way than by the course of Providence.

marked by the author of "A History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines," that they did not *discover* the doctrines set forth in the Confession of Faith. "They never pretended to have found out any thing new. They aimed to teach simply and plainly, what had been received from the beginning." They believed no doubt what Calvin believed upon this point, and might easily have derived this article from his writings. (See Calvin's Com. on 1 Cor. xv. 51; 2 Thess. iv. 15—v. 1; 2 Thess. ii. 2. Also see pp. 239 to 242 of this volume, for a collection of testimonies* on this point.)

In order to adapt this article to the actual belief of the church, we must understand it as meaning merely, that it is the will of Christ that every man should be watchful for the day of his own death, which it is said, is actually or virtually a day of judgment to him, either because judgment is then formally passed upon him individually, as the Romanists teach, or because his moral character is forever fixed, and therefore as death finds him, so will the judgment find him. But who does not see, that such a subaudition would not only render the article incongruous but *inconsequent*? Supply the words: "As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded, that there shall be a day of judgment, &c., so he will have that day unknown to men, that they may, &c. be always watchful (not for the day of judgment, but each) for the day of his own death," &c. How can a man's ignorance of the day of the Lord's coming to the general judgment, serve as a motive to watch not for that, but for something else, which he is or may be also ignorant of? To remove the whole incongruity, the whole article must be amended, so that it shall stand somewhat thus: "As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded, that it is appointed unto all men to die, both to deter, &c., so will he have the day of every man's death unknown to him, that he may shake off all carnal security and be always watchful for death, because he knows not at what hour the Lord will come to remove him by death, (see page 200 of this volume,) and be ever prepared to say, come Lord Jesus, come quickly, and remove me by death."† But by such an alteration, we make the article incongru-

*The famous John Sleidan, who died some ten years after the sessions of this assembly were closed, in his history of the four great empires, gives a short exposition of Dan. ii. and vii. chapters, in which he expresses the opinion, "That with the Turkish empire, the world shall have an end, nor shall any be after it; but the eternal and never fading kingdom of Christ shall begin: all those of the kings and princes of this world being extinguished."

† It may be inquired whether it is the duty of all men, or of all Christians, or even of the most godly, to pray for death. Paul had a desire, it may be said, to depart and be with Christ, (Eph. i. 23, 24) but in another place, (2 Cor. v. 4.) he says, "not for that we would be unclothed"—die—"but clothed upon, that mortality may be swallowed up in life." Does not true submission to the will of Christ require, that men should be willing to abide in the flesh till he comes to judgment, if that be his will? Death is spoken of in the scriptures, as a punishment and as an evil, and deliverance from death is regarded as cause for thankfulness, even by the most eminent saints. (Psal. cxviii. 48; 2 Tim. iv. 17, 18.) It is, however, the duty of Christians to pray for the coming of the Kingdom of God, and that according to the view of that portion of the Assembly who held Millenarian tenets, is the doctrine of this article. This will appear by what follows.

ous with the title, and with the other articles of the chapter. The subject of death would thereby be mingled with the subject of the general judgment, and that, too, after the subjects of the state of men after death, and the resurrection from the dead, had been treated of. This consideration furnishes a further answer to those who imagine the church of the present day is, on this article, one in faith with the Assembly. We need not claim for the Assembly that high character for strength of conception, grasp of thought, and logical accuracy in expression and arrangement, which all intelligent Presbyterians are ready to accord to them. A very slight regard to order, and a very indistinct conception of what it consists in, would be quite sufficient to prevent such a disposition of subjects.* Besides, if such had been the meaning of the Assembly, they could have had no difficulty in expressing it. They understood the meaning of words, and were not unskilful, either in selecting or in arranging such as were apt to express their meaning. The truth is, the church, at the present day, is at variance with the Assembly upon this article of faith. The article is, in effect, expunged; and another doctrine, which the Assembly did not teach, is foisted into its place.

The doctrine which has produced this important change in the belief of the church, is the doctrine of a spiritual Millennium before the coming of Christ. This doctrine is absolutely inconsistent with the doctrine of the article, and one of them must give way to the other: For let a man be fully persuaded, that there is yet to come before the day of judgment, a period of great spiritual prosperity throughout the whole earth, of long continuance—a thousand years at the least, or, as some suppose, three hundred and sixty thousand years—and it becomes quite impossible for him to receive this article in its literal and true sense, and adopt it as a rule of duty. How can a man watch for an event, which he believes certainly will not come, for a thousand years? But it may be inquired, did not the divines in that Assembly believe in a Millennium? It may be announced that they did. One portion of them believed in a Millennium past, but not in a Millennium to come, and the next great event which this part of the Assembly looked for, was the coming of the Lord to judgment. But a part, and as some say, the larger part, of the Assembly, did not adopt this opinion. They believed in a Millennium to come, but not to come before the advent of the Lord—in other words—they believed the advent of Christ would precede the Millennium, and in fact introduce it.

Principal Baillie, who was one of that Assembly, says† that “most of the chief divines of the Assembly, not only Independents but others; such as Twisse, Marshall, Palmer and many more, are express Chiliasts.” Yet according to the belief of this portion of the Assembly, the next great event to be looked for, was the coming of the Lord, and the day of judgment. Hence, we may see the grounds

* “The Assembly,” says the author of the history before referred to “needs no other encomium, than the works they prepared for the instruction and edification of the Church: Their Confession of Faith is full, sound and *systematic*. It has stood the test of the most rigid scrutiny, and no alteration has been found necessary, in a single article which has relation to doctrine.” p. 178.

† *Journal and Letters*, Edition of 1842, vol. 2. p. 313, Letter of Sept. 5, 1645.

upon which both these parties could agree in the statement of this article. The Assembly did not declare themselves upon the subject of the nature of the day of judgment; for upon that, it is not likely they could have agreed. The views of the former class, on this subject, were probably much the same as those generally entertained by the church at present. But the Chiliasts or Millennarians, must have understood the day of judgment as expressive of that period which will be signalized by the reign of Christ and his saints during the expected thousand years;* for thus much is included in the term "Chiliasts," which Baillie applies to them; and it was during that long period, either at the beginning or end, or both, that they believed those acts of retributive judgment, mentioned in the first article of this chapter, would be performed. They could not have understood by "day of judgment," a natural day, or a short period, at the close of which all earthly things would have a final end, and the thousand years' reign *after* that; the supposition would be absurd. Nor could they have expected the thousand years' reign to take place *before* the day of judgment, because they expressed their belief in this article, that that day was to be expected *at all times*, and that men should always be prepared for it. It follows, that the day of judgment, they expected, and the thousand years' reign of Christ and his saints, were one and the same period of time.

This article then, was consistent with the view of either party on the subject of the Millennium, but it is repugnant to the doctrine of the church at the present day on the same subject. The question then comes to this: Is this article of our Confession "most orthodox, and grounded on the Word of God?" If we answer affirmatively, then the great body of Christians, at the present day, are wrong in rejecting it, and wrong, also, in their doctrine of a Spiritual Millennium before the coming of Christ. If we answer negatively, the Assembly of Divines which framed the article, and the Presbyterian church of Scotland in 1547, which adopted it, were wrong. To an issue upon this question, the whole matter tends. To decide this question, an appeal must be made to the Scriptures. But how shall the Scriptures be interpreted—literally or figuratively?—for *figurative* is the proper contrasting word to *literal*. This opens a wide field of discussion.†

* See page 213 of this volume, and the last note on the page, for a short statement of this opinion. Whether they all believed that Christ would reign visibly is not so clear. See page 217, *antea*, the last note. Also page 264, note.

† I find the following texts cited in the foot margin of the Confession, to prove the duty of watchfulness for the coming of the Lord, viz: Mark xiii. 35, 36, 37; Luke xii. 35, 36; Rev. xxii. 20; Matt. xxiv. 36, 42, 43, 44. It must be presumed that those who made these references, considered them apt to prove the doctrine. I turn now, to a learned and popular commentator, and I find, Mark xiii. 35—37, applied first to those who were expecting the calamities which were soon to come on the Jews in the destruction of their city, and secondarily, to all who are soon to die and go to judgment—to the time of death. The same learned author applies Luke xii. 35, to death: "Be ready at all times to leave the world and enter into your rest when your Lord shall call you." Are such interpretations correct? This is one of the questions to be decided. If we open the Commentators of the 17th, or any earlier century, we find that these and the like passages are understood literally of the personal coming of the Lord to judgment. This may serve to illustrate the sort of investigation which is involved in the question.

An important practical question is suggested by the foregoing observations: The Form of Government of the Presbyterian church requires, that ministers, licentiates, elders and deacons, should, at their induction into office, declare that they "sincerely receive and adopt the Confession of Faith, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures." The author of the "History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines" remarks, "that every sound Calvinist will find no difficulty in subscribing the Confession of Faith, as it stands, and those who do not adopt the Calvinistic system of theology, should not be guilty of the dishonesty of subscribing to a creed *which is not a fair exhibition of their own belief.*" Is this article a fair exhibition of the belief of the office bearers in our church generally? Do they, as a body, believe it to be the duty of men at all times to watch for the day of judgment? Do none of our ministers teach, that the day of judgment is far off, and that the men of this age need *not* watch for it? Are there none who feel even constrained to oppose the doctrine of this article, not formally, but in the persons of those who hold it, as calculated to discourage missions? Are there not some who are disposed to go even further, and treat the doctrine as bordering at least upon the fanatical? If there be, let them set themselves to the task of shewing, that this article, (which they have solemnly received and adopted,) is a fair exhibition of their faith. Let them give us a formal exposition of it—and this done, let them shew the reasons, why the article, as understood by them, should, according to the principles of logical systematic arrangement, be put in the last chapter, under the head "of the last judgment," and after the subject of the resurrection has been treated of. Furthermore: if the article is not received by them in its grammatical and literal sense, let the propriety of applying the principles of figurative interpretation to articles of faith be shewn, and especially would we like to know, what should be interpreted and received literally, if articles of faith should not be.*

* For the interpretation of the Scriptures, the Romanists have devised what may be called an *apparatus of senses*. They are, the sense *literal*, or sense *historical*, and the sense *spiritual* or *mystical*. The literal sense is that which the words immediately signify. The spiritual or mystical sense is divided by St. Thomas (1 part quæst. 1 art. 10.) into three other senses, viz: the *allegorical*, the *tropological* or *moral*, and the sense *anagogical*. To these some add two other senses, namely, the *accommodatitious* and the *paraboliocal*: but others more logically exact, contend that the *sensus accommodatius* is properly included in the *sensus allegoricus* and the *sensus parabolicus*, is they say properly referred to the *sensus literalis*. (See the Angelical Doctor, 1 part. q. 10.) So that the various senses, and their uses, are briefly comprehended in these lines:

Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.

This system is essential to the fabric of the papal system, and as an example of the use they make of it, the reader may be referred to the doctrine concerning the perpetual virginity of Mary, the mother of our Lord. This doctrine they profess to prove by various figures of the Old Testament, e. g. the burning bush that Moses saw, Ex iii—the fleece of Gideon, Judges vi—the rod of Aaron, Numb. xvii.—but especially by Ezekiel xlv. 2, "This gate shall be shut; it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it, because the Lord, the God of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut." "Quod propheta oraculum," says Romanists, "sancti patres de Marie Virgine, quæ ob perpetuam, quam con-

I do not however intend to charge the ministers, elders, deacons, or licentiates of our church, or any of them, with insincerity or dishonesty in regard to this article. Far from it. I do not believe it would be true, and if it were, it is not for me to bring accusations against them. The probability is, that the most of them are not so fully aware, as they might be, of the change which the doctrine of the church has undergone on this article, since its adoption by the Church of Scotland. It is possible, too, that some have not considered quite so carefully as they should, the real purport and meaning of this article, and those who have paid more attention to it, may have taken the impression, rather hastily perhaps, that their own belief may be very easily and naturally engrafted on the article. However this may be, the question is one of considerable importance. For if the meaning of the article be clearly expressed, it should be adopted (if adopted at all) in its plain and obvious sense; for otherwise, it cannot be considered as a fair exhibition of the belief of those who do not receive it in that sense, but in some other. If beyond this, the article, in its plain and obvious sense, is "most orthodox, and grounded on the Word of God," it should be sincerely received and adopted in that sense. But if the true meaning of the article be not clearly expressed; or, if when clearly expressed, the article be not "orthodox, or not grounded on the Word of God," it should be amended, and the belief of the church, if that be orthodox, substituted for it.* No one, who believes in a spiritual Millennium before the coming of Christ, would have any difficulty in finding words and phrases much more apt to exhibit his belief fairly, than it is done by the article under consideration. Nor can it be said that this difference is too unimportant to require correction; for if the day of judgment and the coming of Christ not only can be, but are certainly known to be far off, the article, taken according to its letter and the manifest intention of those who framed it, inculcates as a

servavit virginitatem, vere fuit porta clausa, portus conclusus, fons signatus." Whether the doctrine be true or not, it cannot be proved by such passages as these, without a system of interpretation, which leaves the interpreter at liberty to prove any doctrine, by any text. If such a system of interpretation be allowed, how can it be proved that the chimeras of Origen, and the mystic and ultra typical vagaries of Swedenborg, are not tenable? What might not our standards be made to mean, by such a system of interpretation? Of what are they, if not received in their literal sense?

* "Some good and orthodox men," says the author of the History of the Westminster Assembly, "have wished to have some expressions [of the Confession] changed, or some explanations added to prevent misconstruction; but as this could not be done, with the consent of all who have adopted this Confession as the Confession of their Faith, and, as it is *not pretended the parts objected to, are really erroneous in doctrine*, it is earnestly to be wished and hoped, that no attempt will be made to add to, or take from, or in any way alter these venerable standards." p. 179. The writer does not suppose this article was in the view of the writer when he made these remarks. He is not aware, indeed, that this article has been objected to, as erroneous in doctrine. Still he thinks, that no change of expression can be made in it, or any explanation added such as would bring it into harmony with the belief and the expectations of the Church, which would not, at the same time, in effect, expunge it from the Confession, and render the collocation of the article so amended under the head "Of the last judgment," most inartificial, not to say, incongruous and absurd.

duty, that which cannot be a duty, and holds up a false motive for its performance. Nor can it be said, that the doctrine of the article in question, has no connection with the peculiar doctrines of the Calvinistic system: so far from it, the doctrine of the article, is but a corollary, so to speak, to the Calvinistic doctrine of election.*

If the great body of the ministers, elders, deacons and members of the Presbyterian church, upon a full examination of the matter, shall return to the doctrine of the article, one result will be this: they will be obliged to abandon the prevailing hypothesis of a spiritual Millennium before the coming of Christ, and instead of it, adopt one of the two opinions which divided the Westminster Assembly—that is to say, they must choose between the hypothesis of the Millennium past, and the doctrine of the pre-millennial advent of the Lord Jesus Christ.† Between these two views, it will not be difficult to decide. That there are many prophecies of the Old Testament which are yet to be fulfilled on earth cannot reasonably be questioned: that they cannot be fulfilled before the coming of Christ, is certain if the doctrine of this article be true; for they promise a long period of great spiritual prosperity to men upon the earth. They point therefore to a period which shall follow the advent of the Lord, if the doctrine of this article be true, and such I have shewn was the belief of that portion of the Assembly whom Baillie describes as “express Chiliasts.” But it is not necessary to enter at length into this subject.

In conclusion, I will only add, that the doctrine of this article is one of the chief points of the Millenarian system. There are those, indeed, who make much of the chronological prophecies, and indulge too fondly in precise calculations. Such calculations are not, however, properly a part of that system, and many Millenarians, put no confidence in any which have as yet been made. Upon the article of *time*, they hold no other opinions than those expressed by Calvin and the other Reformers—by the Divines of the Westminster Assembly, and by those who compiled the Saybrook Platform. It is unjust to attempt to discredit the views of those persons by imputing to them these extreme opinions which they decidedly discard. Certainly, with Presbyterians, this article of the Confession should avail to exonerate those who merely receive it in its plain import from the charge of fanaticism or of hostility to missions.‡

* See pp. 233, 5—218, 19 of this volume.

† Some persons who believe that the Millennium predicted in Rev. xx. is past, still expect a long period of spiritual prosperity on earth, which they denominate the latter day glory. If they believe, that this period is predicted to precede the coming of Christ, and the day of judgment, it is as much at variance with the doctrine of this article, as the doctrine of a spiritual Millennium is. If they believe, on the other hand, that this latter day glory will be ushered in by the coming of Christ, the doctrine does not differ materially from those who believe in a Millennium to be introduced by the second advent of Christ.

‡ It is not conceded that the doctrine of this article held in connection with the doctrine of the pre-millennial advent of Christ is at all discouraging to missionary efforts. The duty to publish the gospel among all nations arises from the command of Christ, and the encouragement is, that he will make the obedience of the church to his commands, subservient to those ends which infinite wisdom has appointed. The faithful servant will labour none the less, nor with less fervour and

There are many other important topics connected with this subject which cannot now be discussed. I hope to take them up, or some of them, in another article.

K.

* * The Editor of this Periodical ventures to suggest two considerations in addition to those presented in the foregoing article. *First, as to the true sense of our Confession:* It is to be remembered that our article (Ch. xxxiii. sec. 3.) is, verbatim, the same as that of the Westminster Assembly; that the *Confession of Faith* of that Assembly was not completed and presented to the English Parliament for between two and three years after the *Directory for Public Worship*; nor approved for more than three years after the former was fully allowed, (see p. 351, 2, ante;) that the *Directory* had established, in the clearest manner, the distinction contended for in the foregoing article, between the particular day of each man's death, and the day of general judgment, or the day of the coming of the Lord Jesus, which is the same; and that therefore it is clear, the sense of our standards is, that the day of judgment, is the grand and constantly impending event, for which it behooves men to watch instantly, and so there is an impossibility that they also teach us to expect that a thousand years of peace and glory will pass before that coming of Christ to judgment. The words of the *Directory (of Prayer after Sermon, third paragraph,)* are that the minister ought, "To pray for preparation for death and judgment, and a watching for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ;" by which it appears they set forth three things, to wit, our departure out of life, our final judgment, and the coming of Christ; the last being the immediate forerunner of the second, and both of them to be instantly watched for. *As to the sense of Scripture, secondly,—*we offer, in like manner, a single suggestion. He who was dead, and is alive, and liveth forevermore—the First and the Last—the great conqueror of death—said to John in Patmos, "I have the keys of hell and of death," Rev. i. 18. But the Lord Jesus himself expressly told his disciples that the great and terrible day when he would come again with power and glory, was a day and hour, of which not men, nor angels, "*neither the Son,*" knoweth, (Mark xiii. 32; Matt. xxiv. 36,) but is a time which God the Father hath put under his own immediate power (Acts i. 7.); and he who counteth one day as a thousand years, will make it the express, particular day of his terrible vengeance—as soon as, through his long suffering, all his elect have been brought to repentance, and saved from destruction, (2 Peter iii. 7—10); that is, as soon as the profoundest secret purpose of his eternal decree of election is consummate. Now can it be possible for the human mind seriously to maintain that these two days are one and the same day? That Messiah shall have the absolute disposal, control and settling of the one, and have the other taken from him, hidden, and put in the power of the Father; and yet it can be the self same day! But if not, then the day of Christ's second coming is a constantly impending day, and ought to be instantly watched for: a day, as to its coming, hid under almighty power, and, therefore, how dare we say either that it will not, or that it can not come, till such or such a time? Nay, that a thousand years of peace must come before it, and therefore we need not watch—as in the flesh we can never see it!

This whole subject is one of vast and present weight; but it has, for a long time, slipped away from the public contemplation, and is, in general, but little understood. We rejoice to observe a great and increasing interest in regard to it; and anticipate the best results from the calm, earnest and candid temper—which to so great an extent, has marked the discussions of it. It becomes us all to sit down at the feet of Jesus and learn of him; and then to teach his doctrine in his own blessed spirit.

zeal, because he has no assurance that the time for labour will be long. See pp. 229, 230. Also pp. 218, 219 of this volume, for a more full statement of this point.

A LEAF OUT OF THE OLD BOOK:—PRESBYTERIANISM IN ONE OF THE
SYNODS DISOWNED IN 1838;—RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

It is well known that for many years preceding 1837, the impression was gaining ground in the Presbyterian church, that the whole body of its churches and church courts extending in circle from the borders of Massachusetts through New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, were, just to the extent that they had been organised under the "*Plan of Union*"—deeply tinctured with heresies in doctrine, disorders in practice, and irregularities in government. In that year, three Synods in the western part of New York, and the Synod of the Western Reserve in Ohio, were disowned by the General Assembly, on these three grounds; and in 1838, the whole remaining elements of the New School party seceded, and joined their "excinded" brethren; thus demonstrating that the whole party homologated rather with the Presbyterianism of the "*Plan of Union*" than that of the Westminster standards—with the doctrine, order and proceedings of the four disowned Synods, than with those of orthodox and evangelical Presbyterianism.

The great difficulty in the matter, for years before 1837, was want of legal proof. Every man who had paid any attention to the subject was morally certain that things were in a most deplorable condition; but seeing the whole New School party set themselves by all means in their power to stave off investigation, and gave, on all occasions, unqualified testimony to the perfect soundness and regularity of the whole "*Plan of Union*" region; it was extremely difficult to bring matters to a crisis. The writer of these lines, in 1831, drew up a protest against the act of the Assembly seating a committee man as a member of that body; in 1833, he moved that the Synod of the Western Reserve be cited to the bar of the Assembly; and in 1834 he drew up the *Act and Testimony*. In 1837, the first Assembly of which he was a member after 1832, he moved and carried the act to disown the three Synods in Western New York; that in regard to the Western Reserve having been moved, if his memory is correct, by the late Dr. Baxter of Virginia. None who take any interest in these important transactions can forget what loud and reiterated acclamations, for years after 1837, attested the absolute regularity of all things in the churches on the whole "excinded" districts—and the atrocious and unprecedented outrage of judging and treating them as if they were any thing but thoroughly Presbyterian. We have little doubt, more ink and paper have been expended in abusing us alone, than would load a cart.

Time, the great revealer of all things, is, however, rapidly drawing the veil away from this whole subject. And we are ready to confess, that although we supposed we had informed ourself accurately of the state of affairs before we took the decided course which we were led to adopt in 1837; still the developments which have since occurred satisfy us that the case with the whole "*Plan of Union*" churches, was decidedly worse than we then supposed it was; and we are now more convinced, if it be possible, than we were when we were compelled, in the course of God's Providence,

to act so prominent a part in this business, that the Assembly did what was wise, and right, and necessary, that the New School party meditated the general subversion of our entire system, and that the "Plan of Union" churches pursued a most flagitious course of imposture to aid that party in its wicked designs.

We have been led into these reflections, by a very remarkable exposition of the growth and present state of the churches in the Western Reserve, which we find in the *New England Puritan* of Sept. 29th, (a bigoted Congregational newspaper, printed at Boston, whose leading editor, if we mistake not, was a Licentiate of our own Presbytery)—over the signature of "G. E. PIERCE," dated "*W. R. College*," and written expressly to illustrate the "*Ecclesiastical Relations of Western Reserve College*." It appears that some correspondent of the Puritan, from that region, had expressed his regret that some of the Faculty of the College, who are Congregational clergymen, should have fallen in with the "Plan of Union," and united "themselves with the Presbytery"—such as it is—upon which, says Mr. Pierce, "My relations are such, as to make it suitable that I speak in their behalf." We suppose he is the President of the College; and he speaks through a column and more—in a manner which very clearly elucidates the nature and extent of the confidence which may be reposed in the party, which, from 1831, till the present time, within our personal knowledge, and how much longer, we cannot tell—has pledged its honour, veracity and faith, before God and man, for the sound Presbyterianism of these churches in the Western Reserve; and upon the ground of that soundness has traduced, with unmeasured and unceasing bitterness, the men who, in 1837, separated those churches from their fraudulent and illegal relations to the General Assembly. Let us hear Mr. Pierce:

"I do not doubt the sincerity of Brother "H," when he says, that the connection of these men with the Presbytery is a drawback, in his feelings. No more do I doubt that they are honest and conscientious, in the Ecclesiastical standing which they sustain. They embraced Congregationalism in Connecticut, and three of them were Pastors of Churches and members of Consociation. *They are Congregationalists still, in heart and in sentiment.*"

Now, in the name of truth and fair dealing, how can this be? A man was an *honest* Congregationalist in Connecticut, an *honest* Presbyterian in Ohio, an *honest* Congregationalist "in heart and in sentiment"—and all the while an *honest* Presbyterian! This is the sort of thing, which, before 1837, made it so hard to understand the *honest* posture of the affairs of these scrupulously *honest* men. Let us hear Mr. Pierce further:

"Within the bounds of Portage Presbytery, with which these men connected themselves, are twenty-seven Churches. One of these is a Presbyterian Church. Twenty-six are Congregational."

This, then, is the Presbyterianism,—this is the sort of Presbytery which our New School men, who seceded in 1838, consider standard; this is the sort the "Plan of Union" created; this is the sort we got rid of in 1837. The Assembly of that year, then, after all, did not make a very bad guess. Let us hear Mr. Pierce, further still:

"When the Presbytery are called, as lately they were, to issue a case in their one Presbyterian Church, they take along with them the Presbyterian Book of

Discipline; and, by consulting its rules, they are able to come to a result. When called by a Congregational Church, they have a Constitution of their own, by which they are guided—not unlike those of the Connecticut Sociations. In other words, they are to the Church a Council, on Congregational principles; and are sacredly bound to aid and protect the Church, in the enjoyment of its Congregational privileges. In licensing candidates, and recommending ministers, they act the part of an Association."

So, so. This is very clever and convenient; "a bed by night, a chest of drawers by day." But in the mean time—what becomes of all the abuse heaped on us these six years, for saying that the churches on the Reserve were not Presbyterian churches? One to twenty-six in Portage Presbytery: certainly a wide basis for a Presbytery. Let us hear Mr. Pierce again:

"I have not the exact statistics of the six other Presbyteries on the Reserve, nor can I tell precisely what portion of the whole number of Churches are Congregational. But I am confident that I speak within bounds. when I say, that of the one hundred and fifty Churches on the Reserve, more than one hundred are Congregational."

Here is a fine Synod for you; out of 150 churches,—(*Presbyterian* churches, observe—pure, strict, orderly *Presbyterian* churches)—"more than one hundred are Congregational." How many more, the witness saith not. Let us suppose one church in four, out of 150 *Presbyterian churches in a Presbyterian Synod*, are in fact Presbyterian, and then we have the case which the Assembly of 1837 had to decide, and the sort of Presbyterianism which the New School seceded in 1838 to unite with. Assuredly we must be the most unreasonable people on earth, if we are not content when the Congregationalists leave us a fourth part of our own churches, and actually permit our Presbyteries "to take along the Presbyterian Book"—when called to inspect that fourth part! Let us hear Mr. Pierce still:

"Under its (*the Plan of Union*) fostering care, Congregationalism has grown up on the Reserve in rich luxuriance."

And, therefore the General Assembly was faithless and wicked, in repealing it? But what becomes of the fine stories about the *Presbyterianism* that grew up "in rich luxuriance" under this fine plan? We are likely to have it not only admitted, but gloried in, that this plan was, in fact, always Congregationalism under a disguise. The true secret of the hatred and abuse for stripping it off then was, that if the *honest* brethren had been let alone a little longer they would have got a little more? Is one in four too many of our churches, to allow us? Speak, again, Mr. Pierce:

"But some of our Eastern friends may be impatient, and wonder that we do not rise up at once, and shake off that odious epithet, "*Presbyterian*," as they would regard it. *It is not so easy to change a name.* * * * * * We know not the future; yet I give it as an opinion, that the grains of Presbyterianism, that have been thrown into Congregationalism on the Western Reserve, with the dilutions that may yet be expected, will not produce a stronger tincture than was produced in Connecticut; nor than many firm Congregationalists would desire to see produced in Massachusetts."

Here the end is predicted—perhaps truly—perhaps such as was always intended—perhaps such as the whole church was saved from by the events of 1837 and '8. Certainly that is superlative Presby-

terianism—which is so diluted and has so faint a tincture, that it is not to be distinguished from the Congregationalism of Connecticut!

We are certainly indebted to Mr. Pierce for putting these facts in a tangible form; and although his motive seems none of the best, and the morality of his distinctions is double-shotted with New Schoolism; still, we thank him for his facts, which certainly go all the length of justifying all we ever said, all we ever did.

[For the Spirit of the XIX. Century.]

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEW HYMN BOOK, LATELY AUTHORIZED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE new book of Psalms and Hymns, recently adopted and authorized by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, is the fruit of several years of action and labour, the history of which, so far as can be gathered from the minutes of that body, we now propose to give.

The first action on the subject was in the General Assembly of 1838. On the first day of June in that year, it was, "on motion, resolved, that a committee of five be appointed to revise the Assembly's edition of the Psalms and Hymns and to suggest and report such alterations, corrections, and additions, for the consideration of the next Assembly as they may think proper." (Minutes, 1838, p. 43.) On the afternoon of the same day, the following persons were chosen by ballot, as the committee, viz: the Rev. William W. Phillips, D. D., Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D., Rev. James W. Alexander, and the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D. (Min. p. 45.)

This Committee made a report to the Assembly of 1839, which was accepted, and on motion referred to a committee of three gentlemen, Messrs. Edgar, Butler, and Hursh, (Min. 1839, p. 151). This latter committee subsequently made a report, which was accepted and adopted, whereby it was resolved, "that the Committee created last year be rendered permanent, and such changes made in it as will allow of a more free and regular intercourse; that a member be elected in the place of Dr. Alexander, who declines serving; that two additional members conveniently located, be chosen; and that any three of the seven, of whom it will then consist, be a quorum;" "that the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Rev. A. Alexander, be filled by the appointment of the Rev. John Breckinridge; and that the Rev. John Grey, of Easton, Pa. and the Rev. C. C. Cuyler of Philadelphia, be the two new members added to the permanent committee on Psalmody." (Min. 1839, pp. 163, 4.) The Committee thus rendered permanent, consisted of the Rev. Drs. Baxter, Cuyler, Phillips, J. Breckinridge, R. J. Breckinridge, the Rev. J. W. Alexander and the Rev. J. Grey. "The first meeting of this Committee was held in Philadelphia, on the 18th of October, 1839—present, the Rev. Drs. Cuyler and R. J. Breckinridge, together with Messrs. Alexander and Gray. After prayer to the great Head

of Zion for direction in this important matter, and serious consultation, the committee settled the leading principles on which they thought it desirable to proceed, viz :

1. A collation and revision of all the English versions of the Psalms.
2. A careful examination of the Hymns now in use, and an inquiry whether some, and if any, which of them ought to be omitted on account of incorrectness in doctrine, on account of their unsuitableness as Hymns, and on account of the inferiority of the poetry.
3. The restoration of the Hymns to be retained in the revised edition from the modern emendations to which they have been subjected.
4. The selection of an additional number of Hymns.
5. A special regard to the devotional character of all the Hymns.
6. A suitable arrangement and copious index of the whole book.

These subjects thus determined on were severally apportioned to the members of the Committee, each having a special part designated to himself, while each and all were requested to have a general charge and supervision of the whole." (Report of the Committee to the Assembly of 1840, Min. p. 477.) The Committee adjourned to meet again in Philadelphia, in January 1840, but were prevented from so doing by various causes, so that they did not meet until the 19th of May, 1840, two days before the meeting of the General Assembly. (Min. p. 478.) On the 27th of the same month they presented a report to the Assembly which was accepted, and ordered to be printed in the appendix to the Minutes, and the Committee was continued. (Minutes 1840. p. 291.) This report stated the progress which the Committee had made, and that the Assembly might understand their views, "and be able, if they saw fit, to instruct them" they submitted the statement already given, of the objects to which their attention had been directed. (See the Report, Min. 1840 p. 318.) On the 22d of May the Rev. James W. Alexander resigned his seat in the Committee, and the Rev. George Potts, D. D. was appointed by the Assembly in his stead. (Min. 1840, p. 286.) The only members of the Committee in attendance at this meeting of May, 1840, were Drs. Cuyler, Phillips, R. J. Breckinridge, and the Rev J. Grey. They adjourned to meet at Princeton, N. J. on the 25th of the next August. (Min. 1841. p. 478.)

In pursuance of this adjournment, the Committee met at Princeton, August 25th 1840,—“present, Drs. Cuyler, Phillips, J. Breckinridge, R. J. Breckinridge and and the Rev. J. Gray. The Committee at this meeting continued in session for several days, spending on an average nine hours per day in the prosecution of the duties assigned them, not only reporting the results of their private and individual labours, but as a Committee, criticising, and thereby receiving or rejecting these reports, as well as pushing their inquiries still further forward. During this long and labourious session, all the Hymns” of the old book “were read seriatim; and after a critical examination by the Committee as a whole, in addition to the previous individual revision by the members, about 25 per cent. of the whole was rejected, in accordance with the canons of criticism formerly laid down, presented to and approved by the Assembly of 1840. Having in

addition to this, devised and agreed upon a suitable arrangement, and a copious index of subjects, and distributed the four hundred approved Hymns among the members of the Committee then present, to be properly arranged according to said index, it was resolved that about two hundred and fifty additional Hymns be selected in order to complete that portion of the book. In order that these Hymns should be wisely selected, the Committee, now worn and fatigued by their labour, resolved to adjourn, to meet in the city of Philadelphia, on the second Tuesday of January 1841. And as an additional precaution and security, it was resolved that public invitation to be given through the religious press to the whole Church, to communicate to the Committee, or any member thereof on or previous to the said second Tuesday of January, such Hymns as any one of them might desire to see inserted in the forthcoming book. In order that the Church might have as full and correct knowledge as possible of their proceedings, it was also agreed that the doings of this meeting be published, as far as it was necessary to exhibit the Hymns rejected and retained, together with the proposed arrangement of subjects, and index.

“In accordance with the above mentioned adjournment, the Committee met in the city of Philadelphia on the 13th of January, 1841. This meeting was attended by Drs. Cuyler, Phillips, R. J. Breckinridge, and the Rev. J. Gray. Part of two weeks was spent at this meeting in selecting by the Committee, from the individual selections made by the members during the adjournment, or received from their correspondents, Hymns of a suitable character for the intellectual and spiritual edification of the church. The index previously attended to, was at this meeting enlarged and amended—a more complete arrangement and classification of subjects made, and a publication ordered, containing the chapters and sections agreed on, with the retained Hymns arranged by their numbers, together with the first lines of the Hymns now agreed to be added, in their alphabetical order, as well as a list of those previously omitted. But while the Committee, in the prosecution of their work, had proceeded so far as to publish to the churches the Hymns agreed upon, by their first lines, as it regarded retention, omission, and addition, they wished it to be distinctly understood that they reserved to themselves another and a final revision, after receiving as they had thus solicited, the advice, judgment, and criticism of their Christian fathers and brethren. Having proceeded so far the Committee adjourned, to meet in the city of Philadelphia in May 1841; when the following members met, viz: Drs. Cuyler, R. J. Breckinridge and Mr. Gray. At this meeting it was announced that the Rev. Dr. Potts, who had never met with the Committee, declined being any longer considered as a member; and that it had pleased the Master to remove his beloved servant Dr. Baxter to a more honourable and important part of his moral vineyard.” (Report to the Assembly of 1841, Min. pp. 478, 9.) At this meeting they presented to the Assembly a Report, (from which the preceding information is derived,) which was read and referred to a committee, (Min. 1841, p. 427;) in accordance with whose report, it was resolved, “that the Committee be continued, with the addition of the Rev. Messrs. Wm.

M. Engles, D. D. and John M. Krebs; that they shall be authorised, at their discretion, to print an edition, as soon as they shall be prepared; and that their present Report be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes." (Min. 1841, p. 428). This Report, after a full account of the labours of the committee, proceeds thus, to explain the difficulties they encountered:—"It may be asked, why all this delay in the performance of a work apparently so simple? As the church is, in some sections, if not generally, solicitous for a more perfect edition of our Psalmody, why do the Committee not bring their labours more expeditiously to a close? This feeling, and the consequent inquiries, are natural to those who have no practical knowledge of the difficulties in the way, or the amount of time and labour necessary to render the work at all suitable to the wants, character and expectations of our church. Independent of the individual labours of the members, in the retirement of their respective studies, and consultation and correspondence with their brethren, they have travelled thousands of miles, and spent many weeks together in their efforts to perfect and expedite this work. But so many and such great impediments obstructed their way, that notwithstanding the great sacrifice of time and labour which your Committee have made, there still remains much to be done. On a critical examination they found many Hymns deficient in literary merit, some incorrect in doctrine, and many altogether unsuitable for the sanctuary as songs of praise, for want of suitable sentiments, although not incorrect in doctrine or deficient in literary merit. These difficulties met and impeded their progress so frequently, both in revision and addition, that it was impossible to proceed at the same time rapidly and wisely. Another difficulty (and it was a mammoth one) with which the Committee had to contend laboriously, and they fear not always successfully, was the many and great liberties taken by some of their predecessors, in the compilation of such works, with the authors from whom they made their selections. This your Committee found to be a great evil, both as it regards its character and the amount of work which it imposed, and the difficulty if not impossibility, in many cases, of remedying it. From the amount of work done, and the progress made by your committee, they are disposed to consider, that with a little more patience on behalf of the church, and a great deal more labour on their own behalf, the work may be accomplished, as far and as well as they possess the means and ability of doing it." The Report, after requesting that two members should be added by the Assembly to the Committee to supply the places left vacant by the death of Dr. Baxter, and the resignation of Dr. Potts, (which as we have already noticed, was done,)—concludes with the expression of the confident expectation on the part of the committee that they would be ready with a final report as far as the Hymns were concerned, against the meeting of the Assembly of 1842; and that the Psalms would be prepared so as to be presented to that of 1843. (Minutes, 1841, p. 479.)

On the 28th of May, 1842, the Committee presented to the General Assembly a report accompanied with two hundred copies of a printed book of Hymns, selected and recommended for the approval of the Assembly. (Min. 1842, p. 10.) In this Report, they state,

that "during the past year they have been diligently and laboriously engaged upon the work entrusted to them;" that "besides the necessary consideration which it required from each member of the Committee individually, they have held several meetings, which continued about one week each, and in which they conferred freely and fully, and thoroughly revised their whole work, upon which they have bestowed much anxious thought;" that they are called to lament the death of another of their fellow labourers, the Rev. Dr. John Breckinridge; and that the remaining members of the Committee have been permitted to bring the first portion of their labours to a close, having completed, and passed their final and unanimous vote upon, the work, in so far as relates to the selection and compilation of a Book of Hymns, which they present with their report to the Assembly. In reference to these Hymns, they say—"they are six hundred and seventy in number, besides the necessary Doxologies; and in making the selection, the Committee have consulted every similar work to which they could gain access, and have agreed to admit only such, as after mature deliberation, received the unanimous vote of the Committee." They add "that the completion of this part of their work is to be understood with reference solely to the elements of the book, and that while the Committee have desired to arrange the same in some such systematic order as would render it more complete and available for convenient use, they have not yet had time fully to consider and agree upon the precise arrangement to be adopted—the arrangement, according to which the book is now exhibited, which occupied the uninterrupted labour of a sub-committee for at least one month—not having received the final revision and approbation of the committee. This part of the work, which, though very important, is only subsidiary, has been so far considered that the Committee believe they can complete it without any inconvenient delay." "And if their selection of Hymns should receive the approbation of the Assembly, the arrangement can be completed and the book put to press, immediately after the adjournment of the Assembly, so as very speedily to meet any extent of demand that may arise for it." In reference to the Book of Psalms, the Committee, while they state that another year will be needed by them, state also their confidence that with the leave of Providence, that year will suffice, so that they will be able to make a final report upon this book also, in May, 1848. (Min. 1842, pp. 55, 56.)

This Report was the order of the day for Monday, May 30th, and, accordingly, was then taken up by the Assembly; when, on motion of Dr. Howe, it was accepted, and ordered to be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes. The following resolution was then offered by Dr. Howe: "Resolved, That the Book of Hymns selected by the Committee be approved by this Assembly, and be allowed to be used in all our churches." Dr. McFarland moved to amend the motion so as to refer the book to the Presbyteries for their approval. And after debate the motion was lost. Yeas 50, Nays 57. Various motions to amend the book, by striking out verses and whole hymns, were made, all of which were lost, except four minor amendments. Then, on motion of Dr. Hodge, it was "Resolved, that the Book of Hymns be referred back to the Committee on Psalmody, with direc-

tions to make such alterations as their own judgment or the suggestion of others may dictate, and to report it together with the Book of Psalms to the next Assembly." (Min. 1842, pp. 30, 31.)

On June 3d, Mr. B. M. Smith moved to reconsider the above resolution to recommit the book; on which motion there stood, Yeas 58, Nays 21, "which not being two-thirds of those who voted on the resolution to be reconsidered, it was declared that the motion was lost." Whereupon, Dr. R. J. Breckinridge offered a minute to the effect, that the Committee be authorized to print the Book of Psalms already in use; together with their new selection of Hymns; that the book so printed be laid before the next Assembly; that it be authorized to be used in the churches; and that the Presbyteries and members of the church be invited to make any communications with the Committee before the first of the next December, before which time they should not put the book to press. And this minute was adopted, Yeas 60, Nays 11. (Min. 1842., pp. 44, 45.)

On the 27th of May, 1843, the Committee of Psalmody presented to the General Assembly their final Report, which was accepted and referred to Messrs. Nott, Lord, Atkinson, Leyburn and Nall; and the Committee was discharged. (Min. 1843, p. 186.) This Report states that in compliance with the resolution of the last General Assembly, the Committee of Psalmody met early in January 1843, and continued in session until they had completed the work which had been assigned them. Communications were received from one Synod, fourteen Presbyteries, and six individuals located in different parts of the church—which, with one or two exceptions, expressed approbation of the Hymn Book, and suggestions, some extended and elaborate, for its improvement. The Committee express their indebtedness to those who thus favoured them with their views and recommendations, and say, that as far as was consistent with their own judgment and sense of responsibility they have been guided by them, in the changes which they have made. They state that they have aimed at making a selection which, as a whole, may be generally acceptable, and supersede the use of the many different Hymn Books which have been introduced into our churches, lecture rooms and families. They have, especially, restored those Hymns of Watts which have been urgently called for by all who sent in any communications on the subject; and this the more readily, because such restoration was one design of their first appointment. The Committee express their sense of the difficulty of pleasing all, and their consciousness that after all their labour, their work is by no means perfect. To render the selection more useful and acceptable, they propose to bind up with it, the Directory for Public Worship, and the Shorter Catechism. "With regard to the Psalms," says the Report "after mature deliberation, and a full examination of the subject, the Committee were of opinion, that an acceptable, literal and metrical version of them, however desirable, could not at present be obtained. The versions of Psalms to which they have had access, do not furnish such a number of superior merit, as to justify the attempt to alter the book now in use." They suggest, therefore, the propriety of having the received prose translation of the Psalms set to music, and so prepared as to be conveniently used in all our churches. This Re-

port is signed by the Committee as finally constituted, viz: the Rev. W. W. Phillips, D. D., Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., Rev. W. M. Engles, D. D., Rev. John Gray, Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., and the Rev. J. M. Krebs, D. D. (See Min. 1843, pp. 218, 219.)

Upon this Report, the committee to whom it was referred, made a report, which, on May 30th, was amended and adopted, as follows, viz:

That the Committee of Psalmody appear to have discharged the duty assigned them, with zeal and ability; and that they are entitled to the thanks of this Assembly: Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That the Book of Psalmody reported by the Committee of Psalmody, be approved, and authorized to be used in all our churches.

2. That such portion of our standards be appended to such portion of any future edition of the Book of Psalmody, as shall be deemed expedient by the Board of Publication.

3. That the whole, or such portion of the common translation of the Psalms, without note or comment, accompanied as far as may be by appropriate music, be appended to such portion of one edition of said Book of Psalmody, as may appear expedient to the Board of Publication.

4. That the Board of Publication be authorized to pay out of the proceeds of the sale of said Book of Psalmody, the necessary expenses incurred in preparing the same for publication.

5. That the Report of the Committee on Psalmody, be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes of this Assembly.

6. That it be enjoined on the Board of Publication to keep on hand a sufficient number of the Book of Psalms and Hymns approved by the General Assembly of 1830, to supply the churches that have introduced and prefer it." (Min. 1843, p. 194.)

Thus was this important matter brought to a successful and satisfactory conclusion, just five years from the date of the first action on the subject. Of those engaged on the work at various times during this period, it appears, that the Rev. William W. Phillips, D. D. and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D. have performed its labours from their appointment in 1838, until its conclusion in 1843, the whole five years; the Rev. James W. Alexander, from the same period until his resignation, in 1840, two years; the Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D. and the Rev. John Gray of Easton, from their appointment in 1839 until the completion of the work, four years; the Rev. John Breckinridge, D. D., from his appointment in 1839 until his death in 1841, two years; the Rev. Wm. M. Engles, D. D. and the Rev. John M. Krebs, D. D., from their appointment in 1841 to the completion of the work, two years. The Rev. Drs. Alexander, Baxter and Potts, appear never to have met the Committee.

* * A young friend has prepared the foregoing summary from the Minutes of the General Assembly for 1838—48: we add a few suggestions.

The whole number of Hymns in the old book was 531: the whole number in the new book is 690. Of the 531 old Hymns 419 have been retained—112 having been rejected: our private opinion is, that at least double as many as were rejected should have been. There are 261 Hymns in the new book, which are not in the old one; and as above stated 112 in the old which are not in the new; so that the two books differ by 373 Hymns.

We think it may be safely conjectured that this Hymn Book will have a very large sale, and hold its place for many years in our denomination. So we predicted at the period when violent and apparently concerted efforts were on foot to suppress it entirely. (*See p. 561 of our vol. for 1842.*) It is true the last General Assembly seems to have given it but a cold sanction; but it is also true that 15,000 copies of the book were sold within three months after it was through the press; and we learn that the demand continues without much abatement.

That uniformity in Psalmody is greatly to be desired, we presume none will doubt; and that on every account the church should have the supervision of this matter, seems equally clear. As there can be, we presume, but one opinion as to the superiority of this book over others now in use amongst Presbyterians—it seems therefore much to be desired that our churches should generally adopt it, as the basis of that uniformity, at present. That the time will come when new and more thorough efforts will be made to perfect our Psalmody we have no doubt; but we think that time is not very near,—and when it arrives, the fact of an existing uniformity will help instead of hindering whatever may then be thought desirable. We will freely confess that, for ourselves, we consider the Paraphrase of the Psalms, by Dr. Watts, the most defective part of our Psalmody; and only more and more marvel that such a miserable attempt should have acquired so much reputation. If God would be pleased to send into the world a man who should unite the fidelity of the old version commonly called Rous's, with so much poetic expression as to make it popular, it would be a rich gift to his church; a gift, which for our sins, he withholds.

We think, if the Board of Publication would publish the Hymn Book *separately*—it would tend greatly to introduce it into universal use; for by this means all who have the old collections, could thus, for a few cents, possess our Psalmody complete; and so all other Hymn books, both in public and social worship, would easily and speedily be supplanted.

It also appears to us, that it would be a decided improvement to suppress the paging entirely, or else put it at the foot of the page, and make the references in the indices, exclusively to the psalm or hymn.

There are at least 500,000 adult people who worship in all our 2000 churches. If all these could be induced to adopt a uniform Psalmody—say within ten years, and the Board make ten cents on each copy sold—here would be a net income for the ten years, on this book alone, of \$ 5000 a year. And allowing after that, a permanent demand for 5000 copies a year—(which in a rapidly increasing denomination, whose influence already embraces, we suppose, 1,500,000 souls, is very low)—at the same profit, we shall have a permanent *net* income of \$ 500 a year from this volume, as long as it continues to be made the basis of our denominational Psalmody.

Supposing these things to be founded in some tolerable approach to accuracy—and it appears to us, that unless there be very weighty reasons to justify a contrary course, all our congregations ought to make common cause in this matter; put an end to our distractions on this subject; and while we become one people in singing God's praises, as we use in our Confession, Discipline and Government, promote indirectly the important ends which will be incidentally accomplished.

Our personal labours on this work were great; and having been allowed to share with our brethren of the committee, in this *gratuitous* labour, through a period of five years, and thereby having accomplished, with them, a work which is capable of producing so great benefits, spiritual and temporal, present and prospective—we consider ourself as having performed, perhaps the most important service we have ever been able to render to the church.

We take it for granted that considerations of delicacy alone induced Dr. Engles who is the Editor, and Dr. Cuyler, who is we believe Chairman of one of the principal committees of the Board of Publication, to suppress entirely the names of the persons who compiled this book; they being two of them. We protest against this, as being both unjust, and in bad taste. The persons who did this work for the church, and that amid both opposition and reproach, gratuitously and with great toil—now that, by the blessing of God, the work is pronounced good—ought not to be thrust out in this way.

[For the Spirit of the XIX. Century.]

AN INTERPRETATION OF JOHN III. 3—5.—PART II.

Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.

Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?

Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

THE reader will perceive from what has already been said, that the words *εαν μη τις γεννηθη * * * * πνευματος* "except a man be begotten * * * of or by the Spirit," are those which I suppose teach the doctrine of spiritual regeneration, as it is commonly understood by orthodox Christians. This is what I suppose Paul intends by the words (*ανακαίνωσις πνευματος ἁγίου*) "renewing of the Holy Ghost," in Tit. iii. 5, and (*ανακαίνωσις του νοῦς ὑμων*) "renewing of your mind," in Rom. xii. 2; see Eph. iv. 23. This work of the Spirit differs from that greater work of perfect regeneration in the resurrection, in this, that it is begun in this life in the soul, and is carried on in its sanctification, till it drops the body, and is gathered to the General Assembly of the spirits of the just made perfect. But it is as truly a work of Almighty power, as the resurrection of the body. In fact, it is the beginning of a work whose proper end and completion is the resurrection of the body in glory, which end or completion (not beginning) is figuratively set forth by baptism, which our Lord here describes as "a begetting from or out of water."* This view of the passage, represents the work of regeneration as being wholly the work of the Holy Spirit, from conversion to the resurrection; and it justifies the inference, that a man can as well raise his dead body from the grave, as commence that work of regeneration in his soul, which, when it shall be completed shall issue in the resurrection (or regeneration) of his body.

*The word *παλιγγενεσία* occurs but twice in the New Testament, viz: in Matt. xix. 28, and Tit. iii. 5. In the former of these places it undoubtedly refers to some future state, not of man merely, but of the world. Our Lord promises to his disciples, that in the (*παλιγγενεσία*) the regeneration, i. e. at some future time, *when* the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, they should receive a certain reward. Millennialians understand this word, in this place, of a future dispensation, which is elsewhere called the Kingdom of God. Certainly the word is not used in the theological sense of regeneration, as applied merely to the soul of man. In Titus iii. 5, the expression, *δια λουτρῶν παλιγγενεσίας* is by many understood of baptismal regeneration; and this may be conceded, if we also retain the general notion or idea conveyed by the word *παλιγγενεσία* as used in Matt. xix. 28. It is the word *λουτρῶν* however, which contains the idea of *washing* or *baptizing* and the word *παλιγγενεσίας* is used adjectively, or is added to express its symbolical import, as if the Apostle had said, "by the washing of (baptism which figuratively sets forth the) regeneration (of the whole man at the resurrection) and by the renewing (of the soul in this life by the power) of the Holy Ghost." Thus understood, we see the connection between the idea expressed by Paul, and the (*παλιγγενεσία* or) regeneration spoken of by our Lord. The epoch of the resurrection; or of man's completed or perfect regeneration, is also the epoch of the regeneration of the earth by the ex-

Having now stated the principal points of my hypothesis, I take leave to submit a few observations tending to confirm it.

1. It serves to shew the connection between verse 14, and the principal topic of the conversation—"And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." Plainly our Lord here refers to his own death, but what is there in the preceding declarations of our Lord which should lead to the subject of his own death? The transition seems abrupt, and in the common English translation, it is marked as a distinct paragraph or new subject. Yet it seems to me to fall naturally within the current of thought, if we take the view before suggested of the doctrine of regeneration. Like the rest of his countrymen, Nicodemus, no doubt, believed himself and his nation capable of seeing and entering into and enjoying the kingdom of God which the Lord Jesus had come to preach and offer to the nation. I refer not to the moral qualifications requisite, but to their corporeal or physical condition. Let it be granted that Nicodemus knew full well, that his countrymen must be converted from the love of sin, to the love of holiness, before they became subjects or heirs of the kingdom of God. And how can it be proved he was altogether ignorant of this? We cannot suppose he knew or believed, that if such a change were wrought, they would still be incapable of entering into that kingdom, without a change wrought upon their bodies; converting them from flesh and blood, into bodies spiritual, glorious, powerful and immortal.* Our Lord then addresses him in this state of mind. He announces to him the necessity of a change too great to be wrought by the will of the flesh, or the will of man. A change in the nature of a new cre-

pulsion of Satan and the curse. Then the face of nature will be renewed. Paul's expression is an example of synecdoche, wherein he comprehends or alludes to the *παλιγγενεσία* of all things, by the part which man will have in it. Allusions to this state of things are made in the Scriptures by various forms of expression: "Behold I create all things new," Is. lxxv. 17. "The regeneration," Matt. xix. 28. "The times of the restitution of all things," Acts iii. 21. "Manifestation of the sons of God," Rom. viii. 19. "The adoption, *to wit*, the redemption of the body," Rom. viii. 23. "The resurrection of the dead," Phil. iii. 11. "The coming of the Lord," 1 Thess. iv. 5—2 Pet. i. 4. "The day of the Lord," 2 Pet. iii. 10. "The world to come," Heb. ii. 5. I may add in this place, that the Tractarians admit, there are only two places (John iii. 5, and Tit. iii. 5.) which directly connect baptism with regeneration; and one of their errors in explaining these places is, that they suppose the *regeneration*, with which baptism is chiefly and especially connected, is the work of renewing in the soul, begun in this life, and not the perfect regeneration of the whole man at the resurrection of his body. This spiritual regeneration, or inception of the larger work, in both these places is spoken of by distinct words, viz: the begetting or renewing of the Spirit as explained above.

*It would be easy to shew that the teachers of the nation had very low and inadequate views of the kingdom of God. They thought it could appear, and that they, as a nation, enjoy it without any physical change upon their bodies. They thought not of the Gospel dispensation as we call it, and in that it is supposed, by many, their error consisted. But Paul afterwards taught, that flesh and blood could not inherit it, though flesh and blood can and do enjoy the Gospel dispensation, and Nicodemus's fundamental misconception was, perhaps, that he thought (that flesh and blood as he and his countrymen were,) the kingdom could still appear, and they inherit its blessings. See Luke xix. 11—xvii. 20; Acts i. 6; and compare Mark ix. 1, 9, 10.

ation which God only, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, could effect. Nay, more than this; it was needful that he himself, though Lord of glory, (inasmuch as he then stood before the nation in the likeness of their own sinful flesh) should lay it aside, and through suffering, pass into that glorious condition as a man, which should be suited to the exalted and enduring nature of the kingdom of God. As a man therefore, he himself must be begotten from above, begotten from the dead, as well as others. I say not *re-generated*; for that word has a theological sense, which renders its use improper in respect to Him, who was holy, harmless, undefiled and separate from sinners—who, though he was made sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God, yet knew no sin himself. The idea I suggest is perfectly scriptural. In fact it is the idea expressed by our Lord himself to two of his disciples at Emmaus. "*Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory,*" Luke xxiv. 25. His sufferings and death were by Divine appointment, to precede the glory to which he was raised as a man by his resurrection and ascension. The same sentiment is expressed in Heb. ii. 10. And that Christ was afterwards begotten as to his human nature, in the Scriptural sense, of the word, is proved by Ps. ii. 8; Acts xiii. 33; Rev. i. 5; Col. i. 15; Luke xx. 36; Rom. i. 3; already cited. Here then, we see a connection between verses 3 and 14. The sentiment and the connection may be represented thus: And although I have come to preach and to offer the glorious kingdom of God to you and your people, yet you must all undergo a new creation before you can see or enter that kingdom. You must be renewed in your souls—and not only this, you must be renewed in your bodies by the mighty power of the Holy Spirit, and although I am the King of Glory, and the appointed Head of that Kingdom, I preach, yet having come in the likeness of your nature, even I must suffer death, and my dead body must be begotten from the dead and made glorious, before I can, as a man, pass into the glory of the kingdom of God.

The doctrine thus understood was equivalent to an express declaration, that the kingdom of God could not then appear; *first*, because the Jews, to whom it was offered, could not thus transform themselves, either in body or soul, into the predestined image of the glorified manhood of the Lord Jesus; and, *secondly*, because the Spirit of God would not effect that change upon any of them except through faith, of his own operation, in the rejected, crucified, raised and glorified Saviour. The doctrine then which our Lord at first advanced to this Jewish ruler; involved the *whole mystery of redemption*, which Paul traces in Rom. viii. 29, 30, from predestination to glorification. The answer of Nicodemus (vs. 4.) shows how ignorant he was of this mystery.

2. The view taken of this passage explains the meaning of the baptism of Christ by John. When our Lord presented himself for baptism, "John forbade him,* saying I have need to be baptized of

* John understood, no doubt, the full meaning of baptism which Christ administered, and it may be supposed he here referred to the death of Christ and to his need of being united with him by baptism in token of a future resurrection. Christ did not need the baptism of John for any such end. See Macknight on Rom. vi. 4.

thee and comest thou to me?" John's was the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. Matt. iii. 2; Luke iii. 3; Acts xiii. 24—xix. 4. But Christ knew no sin, and had no need of repentance. Why then did he submit to the baptism of John? Some say it was, to shew his approbation of it, (Jerome on Matt. 3.) Others, that it was to sanctify our baptism in his body: others still, that he might set us an example of humility. (Augustine, Tract 5 on John, Whitby on Matt. iii. 15.)* But it seems to me, that it was to prefigure his own death, burial and resurrection. His baptism by implication therefore, as it were prophesied his rejection by the nation, and set forth in a figure, the appointed method of redemption through his death, by which only the righteousness of the law could be fulfilled. Hence the force of the reason alledged by our Lord to John: "For so, (that is by this symbolical action) it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." Matt. iii. 15. Thus understood, his baptism, was a symbolical fulfilment of all righteousness—in this, that it foreshowed his own death, burial and resurrection.

If such then was the meaning of the baptism of the Lord Jesus, we are justified in assuming that the baptism of his followers (whatever other signification it may have) is primarily intended to shew forth their resurrection to a new life, in which they shall be conformed to the image of the glorified body of Christ their Head. Rom. viii. 29, 30.

3. The view taken of this passage, considered in connection with the Millenarian doctrine concerning the kingdom of God, throws light upon the subject of infant baptism.

The kingdom of God, of which our Lord spoke, I have supposed, was that glorious kingdom which he will establish in outward glory at his second coming. That kingdom had come nigh to the Jewish nation when John the Baptist entered upon his public ministry. That was the kingdom which the Jews rejected, and which was taken from them to be given to another elect people, (gathered from Jews and Gentiles,) at the close of the present dispensation. (Matt. xxi. 43; 1 Pet. ii. 9.) This elect people, (or rather such of them as shall have departed this life,) will be raised from the dead at the Lord's coming. They will constitute the first resurrection. Such are some of the points of the Millenarian theory.† Now baptism, being an ordinance appointed for this dispensation, can have respect only to that resurrection which shall take place at its close. But infants, though incapable of faith and repentance, are still capable of regeneration in the sense explained, that is of being born, or begotten from the dead by their resurrection to a new life; and baptism, as I have shewn, in one of its senses at least, is a symbolical representation, or a foreshowing of that event. Manifestly, therefore, it is an ordinance proper to be administered to all those who may have part in the resurrection which it symbolizes. The question then comes to this; can any infant, dying in infancy, have part in the first resurrection and

* See the conjectures of the Schoolmen in Summæ Thomæ Aquin. part 3. Our XXXIX. Much of that which passes under the name of commentary and explanation of the Scriptures, is the mere guess-work of learned men. But in such business, fools may hit when wise men would miss.

† See page 202, et seq. of this volume for more of this theory.

this kingdom of God? If not, what was the meaning of our blessed Lord, when he said "Except ye be converted and become as little little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of Heaven." "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven." Or what was his meaning when he cited from Ps. viii. 2. upon the occasion of the hosannas chaunted to him by the children in the temple, "out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise," (or ordained strength.)* But if the reader is not prepared to maintain that no deceased infant can have part in the first resurrection, or become a member of that glorified elect body, which shall reign with Christ during the Millennium, then why are not infants proper subjects of that ordinance, which symbolically and prophetically sets forth that regeneration of which they may be, and of which at least some of them will be the subjects? It is true of them that they must "be begotten from above," in the the resurrection of their bodies, or they cannot see the glorious kingdom of God: And if God has seen fit to appoint baptism, or a "begetting out of water" by the act of man, to represent the mystery of the resurrection, or the begetting of them from among the dead, by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the day of Christ's second coming:—nay, more, if God has declared that none except those who shall thus be begotten out of water can enter into the kingdom of God, it seems not only proper, but necessary to baptize infants, in token of their dedication to Christ, and of their resurrection at his coming. I do not contend however, that baptism is indispensable to salvation.† "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned." The meaning of this place, which must be consistent with the passage under consideration, appears to me to be this; "He that believeth shall be saved. He that is baptized (being incapable of belief) shall be saved. He that believeth not (being capable of belief, although baptized) shall be damned." For the baptism of water cannot be necessary where the Holy Ghost has himself baptized or wrought saving faith in the soul. Neither can belief be necessary in infants and idiots who are incapable of exercising it, otherwise the salvation of all such would be impossible. Nor can baptism, which is man's act, and only symbolical of the resurrection, save in unbelief; for in such a case, the Holy Spirit, not having begun his work upon the soul in this life, will not begin it by the resurrection of the body of the unbeliever. Nor do I contend that all infants dying in infancy unbaptized will be lost.

* Although this prediction had an inceptive fulfilment upon that occasion, yet I cannot but think, it also has respect to, and will receive a higher fulfilment in the future kingdom of God, wherein babes and sucklings (as they were at death,) will be invested with bodies of beauty and glory and strength, in which they will celebrate the praises and execute the behests of Him who redeemed them.

† Nor does it follow from any thing here said or intended, that baptism gives grace according to the opinion of the Papal church *ex opere operato*. Yet the Holy Spirit no doubt can renew the soul of an infant in this life, before it is capable of moral action, and no doubt does so, in the case of all those which shall be raised from the dead at the coming of Christ at the time the soul is leaving the body, or at some time before. Still it is an effect of the power of the Holy Ghost, and not an effect proceeding from the sacrament, whether wrought at the time or afterwards.

But God has been pleased to appoint the ordinance of baptism, not only to shew forth in a figure, the mystery of the first resurrection, but as a seal of a covenant between him and those who shall thus dedicate themselves and their offspring to him: He has therefore been pleased to lay himself under a more particular covenant or promise, to those who become his in obedience to this institution. Now as we know he acts as a sovereign, why may we not believe that the condition of the baptized children of believing parents will be better *at the close of this economy*, than that of those who were never thus dedicated to him? And may not their advantage consist in this, that they shall attain an earlier resurrection, and an admission into the kingdom of God at the Lord's second coming? It follows not from this, that the condition of infants dying in infancy without baptism, is miserable, or not positively happy in the world of spirits; nor that they will not be raised, at the general resurrection of all the dead to a state of glory and unending bliss in the body; but only that they will not be aggregated to *that* mystical body of Christ, or elect church, which will be *completed and gathered to meet him* at his coming. Those who deny that the advent of Christ will be pre-millennial, and who say that the resurrection of the elect body of Christ will not precede the resurrection of the rest of the dead, do, in fact, postpone the resurrection of all infants dying with or without baptism until after the Millennium. The Millenarian hypothesis, therefore, robs them (so to speak) of nothing, which the opposite theory allows us to expect for them; while the anti-millenarian or spiritual theory, as it denies that there will be an earlier resurrection of the elect church—a resurrection before the Millennium, does, in fact, deprive baptized infants of all pre-eminence or advantage over those who die unbaptized in infancy, unless it be a part of that theory also, that all unbaptized infants are lost.

I intended, when I began this head of remarks, to be brief; but I fear I shall be misunderstood if I stop here, I will therefore add some further observations, though they should seem somewhat digressive from the chief subject. Various opinions* are entertained concerning the condition of deceased infants in the unseen world and future state—two of which may be mentioned. Some believe, that all infants who depart this life without actual and personal sin, will be saved. Now this opinion stated thus generally, may be conceded. But most of those who maintain this opinion, believe also that all such will attain to *one* and the *same* salvation, at the *same* time, to wit, at the general resurrection of all the dead after the Millennium. This hypothesis embraces the case of Jewish infants which died in circumcision, as well as that of Jewish infants which died without circumcision, and the case of infants of the Gentiles which died during the old economy, and also the case of infants baptized and unbaptized which have died or shall die during the present economy. Now let us see how the covenant of circumcision bears upon this theory. God promised to be a God to Abraham, and to his seed. He took his infants into covenant, appointing circumcision, as the seal or token of

* See Wall on Baptism, for a copious statement of the opinions of the Fathers; also, "An Essay on the Salvation of all Dying in Infancy," by David Russel of Dundee; and "grounds of hope for the salvation of all dying in infancy," an Essay by Rev. William Harris, L. L. B.

the covenant, and commanded that it should be observed as a standing testimony or sign that JEHOVAH was their GOD, Gen. xvii. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14. He declared, moreover, that "the uncircumcised man-child shall be cut off from his people." The child upon whom this rite was performed was brought within the covenant, and every such child if he died before capable of actual and personal sin, did not, in fact, break the covenant during his life.* Let us suppose then, that when our Lord preached to the Jews the kingdom of God, and offered it for their acceptance, they had received him and the kingdom with the obedience of faith, or according to allegorical representation of the parable of the marriage, (Matt. 22.) had with one consent, instead of refusing the invitation, came to the wedding; the kingdom then would no doubt have been established in outward glory, (see Matt. xxiii. 37.) and the deceased Jewish infants of former generations, which died in circumcision, would have been raised from the dead at that time to share in its glory. I know it was not possible, considering the nature of fallen man, that this supposition should have been realized. So certain was it, that the nation would reject Christ and his kingdom, that their rejection was the pre-appointed means of bringing in that redemption without which there could have been no resurrection, still I may avail myself of an hypothesis of this sort by way of illustration. Now what did the infants of former generations dying in circumcision lose through the rejection of the Lord Jesus and his kingdom by the later generation to which he came and offered it? The reader may say nothing: on the contrary, they gained thereby not only the certainty but even the possibility of a resurrection at the second coming of the Lord, neither of which could they otherwise have had. And this is true. And this result is a wonderful part of the mystery of godliness. But upon the supposition that the nation could have received Christ, the loss of such infants by this act of unbelief, was the *postponing of the time of the resurrection* of their bodies, until God should, under a new dispensation of grace, gather another elect people for the inheritance of that kingdom which the Jews rejected. When, therefore, this subrogated people shall be completely gathered, and Christ shall come again to call them from their graves and gather them to himself in bodies of glory, the circumcised infants that died in infancy during the old economy, will also be raised from the dead, and made a part of that elect and redeemed body, the true Israel of God. But will those infants of the Jewish nation which died in infancy, without circumcision, during the old economy be also raised at the same time, and made a part of the same elect people? Not only this: will the deceased infants of the Gentiles, with whom God made no covenant, also be raised from the dead at the same time, and admitted to an equal share in the same glories?

Of what advantage then was circumcision to those who received

*There is a passage in Numb. xiv. 23, according to the LXX. which is not contained in the Hebrew text, the Vulgate, or our version. "But their children which are with me here, as many as know not good nor evil, every one younger, inexperienced, to them will I give the land," This passage, if the text of this place may be received, may have some bearing on the question of the salvation of infants.

that seal of the covenant? Certainly it conferred none in this life.* For it cannot be replied in this case, as Paul replied to a similar question, in respect to the adult portion of the nation, that the oracles of God were committed to those infants. Again: What is the meaning of God's declaration "the uncircumcised man child shall be cut off from his people, he hath broken my covenant," Gen. xvii. 14. It cannot be replied that "to be cut off from his people," means that he shall suffer an early temporal death; for the case in hand is that of a *circumcised* man-child, who hath not broken the covenant, and yet, cut off by death in infancy. Where then is the advantage except we look for it in that earlier resurrection (described in 1 Cor. xv.) of the elect church, to which the circumcised Jewish infant was united by this token of God's covenant? This is indeed a glorious pre-eminence, and a pre-eminence or advantage too, which does not involve the damnation or misery of those infants who died without circumcision, whether of the Jews or the Gentiles. They may still have part in the later or second resurrection at the close of the Millennium, and their condition in the meantime, while out of the body, and their future condition in the body, may be that of happiness and glory. The reader may believe that their happiness and glory will be just such and just so great, as the anti-millennarian hypothesis supposes (upon scriptural grounds) that they will be; for the Millennarian hypothesis interferes in no respect with their views on this head. It only supplies a ground of advantage or pre-eminence to circumcised and baptized infants dying in infancy, which is denied to them without shewing any other ground of advantage by those who maintain the opposite theory, unless, as has been said, it be contended that all others are lost.

But baptism under the present dispensation takes the place of circumcision under the old covenant. Paul calls (Col. ii. 11.) baptism the circumcision of Christ. Now those who deny the propriety of the baptism of infants during the present dispensation, must maintain, either that none but the circumcised infants of the old economy can enter into the kingdom of God, or they must maintain that circumcision was of no advantage to the deceased infants of Jewish parents upon whom that rite was performed. If they take the former ground, circumcision indeed availed much. But is any one prepared to

* Dr. Harris seems to think that the covenant of circumcision insured church privileges—the possession of the promised land to the natural seed of Abraham. But infants cut off before they could enjoy either, gained nothing from it in this life. He says also, in another place, in reference to Rom. xi. 16—20. "The most natural interpretation is on the principle, that the descendants of pious persons are acknowledged as sustaining a peculiar relation to God, by virtue of his covenant engagements, and are sharers with their parents, in the blessing conveyed by their engagements, till becoming moral agents and sinners, they despise their birth-right, and interrupt, what may be called the natural course of sovereign mercy, from generation to generation." But what share can children enjoy before becoming moral agents in this life? What enjoyment of spiritual good can they have in this life before they can know good from evil? Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the good they got from the covenant, and the good intended they should get, is in their future state, and not in this life? And this too, a good which others not within the covenant do not get at the same time or in the same degree.

maintain that no infant born of Gentile parents, though Christian and believing parents, can have part in the first resurrection, and so enter into the kingdom of God? This would be not only to make the former covenant distinct, but to give it, *as such*, an advantage over that which was established in the blood of the Son of God, in respect to a very large part of the race. If they take the ground that the unbaptized infants of Gentiles, are admissible to the same privileges, whether they died during the continuance of the old economy or the present, then they have to show what was the advantage of the covenant which God made with Abraham in respect to infants dying with the token of the covenant thus fixed upon them. They must tell us also what God meant when he said by Moses, "Ye stand this day, all of you, before the Lord your God, your captains, your elders, *your little ones*, your wives, that thou shouldst *enter into covenant* with the Lord thy GOD, that he may establish thee to-day for a *people unto himself*, and that he may be unto them a GOD as he hath *sworn* unto thy fathers, to Abraham," &c. Deut. xxiv. 10, 11, 12. "Moreover thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters which thou *hast borne unto me*, and these hast thou sacrificed unto idols; Thou hast slain *my children*." Ezek. xvi. 20, 21.*

If it be admitted, however, that baptism takes the place of circumcision in respect to infants; we incur no such difficulty. The circumcised infant still has an advantage from the covenant, (not over the baptized infant of believing parents; for he too is circumcised though with the circumcision of Christ, but) over these who have never been brought within the covenant of God in any way of his appointment; and this advantage consists in their union to that elect church which will be raised from the dead, and received into the kingdom of God at our Lord's second coming.†

Another opinion is, that elect infants only will be saved. This opinion may be admitted, if we understand it of that great salvation which will be revealed at the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ in his kingdom. But who are the elect infants? Are they of those who died during the old economy without circumcision? Are they also of the Gentiles who then lived, and with whom God made no covenant? Are they also of the unbaptized Gentiles during the present economy? If either of these opinions be maintained, I may repeat the inquiry already made. Of what advantage was circumcision to the Jewish infant who died with the seal of the covenant

* A child on the day of its circumcision was called *Chatan* by the Jews, because they considered it then *espoused* to God, and *united to his people*. See Schindler Lex. See other instances in which children are comprehended with parents, in covenant privileges in Gen. vi. 18—ix. 1, 8, 9—xvii. 7; Mal. ii. 4—6, compared with Deut. xviii. 1—5, and Numb. iii. 11—15. 39; Numb. xxv. 10. 18; 1 Chron. xxiii. 18; 2 Sam. vii. 11—xxiii. 5; Deut. xxix. 11; Joshua viii. 35. Paul also calls the children of believers holy, 1 Cor. vii. 14.

† "The church of Gentile believers are as really in Abraham's covenant as ever the Jews were; for the Jews were broken off, and the Gentiles (the wild olive) they were grafted in *for* them (not *among* them—see the marginal reading) and so, with them, partake of the root and the fatness of the olive tree. This scripture then (Rom. xi. 17, &c.) may serve for very great use in the great doctrine of the covenant, and the baptism of believers' seed." Matthew Mead of Stepaey, Sermon IV. on the Jews.

upon him? For others without it, attain the same advantage. **But** if by elect infants, we are to understand those who have been espoused to God and united to his elect people—whether under the old or the new economy:—those with whom God has thus entered into covenant, and whom he calls his children, we avoid this difficulty. As I said before, these elect ones, (elect; because united in the way of God's appointment to his elect people,*) shall still have the pre-eminence by having part in the first resurrection; while the rest of the infant dead, though they shall not attain to this earlier glory and blessedness, may still have part in a glorious though later resurrection.

In conclusion of this topic, I will only add, that our Lord's doctrine in John iii. 3—5, appears to me to extend as well to the case of infants as of adult persons. If the expression in verse 3, has the sense suggested, the necessity of regeneration is equal in both cases, and both are equally capable of regeneration in that sense. If the expression, "begotten or born of or out of water," is a symbolical way of setting forth what our Lord had previously said, (that is, that a man must be begotten from the dead, &c.) it is fairly applicable to all those whom the Scriptures teach may have part in that resurrection, and that kingdom of which our Lord spoke, infants may and will have part in that resurrection and that kingdom; therefore they are proper subjects of baptism. And if every one must be baptized, with water, who has not been baptized by the Holy Spirit in this life, it follows that infants must be baptized in token of their union to Christ, and of their part in the first resurrection. And such baptism, being all that they are capable of receiving in this life may, by the gracious appointment of God in his care of infants, stand in the place of the incipient work of renewing the soul by the Holy Spirit through repentance and faith, though not in the case of those who have been guilty of personal sins, as I have already explained. In this view,†

* God's purposes of election, we are accustomed to consider as known only to himself; and properly. It is impossible also to know, with certainty, when the moral agency begins in children. But when a circumcised child was removed so early that it could with certainty be known that it was incapable of discerning between good and evil, *the act of so removing him*, with the seal of the covenant upon him, may be considered a manifestation of the previously secret purpose of election, just as the indubitable conversion and sanctification of an adult is an indication of the same purpose. The same remark may be applied to baptized infants, removed, while we are sure that they have not reached the period of moral agency. For the act of so removing them, is an act done under the covenant, to which God has graciously become a party.

† Cursory as these observations are, the reader will, I think, see that the Millennial doctrine concerning the kingdom of God, if it be founded in Scripture, has a very important bearing upon the question of the salvation of those dying in infancy. Those who maintain that all such will be saved, find it difficult to explain the special promises made to those within the covenant of circumcision and baptism, upon satisfactory grounds. Those who maintain then an election of them only will be saved—taken partly from the circumcised and baptized, and partly from those who have never been brought within the covenant of circumcision or baptism, are pressed with the difficulty of shewing what those of the former class will gain, which are not elected; and what advantages those of the same class which are elected, gain over those of the latter class who also are elected. Other difficulties also press upon this view which I do not stop to mention. The Millennial hypothesis is not liable to the same objections, and if it can be supported by Scripture, it places this subject upon less objectionable, if not quite clear and satisfactory grounds.

circumcision and baptism are no fruitless ceremonies, but seals of glorious privileges. Well might Paul say, in reply to the question, what profit is there of circumcision, "much every way," (*κατα πάντα τρόπον*) though he insisted chiefly on that which concerned the adult portion of the nation. For if, as it has been said, three-fifths of the race, in every age, have died in infancy, the covenant of circumcision will probably avail to the salvation of the larger part of the natural seed of Abraham, which were born and died, during the continuance of the old economy. And under the Christian dispensation, an innumerable multitude of baptized infants, will be gathered from every communion, calling itself Christian, in which the ordinances of the new covenant are rightly administered.

4. It is an argument in support of the view hereinbefore taken of the passage, that while it greatly enlarges our conceptions of our Lord's doctrine, it is fairly deducible from the language he used. If the reader doubts this assertion, let him reperuse the expository part of this essay, and carefully consider the proofs submitted. Now it is a fact, that many of the errors of the church have arisen partly, at least, from imperfect or low views of the doctrines of revelation. It seems as if divines, entertaining discordant and, in fact, quite opposite opinions upon some of the most important questions in theology, have, by common consent, taken up some shallow conception of a fundamental truth, as though it were intuitively true, and proceeding thereupon, as a scriptural basis, have erected structures of widely different forms and orders. That men of the best minds, however well instructed or intentioned, should be liable to error, from inadequate conceptions of the doctrines of revelation, is what we ought to expect, and what all ought to guard against. As well might the hand of an infant grasp and poise the great globe itself, as the puny mind of man comprehend the thoughts of God. Language sinks and circumscribes when used as a means of setting forth the deep mysteries of the kingdom of God, and the glorious purposes which therein will be revealed, not indeed in human words, but in the outward manifestation of the reality to those who shall enter into and inherit it. Hence, by a necessity imposed by the nature of the subject, we should receive the language of Scripture, (though it may express even more than we can rightly conceive of) rather as furnishing hints, than full expressions of things, which, after all, must for the most part lie hidden in the Divine mind. When, therefore, we would search for the mind of God in the Scriptures, we may take it for granted, that the largest, the weightiest, and the most glorious sense which the words will bear, is nearest the intention of the Divine Author of them. If beyond this, we find that this largest sense not only confirms truths elsewhere taught, but frees them from objections arising from the low and shallow sense of human conceptions, the presumption that we have got nearer to the truth, if we have not quite fallen upon it, is greatly enhanced.

This latter consideration, I think I am fairly entitled to urge in support of the hypothesis before stated. The reader has seen that it maintains the doctrine of spiritual regeneration, as taught by the most orthodox and pious of our spiritual teachers. He has seen, too, the answer it furnishes to Pelagian notions of man's ability to con-

vert or regenerate himself. Further, it presents the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in the only sense in which it is consistent with the office and prerogative of the Holy Ghost in the work of generating anew the souls as well as the bodies of men. He has seen too, that while it impugns no ground there may be in Scripture, to believe in the ultimate salvation of all infants and idiots who have departed this life without actual sin, it gives significancy and inestimable value to the covenant, sealed by circumcision and baptism, and thereby furnishes an additional ground to believe that all others will finally be saved. It suggests, too, an important consideration in connection with those ages of the Jewish and Christian churches, wherein both were greatly corrupted, though not apostate and utterly cast off; for even in these times, not less than in others, according to the view taken, God will magnify the glory of his grace, and put honour on his own covenants for his name's sake, in making heirs of his kingdom at the coming of Christ, a multitude of the infant dead of those ages whom no man can number. I may add, that the view taken, if it be just, sets aside as futile, many discordant and far-fetched criticisms of learned men, as well as many false opinions they have built upon them.

One tells us, for example, that by (ὕδωρ καὶ πνεῦμα) water and spirit, we must understand (spiritus aqueus) *watery spirit*; another, that it means *spiritual water*; another, that the birth and regeneration here declared to be necessary, strictly and properly belong only to Jews, Mahometans and Heathen. A question has been raised likewise whether ἀναθεὶ γεννηθῆναι is to be understood of moral or only of baptismal generation.* Others consider that by the kingdom of God, we are to understand the church, and the ordinance of baptism they sink into a rite of initiation into the church; so that the passage means, "except a man be baptized he cannot become a member of the church on earth." But it is not necessary to go at length into this topic. If the reader will turn to the commentators, he will find that scarcely any part of the Bible has been the subject of more disputing or of more inconsistent opinions than this. But the length to which this essay has already been extended, warns me not to tax the patience of the reader farther by a full enumeration of them. He will therefore be pleased to supply the many deficiencies he will observe under this head.

* The Papists convert the ordinance of baptism chiefly into an expedient to promote the interests and power of the Roman church. "Effectus baptismi est, quod baptizatus fiat Christianus, et membrum illius ecclesiæ cuius confessionem ante baptismum fecit, et quidem adulti *immediate*: parvuli, et qui alias pro se respondere non possunt, *mediate* per patrinos. De jure canonico fiunt subditi *reipublicæ ecclesiasticæ*, beneficiorum participes, si in clerum admissi. Infideles baptizati macula, qua laborabant, liberantur, fiuntque *honesti* ut ad honores, civium jura et collegia opificum admitti queant. Liberantur a *censu tolerantia*, quem ante baptismum præstabant, et omni nota servitatis. Mancipia infidelium, olim mox fiebant liberi, soluto tamen dominis pretio, et sic etiam *patres infideles* cogi possunt, ad *liberos fideles* a sua potestate dimittendos, salvo horum jure succedendi; neque enim statim a viventibus parentibus, legitimam petere possunt. Quia, de jure canonico, *subditi ecclesiæ universalis* fiunt, cogi possunt ad fidem christianam retinendam, et ad priores errores revertentes, ut apostatæ, puniuntur. Denique inducit cognationem spiritualem cum baptizante et patrinis. *Behmer's Jus Canonicum* lib. 3. Tit. 42 § 9.

LIFE OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

PART III.

From the General Assembly, 1639, to his Mission to London in 1643.

BISHOP BURNET has remarked, that it was strange to see Mr. Henderson, who had acted so vigorously against the bishops for meddling in civil affairs, made a commissioner for this treaty, and sign a paper so purely civil as the pacification was. This is one of those reflections which appear plausible and acute at first view, but which a comparison of the two cases will discover to be groundless. Not to mention that the present was an extraordinary conjuncture, in which all that was dear to a people was at stake, and when it was proper that all their talents should be called forth and employed, it is evident that religion had been the principal cause of the quarrel, and that its interests were deeply concerned in the termination to which it might be brought. And although the articles of the pacification mentioned only the disbanding of the forces, yet it is well known, that these proceeded upon the King's declaration, engaging that all matters ecclesiastical should be determined by the Assemblies of the Church; that General Assemblies should be called once a year; and that one should be convened in August to settle the present differences. When these things are considered, the presence of one of the ministry, who could explain any point of difficulty, and watch over the rights of the church, may easily be vindicated. But this is *toto cælo* different from bishops sitting as Lords of Parliament, or filling the highest offices of state; which, besides other evils, render it impossible for them to attend to the important duties of their ecclesiastical functions.

Mr. Henderson was one of the fourteen chief persons among the Covenanters who were sent for by the king to meet him at Berwick, after the Scottish army was disbanded. But an alarm having spread of a design against their life, or liberty, they were stopped at the Watergate of Edinburgh, when they were setting out on their journey, by the populace, who took their horses from them, and obliged them to return; nor was it judged prudent that they should afterwards proceed; a measure which gave great offence to his Majesty.

At the opening of the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh, August 12, 1639, Mr. Henderson preached from Acts iv. 23; and in the conclusion of his discourse, addressed suitable exhortations to the royal commissioner, the Earl of Traquair, and to the members of the Assembly. "We beseech your Grace," he said, "to see that Cæsar have his own; but let not Cæsar have what is due to God, and belongs to him. God has exalted your grace to many high places within these few years, and more especially now. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. Some are exalted like Haman—some like Mordecai. And I pray God these good parts the Lord has endued you withal, you may use aright, as the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt, did give all their silver and gold for the building of the tabernacle. And you, right honourable, worshipful, and reverend members of this Assembly, go on in your zeal

constantly. Surely it shall be a refreshment to you and your children, that you should have lived when the light of the Gospel was almost extinguished, and now to see it quickened again, after all these troubles, with a holy moderation, go on, for zeal is a good servant, but an ill master; like a ship that has a full sail, and wants a rudder. We have need of Christian prudence; for ye know what ill speeches our adversaries have made upon us. Let it be seen to his Majesty, that this (Presbyterial) government can very well stand with a monarchical government. Thereby we shall gain his Majesty's favour, and God shall get the glory; to whom be praise for ever and ever." The commissioner earnestly requested that the former Moderator should be continued in the chair, out of respect to Mr. Henderson's abilities, as he protested, but rather as was suspected, to support his Majesty's pretensions to the right of nominating the person who should occupy that place, and of continuing him in it at pleasure. But this was opposed by the members of the Assembly, and by none more than by Mr. Henderson himself, who urged, that it favoured the practice of constant Moderator, which, in former times had been employed as an introduction to Prelacy. On the 31st of August, Mr. Henderson preached an excellent sermon, at the opening of the Parliament, from 1 Tim. ii. 1—3. in which he treated of the end, utility and duties of magistracy.

In the year 1640, he was placed at the head of the University of Edinburgh, by the Town-Council of that city. They had been accustomed to visit the College annually, which had made the rector remiss in the discharge of his office. They now resolved, instead of these periodical visitations, to choose a rector annually, and to ascertain more precisely the powers of his office, by instructions framed for that end.

Agreeably to this resolution, they "chose Mr. Alexander Henderson, one of the ministers of Edinburg, rector of the University, ordaining a silver mace to be borne before him on all solemnities, and appointing certain members of the Town Council, ministers of Edinburgh, and professors in college, his assessors." They empowered him to superintend all matters connected with the conduct of the principal and professors, the education of youth, the revenues, &c.; to admonish offenders, and in case of obstinacy, to make a report to the Town Council.

In this office, which he appears to have enjoyed, by re-election, to his death, he exerted himself sedulously to promote the interests of that learned seminary.

From the superintendence of this peaceful seat of literature, and from his pastoral functions, Mr. Henderson was again reluctantly called by a new embroilment of public affairs. The King, yielding to the importunate solicitations of the Episcopal clergy, had refused, notwithstanding his promise at the late pacification, to ratify the conclusions of the Assembly and Parliament, then suddenly prorogued the latter, denounced the Scots as rebels, and prepared again to invade the country. But the success of the Scottish army, who entered England in August 1640, necessitated him a second time to accede to pacific proposals; and a treaty to this effect was begun at Rippon, which in a short time after this was transferred to London. Mr. Hen-

derson was appointed one of the commissioners for this treaty. It was on this occasion that the foundation was laid of that conjunction in religion as well as civil amity, between Scotland and England, which was afterwards solemnly ratified and sworn; and just and enlarged views of the state of public matters which produced this, and of the reasons upon which those who established it proceeded, are requisite in order to form a proper judgment of the public measures which were afterwards pursued by the friends of religion and liberty in the three kingdoms, as well as to vindicate the subject of this memoir for the part which he acted in them. But, sensible of the difficulty of conveying an adequate idea of the subject, within the limits to which he is confined, the memorialist enters not here upon this field. Suffice it to say, that upon a retrospective view of the state of the Scottish church, her friends perceived that she had been exposed to perpetual danger, from the encroachments of her powerful neighbour. Her peace had been interrupted, and the spiritual government and worship which she had embraced, and solemnly sworn to maintain, had been repeatedly infringed and overturned, to make way for the more pompous, but superstitious form of the English church. They perceived a concerted plan between the Court and English bishops, persisted in, and often renewed, to obtrude the hierarchy and ceremonies upon them. To this they could easily trace the late innovations which had so much distracted the kingdom of Scotland. They had been denounced as rebels from all the pulpits of the hierarchical clergy in England, who had twice, within two years, instigated his Majesty to make war against Scotland, and had contributed so liberally to raise the armies destined for subduing that country, that it was called, even in England, *The Bishop's War*. On these grounds, the Scots saw little rational prospects of their being long allowed peaceably to enjoy their religious privileges, while the English hierarchy retained its power. At this time, too, multitudes in England, who were sensible of the corruptions, and groaned under the tyranny of their ecclesiastical government, earnestly desired reformation, and had given in petitions to the supreme court for the abolition of the hierarchy. And the Parliament, which was sitting at London during the time of the treaty, had, with great zeal, taken measures for the reformation both of government and worship. In these circumstances, the Scottish Commissioners, according to instructions from their constituents, gave in a proposal for "unity in religion, and uniformity in church government; as a special means of conserving of peace between the two kingdoms." At the same time, they delivered to the English Commissioners a paper drawn up by Mr. Henderson, which stated very forcibly, the grounds of this proposal, and condescended upon a mode of carrying it into effect, which paper was transmitted to the English Parliament. To the above demand a favourable answer was returned by the King and Parliament, signifying in general, that they approved of the affection expressed by the Scots in their desire, and that, "as the Parliament had taken into consideration the reformation of church government, so they will proceed therein in due time;" which answer was ratified as one of the articles of the treaty.

During the whole time that he was in London attending on the treaty, which was protracted through nine months, Mr. Henderson was laboriously employed. Besides taking his turn with his brethren, who attended as Chaplains to the Scottish Commissioners in the church of St. Antholine's, which was assigned unto them as a place of public worship, he and they were often employed in preaching for the London ministers, both on Sabbath and on other days. He prepared several tracts for the press, which were published without his name. The polishing of the most important papers of the Scottish Commissioners was committed to him, before they were given in to the Commissioners and Parliament of England. Those which respected religion were of his composition.

During his stay in London, Mr. Henderson had a private conference with the king, the special object of which, was to procure assistance to the Universities of Scotland, from the rents formerly appropriated to the bishops. He was graciously received, and got reason to expect that his request would be complied with.

Mr. Henderson returned to Edinburgh about the end of July 1641. The General Assembly had met at St. Andrews some days before; but as the Parliament who were sitting in Edinburgh had sent to request them to translate themselves to that place for the convenience of those who were members of both, and as they wished that Mr. Henderson, who had not then returned from London, should act as Moderator of this meeting, the members agreed that they should meet at Edinburgh on the 27th of July, and that the former Moderator should preside until that time. Mr. Henderson had been elected a member of this Assembly; but, as it was uncertain if he could be present, his constituents had elected Mr. Fairpoul, who proposed to give place to him. This was strongly opposed by Mr. Calderwood, who insisted that his commission could not now be received, in which he was seconded by Mr. Henderson himself. But the Assembly sustained his Commission, and although he deprecated the burden of moderating, this also was, by a plurality of votes, laid upon him. Mr. Calderwood continued to insist upon the great irregularity of translating the Assembly without a permanent Moderator, and of choosing one to this seat who had no commission. But, although, in the judgment of the greater part of its members, he spoke unreasonably and peevishly, Mr. Henderson treated him with great respect and patience. Instead of resenting his opposition as personal, he, previous to the dissolution of this Assembly, publicly expressed his regret that Mr. Calderwood, who had deserved so well of the church, had been so long neglected, and procured a recommendation of him by the Assembly, in consequence of which he was soon after admitted to the church of Pencaitland.

The chief business which engaged the attention of the Assembly at this meeting, and on account of which Mr. Henderson's abilities in the Moderation were desired, was the affair of private meetings, the discussion of which threatened to raise dissension among the ministers. Some persons who were tainted with Brownistical and independent notions, had insinuated themselves into those private societies for religious exercises which had been kept by serious persons both in Scotland and Ireland, during the tyranny of the bishops,

and had introduced some of their peculiarities into them. A number of the ministers who had witnessed the extravagancies of the separatists, and were afraid that division and errors might thus creep into the church, were desirous to restrain these meetings. Others, among whom were those ministers who had seen the benefit of private societies in the West of Scotland, and in Ireland, suspected that some designed to condemn all private meetings for Christian edification. In the Assembly held in Aberdeen the preceding year, the affair had been discussed not without considerable heat.

Mr. Henderson, sensible of abuses in these societies, had repeatedly expressed his dissatisfaction with them; on which account he was at first misunderstood by some of his brethren, and met with disrespectful usage from certain individuals who were inclined to "the discipline of New England," as Independency was then termed. But the whole of his conduct showed that he was desirous only of correcting the perversions of these meetings. In the year 1639, he published a warm exhortation to the practice of the duties of family religion, which he considered as one remedy for such abuses. He afterwards drew up a paper of *caveats* as to the use of such meetings; which give general satisfaction to his brethren on both sides of the question. This was proposed to the Assembly at Aberdeen, at which he was not present; but in consequence of the heat which prevailed there, it was set aside. The matter was revived again in this Assembly (1641;) and the debate, which was conducted harmoniously, issued in the enactment of an Overture, drawn up by Mr. Henderson, in conformity with his general sentiments formerly expressed, and which may be seen in the printed acts of this Assembly, under the title of "Acts against impiety and schism." To this Assembly Mr. Henderson delivered a letter which he had brought with him, addressed to them from a number of ministers in London and its vicinity, expressing their desires of reformation, and requesting advice from the Assembly respecting the opinions of some of their brethren who inclined to independency and popular government in the church. The Assembly gave him instructions to answer this letter. From the observations which he had made during his late residence in London, and the intercourse which he had there both with ministers and people, he clearly foresaw that there would soon be a change in the English Church, and that there was a prospect of their approaching to greater conformity with the Church of Scotland, an object which he had much at heart, and which, as one of the late commissioners, he had endeavoured to advance. He therefore moved, that the Assembly should take steps for drawing up a Confession of Faith, Catechism, Directory for Worship, and Platform of Government, in which England might afterwards agree with them. The motion was unanimously approved of, and the burden of preparing them at first hand was laid upon the mover; liberty being at the same time given him to abstain from preaching when he should find it necessary in attending to this interesting business, and of calling in the aid of such of his brethren as he pleased. He declined the task as too arduous, but it was left upon him; and there can be little doubt, that this early appointment contributed to prepare him for giving assistance in that

work, when it was afterwards undertaken by the Assembly at Westminster.

Before the conclusion of this Assembly, Mr. Henderson petitioned for liberty to be translated from Edinburgh. He urged that his voice was too weak for any of the churches in town; that his health was worse than in any other place, so that to keep him there was to kill him; and that, in the act for his translation from Leuchars, there was an express clause, which provided that he should have the liberty which he now craved. The Assembly were perplexed by his insisting upon this petition. The city of Edinburgh was extremely averse to his removal; they offered to purchase him a house and garden in any situation; that he might cease from preaching when he thought it necessary, and use his freedom in going to the country at any time when the state of his health required it. They were the more averse to his removal, as a petition had been presented to the Assembly for his translation to St. Andrews, to be the Principal of the University there. Some imputed his earnestness for removal from Edinburgh to his displeasure at the speeches of some of the inhabitants, on account of his opposition to their humour for innovations; but he affirmed that health was the sole ground; that if this did not fail, he would still continue, even though liberty was given him; and that, if he did remove he would not go to St. Andrews, but to some quiet country charge.

His petition was at last granted; but he either did not find it necessary, or was prevailed upon not to make use of the liberty which he obtained.

King Charles, having come to Scotland to be present in person at the Parliament held at this time, on the Sabbath after his arrival at Edinburgh, attended public worship, and heard Mr. Henderson preach in the forenoon in the Abbey church, from Rom. xi. 36. In the afternoon he absented himself; but Mr. Henderson having conversed with him respecting this, he afterwards gave constant attendance. As he had been appointed royal chaplain, he performed family worship in the palace every morning and evening, after the Scottish form. His Majesty attended daily upon this service, and exhibited no symptom of dissatisfaction or scruple at the want of a liturgy and ceremonies—a circumstance which gave the Scots encouragement to expect, that he would easily give way to the reformation of the English service.

On the last day of the meeting of Parliament, which it was the custom to hold with great solemnity, his Majesty being seated on his throne, and the estates in their places, Mr. Henderson began with prayer; and the business being finished, he closed with a sermon. The revenues of the bishoprics were divided at this Parliament. Mr. Henderson exerted himself on this occasion for the Scottish Universities; and by his influence, what belonged to the Bishopric of Edinburgh and Priory, was not, without difficulty, procured for the University of that city. As a recompense for his own laborious and expensive services in the cause of the public, the emoluments of the chapel royal, amounting to about 4000 merks a year, were conferred upon him.

Some of his friends were displeased with his conduct during this Parliament, particularly in using means to screen from punishment some persons who had entered into engagements hostile to the late proceedings of the nation; and reports, injurious to his character, and the purity of his motives, were circulated, and, as is common in such cases, met with too easy belief. But one, who differed from him in opinion as to the measures in question, bears witness, that "his great honesty, and unparalleled abilities to serve this church and kingdom, did ever remain untainted." In the next Assembly, he made a long and impassioned apology for his conduct. He said that certain things for which he was blamed, were done by the Commissioners of the Church, not by him; that what he had received from the King, for attendance upon a painful charge, was no pension; that he had as yet touched none of it; that he was vexed with injurious calumnies. Having given vent to his feelings, and received the sympathy of his brethren, and the assurances of their unshaken confidence in him, he was relieved, and recovered his cheerfulness. I cannot here forbear quoting Mr. Henderson's words at another time, which discover to us the reflections which supported his pious mind, and disposed him to persevere in his patriotic and useful services, amidst "evil report" as well as "good report." Having started the questions,—How it comes about, that those who have deserved best of the public, have, in all ages, been requited with ingratitude? and how, notwithstanding this, persons are continually raised up to perform the same services? After producing the answers commonly given by philosophers to these questions, he adds, "Our profession can answer for both in a word, that, by a special providence, such as have deserved well, come short of their rewards from men, that they may learn, in serving of men, to serve God, and by faith and hope to expect their reward from himself; and that, notwithstanding all the ingratitude of the world, the Lord giveth generous spirits to his servants, and stirreth them up by his Spirit, (the motions whereof they neither can nor will resist,) to do valiantly in his cause."

During the year 1642, Mr. Henderson was employed in managing the correspondence with England, respecting ecclesiastical reformation and union, which the General Assembly had kept in their eye for some time past.

The ministers about London, who were attached to Presbyterian principles, had conceived a high esteem for Mr. Henderson, whom, in a letter to the General Assembly, they style, "a brother so justly approved by you, and honoured by us;" and they confided more in him than in any other. The Parliament of England having abolished Prelacy, requested that some divines should be sent from Scotland to assist in the Synod, which they had agreed to call. Upon this, the Commission of the Church met, and being authorized by the former General Assembly, appointed certain persons as Commissioners, to be ready to repair to England, as soon as it should be necessary. Mr. Henderson was one of these. He was averse to the appointment, protesting, that on his former journeys he thought he should have died before he reached London; but he at last acquiesced not without complaining, that some persons were ready to im-

pose heavy burdens upon him, and afterwards to invent or receive reports injurious to his character.

The dissensions between the King and the Parliament of England, which prevailed for some time, and had now burst out into a civil war, hindered for some time this journey. Mr. Henderson was sincerely disposed to use every means for effecting a reconciliation between the parties; and Bishop Burnet says, that he joined with a number of leading men in an invitation to the Queen to come to Scotland, upon terms consistent with her safety and honour, with a view of promoting a mediation—a proposition which was rejected by the King.

After this, Mr. Henderson went in person to his Majesty at Oxford, in company with the Commissioners from the State, who were sent to offer the mediation of Scotland. The appointment was procured by some persons who entertained sanguine hopes as to the influence which he would have upon the King; but it produced no good effect except that of convincing him and others of the vanity of hopes from that quarter, of an amicable accommodation, that would be consistent with the liberties of England, or even with security for the enjoyment of those which Scotland had lately obtained. At first, his Majesty treated Mr. Henderson with great attention, and strove to convince him of the justice of his aims; but as soon as he found that he did not acquiesce in his representations, his behaviour altered to him completely. He expressed high offence at the interest that the Scots took in the reformation of abuses in England, vindicated his employing of Papists in the army, and refused an allowance to the Commissioners to proceed to London to treat with the Parliament, although he had granted them a safe conduct for this purpose. They were insulted in the streets, by the inhabitants of Oxford, and were even under apprehensions of their personal safety. While Mr. Henderson remained at Oxford, some of the university divines wished to engage him in controversy, by proposing certain questions to him respecting church government; but judging it unbecoming his character, as a representative of the Church of Scotland, to engage in a petty dispute with a few private individuals, and viewing this proposal as proceeding from a disposition to cavil rather than to receive information, he signified that his business was with the King. Lord Clarendon, who echoes the sentiments of the hierarchical divines, is greatly offended at the distance, or, as he calls it, the haughtiness which Mr. Henderson observed on this occasion. Upon his return to Edinburgh, he made a full report of his proceedings with the King, to the Commissioners of the Church, who expressed their entire satisfaction with his conduct, and their judgment was approved by the next Assembly, who pronounced his carriage to have been "faithful and wise." At this time the Marquis of Montrose, who had become disaffected to the cause of the Covenant which he had helped to establish, and who was secretly engaged to aid the King against the English Parliament, expressed a desire to have a conference with Mr. Henderson, with a view of removing some scruples of conscience which he professed to entertain respecting the late proceedings of the Scottish Estates; though the real design of the request was to gain time, in consequence of the

discovery of a plot in which he was engaged to bring over the Scottish army in Ireland, to suppress the most powerful Covenanters, and to raise Scotland in behalf of Charles. Mr. Henderson complied with the request as soon as he returned from Oxford, and they met at the bridge of Stirling, where they had a long conversation. The Marquis treated him with wonted respect, and listened to him with apparent deference, but Mr. Henderson soon perceived that he was immovably fixed in his resolution, and he warned his friends, that they should put no confidence in Montrose.

The Scots were highly dissatisfied with the treatment which their Commissioners had received at Oxford; and being now thoroughly convinced that the measures which the royal party were prosecuting were dangerous to both countries, they soon after entered into a very close alliance with the Parliament of England.

SOME STATISTICS SHOWING THE STATE AND OPERATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DOUBLE REPRESENTATION IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The Presbytery of Albany has 34 ministers and 7 licentiates, being 41 preachers. It has only 26 churches: so that 15 of its ministers and licentiates seem to be gentlemen of elegant leisure, as it regards preaching. Of its ministers, 17 are pastors, 8 are without charge, 3 are stated supplies, 4 are agents or professors, and how the remaining two are employed, is not stated. At the uttermost, 23 of the whole are stately engaged in the work of their covenanted calling, to wit, the 17 pastors, the 3 stated supplies, the President of Union College, and the two of whom we know nothing. But this Presbytery sends four commissioners to the General Assembly, because it has more than 24 ministers (*Form Govt. ch. XII. sec. 2:*) that is 3 agents and 8 ministers without charge, send two commissioners to the General Assembly. This we suppose, *Dr. Smyth* will hardly consider a very strong proof of the *Republicanism of Presbytery*. It is at least very high bidding to induce us to be idle.

The Presbytery of New York has 29 ministers and 8 licentiates; total 37 preachers. It has 14 churches—which are too few by 23 to give employment to its preachers. Of its 29 ministers, 12 are pastors, 2 are stated supplies, 3 are foreign missionaries, 1 is a professor, 1 a chaplain, 1 a teacher, 2 are editors, 1 an agent, 6 are without charge. This Presbytery with its 14 churches and 12 pastors, sends four commissioners to the General Assembly; while the Presbytery of Donegal with its 18 churches and 12 pastors sends two only: so that in the Presbytery of New York, 6 ministers without charge, flanked by some editors, idlers and teachers, are represented by two commissioners in the Assembly. This is the more reasonable, considering that one of its ministers is reported to be a resident of London, another of Virginia, a third of Ireland, two more of Connecticut, one of New Jersey, one of Illinois, one of Michigan, and two of Africa—total 10; and leaving as actual members of the Presbytery, in any proper sense, too few ministers to justify its double representation in the As-

sembly, even if all of them were engaged in their proper work. It is to be confessed, however, that this Presbytery, must have general and correct information, as its members are scattered all about.

The Presbytery of Elizabethtown has 27 ministers, 3 licentiates, and 22 churches; 8 churches too few for them all. Of its ministers, 20 are pastors, 1 S. S., 2 F. M. and 4 W. C. If these last mentioned four be omitted, the Presbytery is entitled to two commissioners; if they be added, to four: wherefore 4 *ministers without charge*, happening to live in the blessed Jerseys, have just the same power in the church as the 17 ministers, 22 churches and 1700 communicants who make up the Presbytery of Baltimore.

The Presbytery of New Brunswick has 37 ministers, 14 licentiates, and 28 churches—that is, 23 more preachers than churches. Of its 37 ministers, 19 are pastors, 4 are professors of theology, 4 more are connected with the college in Princeton, 1 is a chaplain in the U. S. Navy, 2 are foreign missionaries, 6 are without charge, and the employment of the remainder is not set down. There are non-resident, 1 in France, 1 in the Sandwich Islands, (connected, we presume, with the ecclesiastical organization there—and if so, improperly on this roll) 1 in Mississippi, 2 in the state of New York, and two whose residence is left vacant—total 7; which reduces the number actually resident to 30. Of these the 6 without charge, and 3 out of the 4 connected with the college, leaving one as being necessary to the spiritual instruction of the institution—reduce the number to 23—(say 19 pastors, 4 theological professors, and 1 in the college)—who may be considered, are engaged in their covenanted calling; and thus their proper representation is reduced to two commissioners; for if the additional two be allowed, it is for non-residents, secularised persons, and ministers without charge.

The Presbytery of Newton. The number of ministers is added up wrong in the printed minutes; it has 26 (not 23) ministers, 4 licentiates, and 29 churches; nearly an exact fit, if the preachers all had a church each, which is, however, by no means the fact. Of the 26 ministers, 16 are pastors, 1 S. S., 1 F. M., 4 without charge, and 4 teaching in a college. This Presbytery therefore, having four commissioners, it follows that 4 ministers without charge, and three professors in college, are equal to the 18 ministers, 20 churches and 3100 communicants in New Castle Presbytery; which is no doubt true, and very Presbyterian, and very republican, and all right, as the practice of the church is the prevailing plea for all things that seem a little dark to dull folks.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia has 27 ministers, 12 licentiates, and 18 churches; this is two preachers to every church, and three preachers over. Of its 27 ministers, 15 are pastors, 1 preacher to seamen, 1 F. M., 4 agents, editor, &c., 6 without charge. If we only consider those *without charge*, as being no longer engaged—(no matter for what reason—in the work of the ministry, and therefore upon no principle of justice or right reason, forming any longer a proper basis of church power; this Presbytery is reduced below the standard of double representation. Why should its remaining 21 ministers with its 18 churches have four commissioners, while Huntingdon Presbytery, with 22 ministers and 34 churches, has but two?

We should very much prefer to see the constitution so changed, as to give our venerable friend and father, *Dr. Ashbel Green*, a permanent seat in every church court, as the reward of his great, lasting, and long continued services to the church; rather than mix his name up with a batch of idlers, and give the Presbytery a double representation on a principle which we believe even the members of that Presbytery will admit, may have an unhappy application, if they will read over the list suffixed (*W. C.*) on their own roll.

The Presbytery of Carlisle has 26 ministers, 4 licentiates and 40 churches; 10 more churches than all their preachers. Of its 26 ministers, 18 are pastors, 3 are stated supplies, 4 without charge, and one name has nothing to designate the employment—but from the face of the roll, and the mode of making it up, we presume the individual is a stated supply. We happen to know that two of those noted “*W. C.*” are very aged men, and have been faithful ministers: and the other two, noted in the same way, we have every reason to believe are, or have been laborious ministers. Here then the principle is presented in the most favorable light, and, perhaps, very few Presbyteries can present so fine a statement. But yet will it be contended for a moment that a Presbytery which would not be entitled to a double representation, upon other grounds—shall have it because of 4 *ministers without charge*, whose names happen to be on its roll? In other words, are 4 ministers without charge entitled to send two commissioners to the General Assembly, upon any rational, scriptural, just, or even safe principle?

We need not, nor have we time and space to push this analysis through the whole church. The Presbyteries selected, are all those having a double representation which are found in the four Synods, which stand at the head of the roll, and indeed of the church—covering the large cities, the principal seats of our influence—our great institutions. And is the reader satisfied with the condition of things exhibited? Is this a perfect church state—either in practice or principle?

Let it be remembered that ordination, *sine titulo*, is a thing utterly unknown to our standards—however frequent it may be in our practice. It is true our standards recognise the office of *evangelist*: an office of great importance in a country situated as the whole of ours was when our standards were framed, and as the larger part of it is still. But an *evangelist* and a *minister sine titulo*, are just as much alike as an Episcopal fellow of an English University and a Presbyterian missionary, are; and no more. And all the great class of persons who are ordained amongst us, without being at the same time installed, are ordained *evangelists*, and have solemnly covenanted with God and his church, to “undertake the work of an *evangelist*,” “*in frontier or destitute settlements*;” yea, and “to be faithful and diligent” in “the public duties of” that “office.” (*Form of Govt.*, *ch. XV.*, *sec. 15 and sec. 12 and sec. 4.*) How these evangelists can, with a good conscience before God, having such vows upon them—congregate about our large cities—our colleges—and our chief places of resort; how they could take such vows, when many of them were ordained expressly not to be evangelists, these are matters which such persons certainly owe it to their own souls to ponder

heedfully. And how the Presbyteries can fail to depose them as covenant breakers, is what we are not called on to explain.

It appears to us that a very slight and simple alteration of our ratio of representation would, perhaps, work all this matter right. If, in counting the number of ministers to determine the number of commissioners, only those actually engaged in the proper work of the gospel ministry were allowed to be counted, two great benefits would immediately result: 1, there would be a periodical and appalling line of division drawn between covenant keepers and covenant breakers; 2. there would be an immediate removal of all temptation on the part of the Presbyteries to swell their numbers by improper means. And perhaps this would be sufficient. But the true remedy is for the Presbyteries to be as far as possible brought to something approaching an average, and for the Assembly to establish a permanent and fixed rule, which would be uniform and easily applicable, e. g. say such a portion of the ministers, as one for ten, or one for twenty—and as many elders as ministers shall be commissioners; in all cases counting only *real* and not sham ministers, and always rejecting fractions. Until something better is done, the Synods can, at least, prevent such shameless improprieties as sometimes exist, by dividing every Presbytery that reaches the mark of the double representation; and the commissioners from other Presbyteries can enforce, in the Assembly, scrutinies against fraudulent returns, and unseat commissioners improperly sent.

Let it not be said these are matters of small moment. Justice is never violated without evil consequences. The true principles of public liberty are too precious to be set aside under any pretext. And the practical results, in the case under review, are very far from being insignificant—and may be extremely serious. The seven Presbyteries, whose statisticks are here presented, send to the General Assembly 14 commissioners more than they have just title to send, upon any fair and proper view that can be taken. These seven Presbyteries sent to the last Assembly the Moderator, the clerk, the chairman of three of the eight standing committees of the body, and leading members of four of the remaining five; and, it is not too much to say, actually exerted a decisive influence in most of the worst measures of the session. Omitting Carlisle, Albany and Newton, the other four of these seven Presbyteries, by their local position, and their connection with the boards and institutions of the church, and all the appointments of the Assembly from year to year—may be almost said to have the destiny of the church in their hands. Let no man then presume to say, that a principle which is radically evil in itself, and whose preposterous operation throws an immense and an improper power into hands which are already, by great odds, too full; can be safely passed over as unimportant.

It appears to us that it would be well to change, in several particulars, the mode of designating the employment of our ministers in the printed minutes. For example, ministers who are sick, superannuated or worn out—ought not to be classed with confirmed idlers. Let the terrible "W. C." be retained only for those who are actually and without excuse, forsakers of the ministry; and let the facts be stated as to the other classes of ministers—who are not able to work. For

our part, we should glory in having it written opposite our name—"worn out;" but we should weep and hide our head, to see "W. C." justly written against us. Again, would it not be well to drop the designation of "*stated supply*," and restore the honourable, scriptural and proper title "*evangelist*?" We know nothing about the former in our system as a permanent relation of a minister to his people; but our book recognizes and provides for the latter—and our church state for a long time, must require it in large portions of the church.

In making up the minutes, the word *bishop* is used to designate the ministers; in the appendix, the word *minister* is still retained. It is only a few years since this vile, deceptive, and false use of the title *bishop* has been brought into use in our church; and we must say, a more ridiculous and unjustifiable proceeding was never resorted to by good and wise men. Let us be borne with a moment while we explain the grounds of our opposition to it. 1. *Minister* is the ancient, universal, appropriated title of Presbyterian *ministers*. 2. The word *bishop* is universally understood of a *prelate*, and our adopting it makes the world believe, and very justly, that we consider ourselves *prelates*. 3. Though it be true the prelates are wrong in the use of the word, and true also that it means such ministers as our pastors are, yet as the word we before had is also true and scriptural, why change it? 4. Why not, on the same ground, call ourselves *angels*, since that also is a scriptural term to designate our office? 5. Why not change to *presbyters*, if we must change—since that is a more modest and more proper term for the bulk of our ministers of the word? 6. For in fact the great majority of our ministers are not *bishops* at all, either in the scriptural sense of that word, or in its appropriate sense, in the Confessions of all the Reformed Churches, including our own: *Bishop* is synonymous with *pastor*, and is utterly inapplicable to every man who is not an *overseer* of a particular church or flock, which very many of our ministers neither are, nor ever were. 7. The title *bishop* belongs just as really to ruling elders as to preaching elders, and is applied by the apostles to them as pointedly: so that to appropriate the title to ministers of the word exclusively, is as improper, as it is for the prelates to designate themselves by it, to the exclusion of their presbyters. Let us therefore, be content with our proper and appropriate title—*ministers* of Christ's gospel, and not expose ourselves to ridicule and contempt, by apeing the follies of the least evangelical portion of the Reformed church.

THE OFFICE AND RIGHTS OF RULING ELDERS IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH; CONCLUSIONS OF THE SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA LATELY MET IN BALTIMORE, RELATING THERETO.

WE have rarely witnessed, even during the stormy period of the semi-Pelagian controversy, more agitated sessions of our church courts, than the late meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia in this city exhibited. Our impression is that the great mass of the body, is justly chargeable, only in a very slight degree, if at all, with the sin and folly of these melancholy exhibitions; but that, on the other hand, it would be difficult to speak in terms of too deep regret, that

certain prominent individuals of that majority should have allowed themselves to make such scenes, in unprecedented, and happily, fruitless attempts to stifle debate, to crush particular individuals, and to erect a supreme dictatorship over the deliberations, the business, and the proceedings of the court. Unhappily, the community does not make very accurate distinctions; and in this case not a few judge the Synod by the acts of the most conspicuous members of the majority of the body: and so, while in truth, many of the acts of the court were firm and just decisions against the violent and reiterated attempts to carry it by storm, yet the Synod, instead of being commended for its noble steadfastness in refusing to stop its ears even to what the majority of it did not agree with, is exposed to public shame for what it refused to sanction, and yet could not prevent on the part of its leaders. And so the cause of religion is made to bear those reproaches which are due only to the infirmities of its teachers, and the government of the church is held responsible for that which belongs to the spirit of party, to the love of domination, and to personal jealousies. The deep pain with which these things are uttered, finds no alleviation in the fact, that the church in which the body met, is left, certainly with the kindest feelings towards the great mass of the members of the court—but just as certainly with a profound and we believe a universal conviction, that however such proceedings may increase their attachment to the persons and the principles which are sought to be made the victims of them, they do not promote the cause of true religion in our midst. Whether they who introduce into our church courts, important and seasonable subjects properly, nay, necessarily appertaining to them—or those who seek by violent and unusual methods, and yet happily in vain, to prevent those subjects from being fairly considered, are worthy to bear the blame of such hurtful and needless agitations—we shall not, as we need not, stop to inquire. And without further preface, we lay before our readers the copious extracts which follow, which we have copied from the manuscript minutes, and which will put them as fully in possession of the case, as need be done, in order to show the principles involved, the manner in which they were determined, the extraordinary efforts made to defeat the consideration of them, and the future course which the subject will take.

Thursday Morning, Oct. 19th.—Two papers were read by Mr. Breckinridge; one in regard to a quorum of Presbytery; the other in regard to the imposition of hands of elders in the ordination of ministers. He then moved to make the paper first read the special order of the day for to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock; whereupon, it was moved* to commit both papers to the committee of Bills and Overtures; then it was moved by another member to lay both the papers on the table, and a division of the question being called for, it was granted; the motion to lay the first read paper on the table was lost; then the vote being called on laying the second paper on the table, Mr. Breckinridge denied that the said paper was under the control of the Synod, and the Moderator decided that it was not;

* By the Rev. Mr. Barr.

† By the Rev. Mr. Boardman.

whereupon, an appeal was taken* from the decision of the Moderator, and his decision was sustained; the Moderator then decided further that the motion to refer to a certain day, takes precedence of a motion to commit; and, the question being put, the Synod ordered the discussion of the said first read paper, viz. in regard to a quorum of Presbytery, to be the order of the day for to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock."†

The Synod having refused to put aside these important matters by laying them on the table, or smothering them in committee; having also refused to possess itself, irregularly, of what was not yet in its possession, in order to strangle it; proceeded to the full hearing of the matter embraced in the first read paper. The passage of the minute was advocated by us and by the Rev. Mr. Berry; it was opposed by Chancellor Johns, and by Rev. Messrs. Boardman, McKimney, McCalla and Hall during portions of several sessions; and being forced to a decision by the previous question, and the yeas and nays ordered, was lost. We give the paper and the vote upon it:

"Whereas it is the explicit doctrine of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, that the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, erected in this world, is his church, (*Form of Govt. ch. II. sec. 1*;) that the said church, in its earliest and purest form was, and in accordance with Holy Scripture, should be "governed by Congregational, Presbyterial and Synodical Assemblies," (*Idem. ch. VIII. sec. 1*;) that all these assemblies are regularly and scripturally composed only of the regular and scriptural officers, appointed of Christ to bear rule in his church, to wit, in the ordinary and settled state of the church, of Preaching and Ruling Presbyters, commonly called Pastors and Ruling Elders (*Idem. ch. I. sec. 3, and ch. II. sec. 2*); that every Church court or Assembly Congregational, Presbyterial or Synodical, consists of both sorts of the aforesaid officers; (*Idem. ch. IX. sec. 1; ch. X. sec. 2; ch. XI. sec. 1, ch. XII. sec. 2, and Confession of Faith, ch. XXXI. sec. 1*;) And whereas the General Assembly of 1843 has decided, "That any three ministers of a Presbytery, being regularly convened, are a quorum competent to the transaction of all business," (*Printed Minutes page 195,*) although not only the conclusive force of the divine ordination of a Presbytery composed not of one but of two classes of Presbyters, is directly against this decision—but the explicit doctrine of the church is, that the quorum of a Presbytery is not "any three ministers," but "any three ministers, and as many elders as may be present," &c. (*Idem. ch. X. sec. 7.*) Now, this Synod believing the principle here involved to be practically the question between an aristocratical hierarchy, and a free Christian commonwealth, and judging the Word of God, and the constitution of the church, to be against the former and for the latter; we do therefore, according to the power inherent in this Synod, and so declared to be in our Form of Government (*Ch. XI. sec. 4.*) "propose to the General Assembly"—by way of Overture—the Repeal of Overture No. 20, adopted on the 30th May, 1843, by Yeas and Nays, 83 to 35, in the last Assembly—as being in its

* By the Rev. Mr. Barr.

† When the agitating scene described in this minute was over, we undertook, with the approval both of the Moderator and the Recording Clerk, to draw up a fair minute of what had been done by the Synod. The paper we submitted was violently assailed, and numerous attempts made to amend it; and was then laid on the table. At the following session of the body, the Recording Clerk (Rev. Mr. Du Bois) read the minute above printed; which passed as true without a word of opposition; and yet it is the very same minute we had drawn—except that the names we have placed in the margin are omitted.

doctrine contrary to Scripture and to the standards of the church, and in its effects subversive of the office of Ruling Elder, and of the rights and liberties of the Christian people; and the adoption, in its stead, of a declarative Overture, to the effect that, by the constitution of this church, no Assembly of the church, whether it be Congregational, Classical or Synodical, can be regularly, legally or completely constituted without the presence of Ruling Elders as members thereof.

YEAS. Ministers—Andrews, R. D. Morris, Morrison, Hamilton, Spotswood, McCarter, Timlow, Dunlop, Breckinridge, Berry, Gitean, Happersett, Yerkes, Cross, Watson, Gibson and Boyd.

Elders—Bevan, McNair, McNeil, Wilson, Donaldson, Fenby, McDowell, McKeen, Stewart, Devitt, Gillis, Chapman, Williams, Smith and Boyd—52.

NAYS. Ministers—Wm. Latta, J. McDowell, McCalla, Williamson, Jones, Boardman, Lord, Wilson, Stead, Bradford, J. Latta, Grier, J. M. Dickey, Du Bois, Wynkoop, Work, De Witt, Boyer, Rutter, Boggs, Harrison, Musgrave, Backus, Purviance, Tustin, Bosworth, McKinley, Creigh, John Dickey, McDonald, Murray, T. V. Moore, Heberton, McCackren, Woods, McKinney, Cooper, Betts, Joshua Moore, Hall, Waller and Thompson.

Elders—Dixon, Mitchell, Dunlap, Witherow, Johns, Russel, McKinny, Hixon, Dunwoodie and Laughlin—52.

NON LIQUET. Ministers—Cuyler, Barr, Nevin and McNair.

Elders—Vangelder and Kerr—6.

Mr. Breckinridge gave notice for himself and others, that he intended to appeal from and complain of this decision of Synod to the next General Assembly.*

We call the attention of the reader to the following considerations, based upon this vote. The Synod if full, would consist of about 150 ministers and 190 ruling elders—making a total of 340 members. Of this number only 90, including the *non liquets* voted in this case. Considering the actual vote, and the state of it on the question, we are not at all discouraged as to final success even in this Synod. Moreover, the present result was reached under circumstances of pressure from without, and influence within the Synod, carried to the highest pitch and strained to the last degree of tension: we know

* Before the discussion commenced, Chancellor Johns, with the candour which belongs to his character, read a paper as a substitute, which he intended to offer at a future period of the business—but this opportunity was cut off by the previous question. The paper did not go on the minutes, but we give it as an act of justice. It was as follows:

“Whereas the Great Head of the Church declared unto his disciples, That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in Heaven, and added in confirmation thereof—That where two or three should be gathered together in his name, that there he was in the midst of them. And whereas the VII. section of ch. X. of the Book of Discipline of the Presbyterian church, in accordance with the above declaration of the Saviour, has provided—That any three ministers and as many elders as may be present belonging to the Presbytery, being met at the time and place appointed, shall be a quorum competent to proceed to business:—Therefore it is resolved by this Synod, That the said article is in conformity with that direction given by the Great Head of the Church upon the subject, and while it preserves the legitimate action of Presbytery, does not impair or conflict with the rights of the churches to their appropriate representation, but does provide against any inconvenience that might result from the churches failing to discharge their duty by sending up Ruling Elders as their representatives to attend the meetings of Presbytery, which it is incumbent on them at all times to do, and which they ought not to neglect.”

precisely the extent of what we are to meet, and so we are doubly armed. But again, the state of the vote shows that if it is a fair index to the general sentiment of the Synod, the result would even now have been such, if the body had been full, as should give us great encouragement to go forward. If all the ministers had been present, the state of their vote, supposing those absent to think like those present, would have been, say 43 to 106; and the vote of the elders in like circumstances would have been 114 to 76; making a total difference of only 25 voices in this great Synod against us, on the first trial of this question; and that with the influence of the Assembly, of Princeton and of Philadelphia dead, and desperately against us. And, moreover, the vote shows three-fifths of the elders to be with us, and five-sevenths of the ministers against us: a war of caste which the latter are waging against the former, and, therefore, the ultimate fate of the combat is sealed in its very nature. The permanent and abiding control is with the body of Ruling Elders—and, therefore, these short lived triumphs over them, when rightly pondered, do indeed exhibit the manifest evidences of their final success. It is rather too late in the day for the church of God to be brought again under an official, exclusive, clerical domination; especially in a form which gives it masters by the thousand. If we must have prelacy, let us have as few masters as possible—and let the thing be openly, orderly and decently set up in the hands of men chosen for that end. If our church is, indeed, not a free church, governed by Assemblies of Pastors and Elders—but is after all, a Prelatic church delivered up to a Priesthood—let it at least put the matter in a form that will secure to us that outward respectability for which we are required to sacrifice our inward liberties. For, if *jurisdiction* belongs inherently to the ministers in such a way that it may be lawfully and in all circumstances, exercised without regard to the churches or their representatives, and if need be to the entire exclusion of them; then is Prelacy true, and then the true wisdom of the church, is to get this fearful power clearly defined, and placed in a few responsible hands. Irresponsible power, is despotism; power exercised by ministers, in Assemblies lawfully composed when only ministers are there, and to be accounted for only to courts regularly composed when ministers only are present; this is, practically and necessarily, an irresponsible government by ministers,—which we take to be amongst the most dangerous forms of despotism.

The reasons of protest, complaint and appeal, put in by the minority, were answered by a committee of the Synod, and both papers put on record. As we could not, in the hurry, get a copy of the latter, we omit the former paper. One circumstance however is worthy of note, as indicating the state of mind, in which a great deal of this business was transacted. During one of its sessions, the Synod appointed a large committee to appear and defend it before the Assembly, and pledged itself to see the expenses of such of them as should not be members of that body, paid; a very significant hint to the Presbyteries, to elect the Synod's committee members of the next Assembly. At another session, the Synod declared in its answer to the reasons of appeal, &c. that it did not concede the right of the minority to take up the case in such a form as to exclude the members of Synod from

the Assembly as judges in this case. That is, it just employed counsel, and then voted it is not a party, but a judge!

We now proceed to the action on the second minute; and quote, as before, from the MSS. minutes.

"Monday, October 23. Mr. Breckinridge read a paper concerning the imposition of the hands of Ruling Elders in the ordination of ministers, which paper is as follows:

According to the explicit faith of the Presbyterian church in the United States, the Lord Jesus has given to his visible church "the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life, to the end of the world," (*Con. Faith, ch. XXV. sec. 3*;) this "ministry," consists in a settled church state, of "Bishops or Pastors, the representatives of the people, usually styled Ruling Elders, and Deacons," who are "the ordinary and perpetual officers in the church," (*Form Govt. ch. III. sec. 2*;) the two first named classes of officers, to wit, Pastors and Ruling Elders, constitute the "congregational, classical and Synodical Assemblies," by which, in accordance with the Scriptures, the church is to be governed, (*Form Govt. ch. VIII. sec. 1*; *ch. IX. sec. 1*; *ch. X. sec. 2*; *ch. XI. sec. 1*; *ch. XII. sec. 2*;) to this government, in the hands of the aforesaid officers, the Lord as King and Head of his church, has committed the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, (*Confession of Faith, ch. XXX. sec. 1 and 2*)—to be used expressly, amongst other ends "for the gathering and perfecting of the saints," as before set forth; to this end, the ministry of the Word, a part of that general ministry given by the Lord Jesus to the visible church, is to be perpetually kept up therein, "to the end of the world," and it particularly appertaineth in our church, to "Classical Assemblies"—called Presbyteries—and not to other sorts of Assemblies, and, especially, not to one or more ministers of the Word, individually considered or casually met together, "to ordain, instal, remove and judge ministers" of the Word (*Form of Govt. ch. VIII. sec. 8*;) which Classical Assembly—or Presbytery is rightly constituted of ministers and Ruling Elders, and cannot legally act except when at least "three ministers, and as many elders as may be present belonging to the Presbytery" constitute "a quorum competent to proceed to business," (*Form of Govt. ch. X. sec. 2 and 7*;) and which said Presbytery in the ordination of ministers of the Word, is to lay its hands—that is, the hands of all its members, or of any part thereof, on behalf and as the act of the whole, and so of Presbytery itself—that is, of the same Presbytery to whom the power of ordination appertains—upon the candidate in his ordination, (*Form Govt. ch. XV. sec. 14*.)

But inasmuch as the General Assembly of 1843, did, on the 25th day of May last, decide by yeas and nays 138 to 9, *non liquet* 1, and excused from voting 2, to adopt an Overture No. 14, declaring that the constitution of our church does not authorize Ruling Elders to impose hands in the ordination of Ministers, (*Printed Minutes, p. 183*;) Now this Synod, believing the said decision to be wholly erroneous in itself, and most injurious in its practical tendency, as well as inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our church government, does hereby, and in virtue of its inherent powers (*Form of Govt. ch. XI. sec. 4*.) propose to the General Assembly in the way of Overture, the repeal of said Overture No. 14, adopted by the Assembly of 1843, and the adoption of a minute stating,

1. That the whole work of the ordination of Ministers of the Word belongs regularly and properly to a Presbytery composed of Preaching and Ruling Elders.

2. That the Presbytery which should impose hands is the same as that which performs all the rest of the work of ordination.

Mr. Breckinridge then moved, and the motion was seconded, that this paper be adopted. Another motion being made by Dr. J. McDowell, that the consideration of this paper be the order of the day for Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock, the Moderator decided that a member having made

a motion, had the floor, and could not be interrupted by another member for the purpose of making a motion. An appeal was taken from this decision by Dr. J. McDowell, but on further explanation, it was withdrawn. The Moderator then decided that the motion of Mr. Breckinridge was before the house, and that Mr. Breckinridge had now the floor. An appeal was taken from this decision by Mr. Barr, on the ground that the motion had not been stated from the chair after it was seconded, and the yeas and nays being called for, it was decided not to sustain the decision of the Moderator by the following vote: Not to sustain 36—To sustain 32—*non liquet* 3.

Synod agreed to have a recess, and to meet in the lecture room at 7 o'clock. This vote being reconsidered, (38 to 13) it was again taken and lost. After which Synod agreed to have a recess until 7 o'clock.

After recess, Synod met and heard a sermon, &c. Synod took up the unfinished business, to wit, the paper concerning the imposition of hands, which was again read. The Moderator decided, that Dr. Breckinridge having made the motion and spoken to it, had now the floor. An appeal was taken from this decision by Mr. ———, on the ground that when the Moderator was not sustained in his last decision, the house was then thrown open; which appeal was sustained by a vote of 29 to 25.

The Moderator decided that Mr. Wm. Latta had now the floor, after which it was moved by Mr. Latta, that Synod adjourn to meet in Lewistown on the third Wednesday of October next at 11 o'clock, A. M., which was lost by a vote of 24 to 29.

The unfinished business was resumed,* and, after considerable discussion, the previous question was moved by Mr. McCalla, and being seconded by a majority of the Synod was put and carried.

The main question being now put "shall this paper be adopted," it was decided in the negative, and the yeas and nays being demanded, the vote stood as follows:

YEAS. Ministers. Andrews, R. D. Morris, Du Bois, Spotswood, McCarter, Dunlop, Breckinridge, Berry.

Elders. McNair, McNeil, Wilson, Donaldson, McDowell, McKeen—14.

NAYS. Ministers. W. Latta, J. McDowell, McCalla, Macklin, Lord, Owen, Cuyler, Wilson, Bradford, Wynkoop, De Witt, Boyer, Boggs, Nevin, McNair, Musgrave, Backus, Tustin, Creigh, J. Dickey, Murray, Woods, McKinney, Cooper, Betts, Gibson, J. Moore, Waller, Thompson.

Elders. Mitchell, Stephens, Russel, Nixon and Smith—34.

NON LIQUET. Ministers. Messrs. Hamilton, Barr.

Elders. Dixon and Vangilder.

Mr. Breckinridge gave notice for himself and others, that he would complain and appeal to the next General Assembly, against this decision."

* The record here gives an inadequate view of the facts. We got the floor, read the paper, offered it, and it was seconded by Mathew L. Bevan, Esq'r, of Philadelphia, and we proceeded to speak, under the decision of the chair that we had the floor. Then came the attempt of Dr. McDowell to silence us, on the ground that he could take the floor from us, to make a motion which should stop us. Then the attempt of Mr. Barr, on the ground that our paper was not before the house at all. Then the attempt on the ground that the last appeal had deprived us of the floor. Then the attempt of Mr. Latta, under this decision to break up the Synod. This failing, we got the floor *de novo*; and the last vote of Synod having shown that it was resolved to go no farther in this disreputable business—we were allowed to proceed, upon this getting of the floor, which was just the same way we got it six hours before, and was just as liable, of course, to all the motions, appeals, and vexations, as the former attempts to speak had been; or as all attempts must be, when a deliberate and concerted effort is made to put down any particular person or subject. And we doubt not, the whole scene would have been enacted again, if there had been any likelihood of final success. The worst feature of the business was, that some of the persons who acted thus, were amongst the oldest ministers in the body.

The reader will see at a glance from these extracts, the nature of the desperate struggle made by some of the leaders of the majority to prevent the Synod from entertaining or discussing the minute. If they could have succeeded, this would have prevented the matter from being carried up to the Assembly. Three or four hours were occupied in vexatious and disorderly efforts to stop a speech which had actually been commenced upon a matter decided by the Moderator—(Rev. Robert Steel) to be regularly before the body, and which related to questions, manifestly of vast and pressing importance. From about half past 3 P. M. till after 9 o'clock at night, whilst the Synod was in session, and not occupied in hearing a sermon—we were engaged in a struggle for liberty to be heard, upon a matter brought orderly before the body, and upon which we were finally, and after every means had been essayed to prevent it, adjudged by the Moderator and the house to be entitled to be heard. The firmness of the presiding officer, and the good sense and sound principles of the body, at last triumphed over this preconcerted, disreputable and protracted attempt. The Synod broke up a little before midnight—until which hour a large and promiscuous congregation remained in the house; although, as the vote shows, the body itself had become by this time, very small. Such sessions of an orthodox church court we never saw; and hope to see no more. And yet, perhaps, the Synod as a body, should be considered as having won a triumph worth all it cost, in showing itself capable of breaking through the trammels of party dictation, and doing what was required by justice and law, even when its passions were so tried and were so naturally inclined, under the circumstances, in an opposite direction. Perhaps, too, we should be content to have been the instrument, even at so great cost, of vindicating the freedom of our church courts. And it may be, the lessons which others have learned, will not be wholly in vain. So far we have come, and the Synod is still free; and while we deplore the conclusions to which it came on the main questions, we yet rejoice that the venerable court, though it was led astray, could not be seduced into conduct which would have endangered its high character, and wounded its self-respect.

As it regards the vote on this second question, the most important suggestion concerning it seems to be, its utter inconsequence as a final settlement of any thing. Fifty-two votes, and they divided into three parts—can never be considered as settling any thing in a Synod entitled to cast three hundred and forty or fifty votes.

It is certainly a very high gratification to us, that our own Presbytery cast a majority of the votes given by it, for both propositions. The large church session of the congregation we serve in the gospel, is, we believe unanimous, and the Presbytery to which we belong, by a decided majority, for the great principles we advocate in this whole business. Why then should we despair of seeing the deep and obviously dreaded influence steadily expand over our Synod, and ultimately over this whole north-eastern section of the church? The great West, is already far in advance, and the generous South has begun to lift up her clear and steadfast testimony for the freedom of Christ's blood-bought church. Stand fast, dear brethren, and quit yourselves like men. To us, personally, God has been

pleased to assign the post of greatest difficulty and trial; the most, the ablest, the harshest opponents of our just cause, he has obliged us, to take our staff and sling, and openly encounter. Surely by his grace, and resolutely for his name's sake, will we do it. Ye who are more favoured, or less tried, see that ye fail not, in this time of the need of the church we love—and by unfaithfulness allow a free, Christian commonwealth, to be reduced into a semi-prelatic, aristocratic hierarchy. The Lord is with us, let us not forsake him.

The reasons for protest, complaint and appeal, in this second case, are omitted for the same reason stated in regard to those relating to the first minute. Our readers will, perhaps, smile when we tell them that the answer of the Synod to these reasons was written before the reasons themselves, and was read before the body, immediately after the reading of the reasons for appeal—which had never been seen nor heard before by the Synod or the writer of the answer. And yet the Synod is no party to the case—and is wholly impartial—and insists on hearing and judging it in the court above! How clever and decent it would be, for the counsel employed by the Synod to defend the acts of the Synod, to argue before the Synod as an impartial court, a matter in which the errors of the Synod itself are the only things complained of! For our part, however, we do not wonder that notions of law, of justice, and of right, like these—should result from the same state of mind, that could arrive at the decisions appealed from.

There was, indirectly connected with these agitating scenes, a matter which we would never think of mentioning, if there was the remotest probability that it would not, in some other way, be a subject of remark, perhaps of reproach. In the midst of the violent excitement produced by vexatious attempts to prevent us from being heard—we pointed out, by the leave of the Synod, what we supposed to be the error on which the leaders of the majority were proceeding, and suggested that their conduct might possibly be regular if there was a standing rule of order, by which, as in some political bodies, the question of consideration could be raised, upon subjects introduced into our church courts; but as this was by special rule, and no such rule or practice had ever existed with us—the whole proceeding was disorderly. After the whole subject of the two minutes was disposed of, a new rule of order was adopted, by which, on the introduction of any subject, any member might demand the question of consideration, and a majority might refuse to consider the subject at all. Pretty soon afterwards, we believe during the same session of the court, a young, conceited and very forward member, whose name we forbear to mention, moved a written censure upon us personally and by name, for words spoken in debate, as we understood the reading, offensive and derogatory towards other members of the body. Thereupon a member of the majority demanded the question of consideration, and the Synod under the new rule, and by an overwhelming vote, refused to entertain the proposition; only the mover, and perhaps two other persons, one of them the individual supposed to have been aggrieved—voting to allow the paper to be offered. When the sudden storm had been as suddenly quelled by the withering rebuke of the court—we rose and said, that in so far as any one might have private griefs against us, we were ready to ad-

just them privately; and as to any public offence we might have given, if any human being would say we had said or done, in the way of personal injury or affront to any person whatever, any thing beyond what was clearly justifiable, we would, on the spot, publicly make reparation. No one said a word. And then a vote of thanks to the pastor, session and trustees of the church in which the Synod sat (our own) and to the citizens of Baltimore, was moved and carried *nemine contradicente*; for although the individual supposed to have been aggrieved, demanded a division of the motion, yet we heard no negative, and believe there was none. The same afternoon, when the Synod had adjourned *sine die*, the Presbytery of Baltimore had a session to attend to its regular business, and the Moderator of Synod and the Rev. Wm. L. McCalla came to it, and said, the latter speaking for both, that they were authorized to say, in the Presbytery and on behalf of the member of Synod whom we have several times alluded to as being the one supposed to be particularly alluded to as aggrieved by us; that he had been entirely misunderstood in certain observations which had drawn from us, in Synod, remarks which had wounded him; and now wished to have us and the Presbytery understand this. This greatly surprised us; for the person they represented had not only failed to say any such thing as this at the proper place and time, but had voted almost alone, to receive the motion of censure, and had demanded a division of the question on the vote of thanks. We replied however, that though the Synod was the proper place, and the moment when we had demanded an explanation the proper time to have made it; and although we had so acted as to render any mistake on our part, as we had supposed, impossible; yet if the member saw fit, under all the circumstances, to come forward and recall or explain away his words, it was not for us to hinder such a proceeding, but, on the contrary, we were obliged of course, and, moreover, very happy after this explanation, to waive any thing we had said, under a misapprehension—and to recall what it was no longer our duty to have uttered. And so this matter ended. As to the young person, who felt called on to offer a deliberate, unprovoked, and if he could have succeeded, irreparable injury, to a man who was old enough perhaps to be his father, who has borne incessant toils, and reproach for the Lord—whom the church has made respectable, even if he had not been so before, by the honours she has conferred upon him and the trust she has reposed in him;—we pity and forgive him. Let him beware however—how he insults, traduces, and endeavours to injure those who are trying faithfully to serve the Lord; for the Lord loves his servants, and well do we know, he is able to protect, and when need requires to avenge them.

Here we pause. We have arrived at a new stage in these important questions; and though we have reached that stage through painful and arduous efforts, and defeat seems, to human eyes, equally before and behind us, and contempt and disgrace would be our inevitable portion, if many, who call us brother, could accomplish those ends without danger to themselves; yet our heart neither faints nor trembles. We appeal to the General Assembly of the church. From it, if need be, we will appeal to the church itself. And if that becomes our duty, from a misguided church, we will appeal to posterity and to the Lord Jesus. But we will not be terrified from the path of duty—nor shall the church, whose minister we are, be debased and revolutionised, if God will permit any labours or sacrifices on our part, to prevent it.

SPIRIT OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

VOL. II.

DECEMBER, 1843.

No. 12.

[For the Spirit of the xix. Century.]

THE RIGHT OF RULING ELDERS TO IMPOSE HANDS IN THE ORDINATION OF MINISTERS OF THE WORD, SHOWN OUT OF THE APOSTOLIC AND PRIMITIVE CHURCH.*

There is but one hypothesis upon which, consistently with the Scriptures, Ruling Elders can be excluded from the right of imposing hands in the ordination of ministers, and that is, that they are not *Presbyters*—that they do not belong to that class of officers, who,

* We venture to print, without the knowledge of the author of this lucid and conclusive argument, a paragraph of the private letter which accompanied it; which our readers will doubtless agree with us, contains matter worthy of itself to be seriously pondered, and which cannot fail to impart additional interest and importance to the article itself, and to the subjects which it treats. We presume it will at last become evident that something more is needed than votes organized out of doors and forced by the previous question through our church courts; something weightier than supercilious dicta, settling "the gospel according to the seminaries;" something more thorough than newspaper claims, founded on a ministry "thirty-five" years long, and denunciations of all ministries that are less than "fifteen" years long; something beyond "Board power or Agency power;" something a little different from crude Assembly papers, and speeches, however "unanswerable" their authors may have thought them before they were answered;—in short, that a real and thorough discussion of the matter, by men who have patiently examined it, and are capable of feeling the force of truth, must be resorted to, if the church would escape disgrace as well as revolution. For our own part, we sincerely confess that the most humiliating part of the whole affair, up to the present writing, is the state of knowledge and thought, information and capacity, revealed by those who have, in speeches and in print, pretended to argue against the rights of the Elders and the freedom of the church; and we do humbly conceive—that if these things were a fair sample—the claim of a *learned ministry* set up by our church, would be the most unblushing piece of effrontery which this generation has produced.

"MY DEAR BROTHER.—In conformity with my promise, I send you an article upon the right of Ruling Elders to impose hands in the ordination of ministers. I have confined my argument exclusively to the constitution and usage of the Apostolic and Primitive Church. It was my intention, at first, to have noticed some of the general principles upon which the right has been denied; but I soon found that the limits of a single article were too narrow to allow so extensive discussion: and, upon the whole, I thought more good would be done by drawing attention to that branch of the subject discussed in my piece. I know not how to account for it, that there is so much ignorance among our ministers and churches in regard to the distinctive features of our system. Our name is derived from our form of government, and the characteristic element of that form is the importance which we attach to *Ruling Elders*, in contradistinction from *Preachers*. To say, therefore, that a Ruling Elder is not entitled to the appellation of *Presbyter*, either in conformity with Scripture usage or primitive antiquity, is just to say, that the fundamental principle of our polity is a human institution. The essay which I send you, though short and simple, has really been the fruit of much patient study and labori-

when assembled in council, possess according to Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 14, the right in question. If they are recognized in the Word of God as *Presbyters*, they are certainly entitled to be members of the Presbytery, and as certainly endowed with all the Presbyterian authority which attaches to any of their brethren. The whole controversy then, must turn upon the question, whether or not they are scriptural *Presbyters*? What then is a *Presbyter*?

I have no hesitation in asserting, that the fundamental idea conveyed by the term as a title of office, is *that of legitimate authority to rule or govern*. The princes of tribes and the heads of families in the Jewish State were denominated *Elders*, because they were invested with subordinate jurisdiction in the conduct of the commonwealth. How such an application of the term originated, it is not, perhaps, important to determine; but whatever reason we may choose to assign—whether it be that in the origin of states, superior age as implying superior wisdom and experience was the first prerequisite to official elevation, or whether it be that the reverence and esteem, the veneration and respect, which should always be accorded to the hoary head, were intended by a delicate allusion, to be transferred to rulers; certain it is, that among all nations whose institutions are known to us, terms which in their private and personal applications are descriptive only of superior age, are found as titles of authority and place. In their appropriation to stations of distinction in the state, they lose all reference to private and personal characteristics. In their public applications they cease to designate a *man*, and are used exclusively to designate an *office*. The Jewish Elder and the Roman Senator retained these titles of rank and authority, however few their years, or limited their wisdom. In the Jewish Synagogue, from which the word was confessedly introduced

ous investigation. I gave particularly the Apostolic Fathers, a careful perusal in order to see what their testimony actually was, and I formed my own opinions without looking into the books which profess to collect their testimony. I afterwards compared the results at which I had arrived with the labours of King and Bingham, and I saw nothing in them which induced me to change my opinion. I am still persuaded that *Presbyter* means simply a *Ruler*, and that the *office* of preacher is a function superadded to the Presbyterate—that the Preacher in the primitive church was selected from the consistory, and in the age of Ignatius was distinguished from the *Presbyters* by the title of *Bishop*, and that it was owing to accidental circumstances that the Presbyters ever came to be Preachers. I can trace in Ignatius the constitution of our own church. His extravagant language is certainly to be condemned; but I am inclined to think we err on the opposite extreme, and attach too little importance to the courts of God's house. I have long been convinced that our present method of conducting the affairs of the church through institutions which can hardly be regarded as any thing more than secular corporations, is absolutely fatal to our beautiful system. Boards have usurped the place of Presbyteries, and the strength of the church is sought in them, rather than in the healthful action of the organization which God hath appointed. We have, in fact, two systems of polity—one in our constitution which is a dead letter, and another in vigorous operation, which like Pharaoh's lean kine, eats up its rival. I was delighted to find that you were not ashamed to maintain the *Divine right of Presbyterianism*. Our ministers and Elders must be brought to this point before they will feel the obligation of trying their own system. And here let me add, that if you can possibly go on, you must not abandon your Magazine. Its influence is increasing—many are inquiring for it who never loved it before, and I assure you, that your prospects are fairer now than I have ever known them to be."

into the Christian Church, *Presbyter* and *Ruler* were synonymous terms. It would seem, indeed, that as these assemblies of the people were specially convoked to listen to the law, and to engage in acts of public adoration, to communicate oral instruction was no necessary part of the service. Hence there was no office in the Synagogues corresponding to the preacher of Christian Churches. Any who received permission from the Elders was at perfect liberty to address the people—an arrangement which could not have been admitted, if there had been any public functionary whose duty required him to teach the congregation. To the *Zakinim* or Elders pertained the offices of government and discipline. They could bind and loose, and preside in the assemblies, but never seem to have looked on the imparting of oral instruction as any part of their appropriate functions. The angel of the Synagogue, if he were any thing more than a menial servant, probably received his appellation from the fact, that he acted as the messenger of the people to God in being the organ to express their prayers.

It is manifest then, that *Presbyter* and *Preacher* were not originally interchangeable terms. There were *Presbyters* in the Synagogue, but no *preachers*. That the Apostles in transferring the word to the Christian Church, enlarged its common and received acceptation so as to include the additional idea of authority to teach, making a Christian *Presbyter* and Christian preacher equivalent expressions, is a proposition equally unsustained by *scriptural usage* or *ecclesiastical antiquity*. That *Presbyters* as such were not entitled to *preach*, nor *preachers* as such entitled to *rule*, would seem to be an obvious conclusion, from the marked difference which the Apostle repeatedly draws between the gift of teaching and the gift of government. *Rulers* and *teachers* are different endowments with which the ascending Saviour furnished the Church—and no ingenuity of criticism can fasten the same signification upon such terms as doctrine and government. The miraculous gifts too, which according to Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. 8, were speedily to cease, the gifts of prophecy, tongues and knowledge—all had evident reference to the function of *teaching*. The extraordinary officers who possessed their endowments were certainly *teachers*; and yet from the fact that they did not continue to adorn the Church, beyond the age of the Apostles, it may be safely inferred, that they were *not Presbyters*. Among the first *permanent* officers of the church, Ambrose enumerates "*rectores*" or rulers. (Com. on Ephes. iv.) While, however, it was the *specific* duty of a *Presbyter* to *rule*, he who was a *Presbyter* might also be a *teacher*. There was nothing in the nature of the Presbyterian office to prevent the individual who filled it, from adding to its duties, the *function* of public instruction; and we have the testimony of Paul himself, that in the constitution of the Primitive Church, some of the Elders did in fact *preach*, while others confined themselves to the appropriate duties of the Eldership—that is, to *government* and *discipline*. "Let the Elders"—says the Apostle, "that rule well, be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine." 1 Tim. v. 17.* To *rule*

* The interpretation given in the text, is certainly the obvious interpretation of this celebrated passage. For a full, complete, and satisfactory defence of this ancient

well was the duty of *all* Elders, regarded simply as elders; to labour in word and doctrine, was to do something more than the Presbyterate required, and therefore such persons were entitled not only to the respect which was due to *Elders*, but also to that which was due to *preachers*. From this passage, it would also appear to have been the custom in the Apostolic Church, to have selected the Preachers from the *class of Elders*. Instead of making an additional *order* in the church, the Apostles, it would seem, in the permanent arrangement of its constitution, required those who were to labour in word and in doctrine, to be also strictly and properly *Presbyters*.* Hence the common distinction between teaching and Ruling Elders. The distinction, however, is not strictly accurate. The Eldership *as such* never includes teaching—this is always a superadded function—and it is not in consequence of his *Presbyterial authority* that an *Elder preaches*. For obvious reasons, the Elder who *preached* would always be the Moderator or President of the council of his brethren, just as in the constitution of Presbyterian Churches, at the present day, the minister always moderates the session. Though they were all equal in office, and equal in jurisdiction, and all equally constituted the Bishops of the church, yet in the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles, the term Bishop became generally restricted to the *Presbyter who preached*. An instance of a similar restriction of a generic term exists at the present day even among us. The word Pastor belongs as much to Elders as preachers, and yet is generally confined exclusively to preachers. Hence the limitation of the term Bishop should by no means astonish us. The reason of this restriction is to be sought in the fact, that he *always presided over the Presbytery*. He differed from his brethren in nothing but the authority to preach and to dispense the Sacraments—the dispensation of the Sacraments being in fact only a symbolical method of preaching, and therefore, an exclusive function of the *preacher's office*. It was in consequence of possessing *this power and this alone* that he was entitled, according to the Apostle, to *double honor*. He shared in a larger degree, the affections of the people, and received from his associates in office the high distinction of a permanent Presidency. It is clear from all the documents of early antiquity, that *preaching* was the leading and characteristic distinction of him who received the special appellation of Bishop. He *preached* by an *inherent right*—it *pertained to his office*, and he was bound under solemn sanctions to dispense the word and sacraments.† Those, on the other hand, who retained

and general exposition, meeting all the arguments of Scultetus, Erastus, Bilson, Saravia, Mead, Grotius, Hammond, and Mosheim, see Owen on the true nature of the Gospel Church, chap. 7, vol. 20, works. With Owen concur Calvin, Cameron, McKnight, Rosennuller, and the vast majority of Protestant writers.

* The following passage from Jerome may be regarded as proof of some such permanent arrangement; "Alexandriae a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclianum et Dionysium Episcopos, *Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum*, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat." Ep. 85 ad Evang.

† In Cyprian's Letters, such phrases as "Episcopo tractante—episcopos tractantes," are continually recurring, showing that the ideas of a *Bishop* and *preaching* were continually associated in this Father's mind. There is just as conclusive testimony to this point in the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp. In chap. 6 of

the original name of Elders had no such inherent right. "It is not lawful," says Ignatius, "either to baptize or celebrate the eucharist without the bishop." Again, "let no one perform any ecclesiastical office—(such as preaching or the sacraments)—without the bishop." The same was determined in the Councils of Laodicea, Arles and Toledo; and such also was the testimony of Tertullian, Jerome, and Ambrose.*

We learn from Possidius, that until the time of Austin, in the African Churches, Elders were not permitted to preach in the presence of their Bishops; and only by his authority and as his substitute when the Bishop was absent. They did not officiate by virtue of any

that Epistle, (Russell, vol. 2, p. 75,) Bishops are called *οικονομοι* stewards, in evident allusion to 1 Cor. iv. 5, "stewards of the mysteries of God"—that is—preachers of the Gospel and Dispensers of the Sacraments. Elders are called *παιδοι* assessors—that is—assistants in council—a plain allusion to their authority to rule; and deacons are called *υπηρηται*—servants—in allusion to their service—dispensing the bounties of the church. In the same Epistle he directs Polycarp to speak to every one as God should give him help, and characterizes his flock as "disciples," evidently presenting Polycarp in the light of a teacher. (Russell, vol. 2, p. 64.) In his Epistle to the Trallians, C. 8.—Russell, 2, 172, he directs them "to reverence the deacons as an institution of Christ—to reverence the Bishop as the Son of the Father, and the Elders as the council of God." Here is still the same distinction—the Son reveals the Father and the Bishop reveals, that is, teaches the truth, while the Presbyters are his assessors in council. If the reader wishes to see the respective qualifications of Bishops and Elders in the time of Ignatius and to be yet more fully satisfied that the one had primary reference to teaching, and the other to ruling, let him compare the 1st and 2d sections of the Epistle to Polycarp (Russell, 2, pp. 64, 65,) with the Epistle of Polycarp to the Phillippians, section 6. (Russell, vol. 2, p. 240.) It is plain also from the Apostolical Constitutions, that the peculiar duties of a Bishop were precisely such as are now imposed upon those who in the Presbyterian church are now denominated Pastors. Vid Lib. 2d. c. 27, 28, &c., and Lib. 8th, c. 4, 30, 31. These testimonies might be indefinitely increased—but enough has been said to show the real distinction between a Bishop and an Elder. It was not a distinction of order or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In all acts of government and discipline, they were united, but one was a steward of the mysteries of God, a dispenser of the word and Sacraments; and the other was not. The Bishop and Elders of Ignatius are precisely the Pastor and Session of a Presbyterian congregation. So it was in the days of Cyprian, as might be shown at large.

* Ignat. Epist. ad Smyr. c. 8. (Russell, 2, p. 50.)—"μολεις χωρις του επισκοπου τω παραστω τωι απηκοτωι εισ την εκκλησιαν—Ουκ εξου ιστιω χωρις του επισκοπου, ουτε βαπτιζειν, ουτε αγαπην ποιειν." There is proof in this context, it may be observed, by the way, that the Bishop was simply the Pastor of the church. "Wherever the Bishop appears, there let the multitude (the congregation) be." Οπου αν φανη ο επισκοπος, εκει το πληθος εστω.

The Council of Arles, according to one reading, says; Ut Presbyteri sine conscientia Episcoporum nihil faciant—can. 19. The Council of Laodicea says, (can. 57, Labbi. 1. p. 1506,)—τους προβυτερους μηδεν πραττεισ ανω της γραμης του επισκοπου. The Council of Toledo says, (Labbi. 2. p. 1226,)—Sine conscientia autem episcopi nihil penitus faciendum—or as it is in the margin—nihil Presbyteri agere presument.—To these may be added xxxviii. can. Apost. Labbi. 1, p. 88.

Dandi jus quidem, says Tertullian de Baptismo, c. 17—summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus: dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi: non tamen sine auctoritate Episcopi, propter ecclesiae honorem.

Jerome (Dial. cont. Lucif.) testifies: Inde venit ut, sine jussione Episcopi, neque Presbyter, neque Diaconus jus habet baptizandi. See also Ambrose de Sacrament, l. 3, c. 1.

power inherent in their order.* From the same authority, we gather that the custom of permitting them at all, was introduced from the Eastern Churches.† How is such language consistent with the supposition, that they were *ex officio* ministers of the word? After the disturbance created by Arius, we are informed that the Presbyters of Alexandria were debarred from preaching by the authority of the Bishops.‡ Now, if they possessed the same divine right with himself to dispense the word—if they had regarded themselves in any other light than as exercising a delegated trust, and acting under the responsibility of the *Bishop*, whose proper place it was to preach, how could they with a conscience void of offence, have submitted to such an edict from one who was not officially their superior? The truth is, it is perfectly preposterous to make Presbyter and preacher synonymous terms. To effect such a confusion of things separate and distinct, was the work of time. The custom of permitting the Elders to preach, originated in the first instance, from a laudable desire on the part of the Bishops, to have their people instructed during their absence. What at first, however, was granted as an indulgence, soon came to be demanded as a right, and the innovation did not stop with Elders. Even the Deacons, from a similar permission, granted under similar circumstances, claimed eventually to be preachers of the word and stewards of the mysteries of God. This was a more remarkable change than that which took place with reference to the Eldership. Here, an office notoriously instituted for the express purpose of protecting *preachers* from *secular affairs* undergoes a transformation so astonishing and wonderful, as to *assume* the very duties which it was intended to relieve. The same ambition which would prompt the Elders to aspire to the double honor which was due to the preacher's office, would prompt the Bishops to indulge their humour; since as the Presbyters *expanded* into *Preachers*, they themselves would expand into Prelates. Hence from the common pride and vanity of both Bishops and Elders, preaching came eventually to be regarded as a necessary element of Presbyterial authority, though in the beginning it was unquestionably otherwise. Still, however, as late as the fourth century, when prelacy had made extensive and formidable encroachments, and almost, if not entirely, obliterated the original application of the term *Presbyter*, we find some traces of the ancient constitution in the churches of Northern Africa. The *Seniores plebis*, who are confessed to have been ecclesiastical officers, were the Ruling Elders of the primitive age. Some learned men have been inclined to deny this position, because in the writings of the times, they are distinguished from Presbyters. But about this time, Presbyter had generally become a title of the ministry, and hence in distinguishing the *Seniores plebis* from Presbyters the meaning is that they were not *preachers*, they were not the *Presbyters* of the day. This, however, is no sufficient proof that

* Eidem, presbytero potestatem dedit coram se in ecclesia evangelium predicandi ac frequentissime tractandi: contra usum quidem ac consuetudinem Africanarum ecclesiarum: unde etiam ei nonnulli episcopi detrahebant—Postea bono precedente exemplo, accepta ab episcopis potestate, presbyteri nonnulli coram episcopo tractare coeperunt verbum Dei. Vit. Aug. c. 5.

† Ibid.

‡ Socrates, l. lib. 5. Soz. Lib. 7.

they were not precisely the Presbyters who, in the times of the Apostle, were content to rule without attempting to preach; no more than the studied distinction which the writings of the *Fathers* make between Elder and Bishop proves that they were not originally the same. In the rapid tendencies to prelacy which the church was every where exhibiting, it is impossible to account for the introduction of a class of officers so repugnant to the genius and spirit of the hierarchy as these Seniors of the people, at any period subsequent to that of the Apostles, and hence I am compelled to regard them as venerable monuments of a race, that was rapidly dying away. As Bishops had now discarded the ancient title of Presbyters and assumed the prerogatives of prelacy, and as Presbyters had aspired to the more honorable functions of labouring in word and doctrine, these humble rulers were content to manifest their modesty and wisdom by the unassuming and scriptural name of *Elders of the people.* (πρεσβυτεροι του λαου.)

From the preceding statements it appears that in the primitive and Apostolic Church, Presbyters *as such*, were simply and exclusively *Rulers*. One of the Presbytery in each congregation was usually invested with authority to preach and dispense the sacraments, and became, in consequence, the permanent President of the body. This preaching Elder received in process of time, as his distinctive appellation, the title of Bishop, while the others continued to be called by the general name of office—Presbyters or Elders. The sole distinction in the first instance between the Bishop and the Elders, lay simply in the *power of preaching*. It was his *privilege* and *duty*, by virtue of his office; but it did not pertain to the essential nature of the Presbyterate. Gradually, however, from indulgence on the part of the ministers, and ambition on the part of the rulers, they began to labour as preachers of the Gospel, so that in process of time, Presbyter lost its original meaning of Ruler, Bishop lost its primitive meaning of preacher, and those who ought to have been rulers became ministers, and those who ought to have been ministers became Prelates: and Diocesan Episcopacy, with all its abominations, was established upon the ruins of Parochial Presbytery. This view of the primitive constitution of the church reconciles the testimony of the ancient Fathers, which, upon any other hypothesis, is full of contradiction and absurdity; and certainly accords with the obvious interpretation of the accounts which are furnished in the Acts and Epistles touching the organization and arrangement of the churches founded by the Apostles. As then *Ruling Elders* are strictly and properly the *Presbyters* of Scripture, they are, according to the Apostle, entitled to *lay on hands* in the ordination of ministers. The argument is as simple as it is irresistible. The imposition of hands is the prerogative of Presbytery,—Presbytery is composed exclusively of Presbyters—Presbyters are strictly the Rulers of the church—therefore, Presbytery consists of rulers, and therefore rulers are entitled to ordain. Every proposition in this chain is sustained by express words of Scripture. There is no possibility of excluding Ruling Elders from the right to impose their hands, without shewing in the first instance that they are not *Presbyters*, or what is the same, that a Presbyter must necessarily be a Preacher. When this last

proposition is established, Ruling Elders may not only give up the right to ordain, but every other right which pertains to their office. They become a mere human appendage to the church; officers of man's institution, whom it is presumption to admit into ecclesiastical courts. Presbyterianism stands or falls with the distinction between *Ruling* and *Teaching Elders*. There is, in addition to this Scriptural argument, satisfactory proof that for three hundred years after the time of the Apostles, the right of the *Presbyters* to ordain *Presbyters* was universally acknowledged. The third canon of the fourth Council of Carthage provides, that in the ordination of Elders, while the Bishop of the church offered up the ordaining prayer, the whole Consistory or Presbytery should join with him in imposing hands upon the head of the candidate.* The Council of Ancyra, which was still earlier, recognizes the rights of city Presbyters to administer ordination even in different parishes from their own, with the consent of the Bishop.† That they could also participate in the ordination of Bishops, to say nothing of the testimony of Scripture in the case of Timothy—is decisively proved by the fact, that Pelagius, Bishop of Rome, was ordained by *one* Presbyter, in conjunction with two Bishops; and as the canons at the time required the presence of at least *three* Bishops, and as the ordination of Pelagius was admitted to be valid, a *Presbyter* must have been equal to a Bishop, and the imposition of his hands just as available.‡ To these cases may be added the testimony of Firmilian, in the age of Cyprian. That Presbyters however did not *ordain* by *indulgence*—as they preached and baptized, is clear from the oft repeated testimony of Paul, which vests an absolute right of ordination in the Presbytery. "All power and grace, says Firmilian,§ is constituted in the church where Elders preside and have the power of baptizing, confirming and *ordaining*." Jerome distinctly asserts, that from the days of Mark the Evangelist, until the time of Heraclas and Dionysius, the Presbyters at Alexandria made their own Bishop. He was elected in the first place, from among themselves, and then ordained by the parochial Presbytery, as Timothy was ordained by the Presbytery of Derbe or Lystra. This seems to be the obvious meaning of the words, and is a plain proof of the existence, in primitive times, of that arrangement to which we have already referred, by which the minister of the church—he who was to labour in word and doctrine, was required to be a *Presbyter*.

The argument from Scripture and antiquity might here be regarded as complete, and the right of Ruling Elders to impose hands in

* Presbyter cum ordinator, episcopo cum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenenti etiam omnes presbyteri qui presentes sunt manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.—Labbi, 2, p. 1199.

† Χαρισματικοὺς μὴ εἶναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονῶν, ἀλλὰ μὲν πρεσβυτέρους πολέως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπίτροπῆναι ὑπο τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ μετα χειριματῶν, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παρῳκίᾳ.—Labbi, 1, p. 1461.

‡ Lib. Pontif. Vit. Pelag. Dum non essent Episcopi, qui eum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo episcopi, Joannes de Perusio et Bonus de Ferentino et Andreas Presbyter de Sotia, et ordinauerunt eum.

§ Apud Cypr. Epist. 75.—Omnis potestas et gratia in ecclesia constituta sibi ubi praesident majores natu, qui et baptizandi et manum imponendi et ordinandi possident postestatem.

ordination unanswerably established, if it were not that a mass of testimony exists apparently inconsistent with this hypothesis, which the interests of truth require to be explained. Bishops, it must be confessed, began at a very early period to be ordained by Bishops alone. According to the first Council of Arles, and the third of Carthage, the presence of at least *three Bishops* was necessary to give validity to the ordination of a Bishop. The Canons and Constitutions, which go under the name of the Apostles'—though clearly the productions of a later age—required, as *indispensable*, the presence of but two. These testimonies do not, as it is generally supposed, *exclude* Presbyters from participating in the process—though the presumption is, that as their co-operation was not regarded as essential, they soon ceased to unite with the Bishops in this act of ecclesiastical authority. That they had the *right* to unite with them is plain, from the case of Pelagius. Now if, in the times of the Apostles, the *parochial Presbytery* was the proper ordaining body, how was so remarkable a change effected? How especially did it happen in so short a time that Ruling Elders should rarely exercise the right of ordination except in reference to *their own associates*? There are two causes which will be found, I apprehend, to explain the phenomenon. After the extraordinary officers of the church had ceased, it devolved, of course, upon the neighbouring churches to supply *new congregations* with ecclesiastical officers, and as it would be more convenient for the *Pastors* to meet—as they were the *persons* most likely to be known and most likely to be summoned to attend in Council—the Presbytery which ordained in new and vacant churches was composed, for the most part, of Preaching Elders or Bishops. Presbyters at first were not *excluded*—but as they were summoned only through their *Pastors*, and as *all* the neighbouring pastors were summoned alike—a college of Elders could be easily constituted without their presence; and hence they, no doubt, soon ceased to appear. In a vacant *church*, the existing Eldership *might have* ordained, but as they had been always accustomed to the Presidency of a Pastor, they would call in the neighbouring *Bishops* to assist them.* Hence there soon arose a distinction betwixt the method of ordaining a Presbyter and the method of ordaining a Bishop. The one continued to be done by the *parochial Presbytery*, and the other was done by a *Provincial Presbytery*; and the canons which have already been noticed, and which are usually pleaded as proof of the *exclusive* right of Bishops to ordain, should, perhaps, be regarded as only defining the *number* of ministers necessary to constitute a *quorum* of the Provincial Presbytery. There was no need to mention *Elders* because they were always found on the spot, in the case of vacant churches, without being gathered from other congregations, and because, in *new churches*, ministers being *Elders*, a *true Presbytery* existed though composed only of the rulers who preached.

* The passage from Jerome has been already cited. It is a mistake to suppose that he has reference to the *election* of a Bishop, because, 1, that was done by the people, as Cyprian testifies, (Epist. 68.) and 2, the Bishop is spoken of as *elected* when the Presbyters do what is implied in the verb *nominabant*. How did the Presbyter Elect get the *name* of Bishop? Evidently by *ordination*. This installed him in the office, and of course, gave him the name.

Such a *provincial* Presbytery was evidently necessary—it was only a fuller development of the same *principle* on which the session was founded. In the age of Cyprian, however, it was an *occasional* not a permanent body as it is with us, which regularly met upon its own adjournment. It was called together, only when needed, to ordain a Bishop. In this way arose the distinction betwixt the ordination of Bishops and Elders. What was first a mere custom, originating in *convenience*, soon became the *law* of the church. The change thus accidentally introduced was next confirmed by a *miserable fallacy*. Ordination was early regarded as a sort of *spiritual generation* of ministers, and as like could only beget like, it was supposed *impossible* for those who could not preach to invest others with authority to do so. The ordainer could only transmit to the ordained the rights which he himself possessed—and hence Presbyters were regarded as incompetent from the nature of their duties to participate in the ordination of any but Presbyters. This false principle of itself, without any previous neglect on the part of the Elders, would have been sufficient to have excluded them from the Provincial Presbytery. An error of this sort is too strong for argument: ancient customs and prescriptive rights might have been pleaded in vain, and in spite of all the considerations drawn from Apostolic practice, the fallacy would have ultimately triumphed. The power of a sophism to drown the voice of reason and Scripture may be seen in the case of transubstantiation, which led to the withholding of the cup from the laity, though this measure of high-handed tyranny was in open defiance of law, precedent and truth. Combine this principle however, with the previous neglect of the Elders, and the foundations of Prelacy are, open, palpable and clear. When the Presbyters were excluded from the Provincial Presbytery, Bishops became a *distinct* order, superior to Elders, and accountable only to God. Now that both these causes really existed as facts, cannot be denied. The letters of Cyprian show that it was the custom on the death of a Bishop, to issue such a circular to the neighboring Bishops, and that the presence of all the Bishops in a Province at the ordination of a successor in the vacant church was usually requested.* The first canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, in prescribing the examination of the Bishop to be ordained, adds, that when he has given satisfaction touching his faith and qualifications, “he should then be ordained by the consent of the clergy and people, and with the *concurrence* of the Bishops of the whole Province.”† Other testimonies, to the same purport, might be easily collected, but the custom will hardly be disputed. That the erroneous conception in regard to the nature of ordination, to which reference has been made, prevailed at an early period, may be gathered from the remark of Epiphanius, that “the order of Bishops begets fathers to the church, which the order of Presbyters cannot do, but only begets sons by the regeneration of baptisms.” (Hæres. 75.) This passage requires no comment.‡ If

* Cyprian Epist. 63.

† Labbi 2. p. 1199.

‡ In the misconception of Epiphanius, we see the germ of the *sacrament of orders*. In such fatal and miserable blunders—such gross and flagrant fallacies, one is often reminded of the memorable parody of Johnson—“Who drives fat oxen

If these two causes, which unquestionably existed, were adequate to produce the effect, it is easy to explain how, consistently with the original right of Elders to ordain, they gradually ceased to exercise it, and eventually surrendered it in the case of Bishops. This hypothesis completely reconciles the apparently conflicting testimony of ancient documents. From Jerome we would infer, that it was the ancient custom of the Elders at Alexandria to ordain their own Bishop. From the authorities cited above, it would appear to have been the custom of the church to ordain a new Bishop by a council of his neighbours, of whom three were necessary to constitute a quorum. Both may have been true. In later times, we find no allusion to the Elders—their touch was profaneness—because the neighbouring Bishops had taken the matter in their own hands. The progress can be distinctly traced, by which the ordination of Bishops passed from the hands of the Parochial Presbytery to the Episcopal Council. That whole mass of testimony, therefore, which seems to vest the right of ordaining ministers, exclusively in the hands of ministers, is thus satisfactorily discarded, and the Divine authority of Ruling Elders to impose hands in the ordination of preachers, is placed on an impregnable basis.

THE LIAR-MURDERER.

Our blessed Redeemer has summed up in a single verse, (John, viii. 44.) the two great and essential characteristics of the enemy of souls. He is the father of lies; he is, from the beginning, a mur-

—
 must himself be fat." It is to be regretted, that even in the Presbyterian church, there is too strong a disposition to look upon ordination as a mystic charm which communicates an invisible *charisma* to the person ordained, which he did not possess before. Divested of all obscurity, it is evidently nothing more than a *process* or series of acts, by which the *people* of God and the *rulers* of His church manifest their conviction of a Divine call to the office of ruling or teaching. The people express their approbation by *election*—the Rulers of the church, after a full and thorough examination, express theirs by *prayer* and the imposition of hands. They declare in this way that the candidate before them is called of God to the Elder's office. What is there in this, inconsistent with the character of him who rules? and why may not *one* ruler as well as another express his conviction that A. or B. is called of God, and accordingly commend him by prayer and imposition of hands to the word of his grace? If the Presbyterian part of ordination is not a *sacrament* but a simple act of *government*, I confess it passes my comprehension to perceive why an Elder may not join in it. If it were a sacrament, then it would be a seal of the covenant, and a *symbol* of its blessings. To administer it under such circumstances would be a *virtual preaching*, and therefore a Ruling Elder could not do it. Hence, the session examines a man and admits him to the *communion* of the church, but the *Pastor alone baptizes*. Baptism, however, does not *admit* the individual into the church—it is administered to him because he is in, and of course entitled to its privileges. The *act* of the session, of the *parochial Presbytery*, admitted him—by their vote they expressed their conviction that he was in the covenant, and, therefore, the pastor applies to him its precious seal—and so in reference to the Lord's Supper. There is no alternative between making ordination a *sacrament*, and allowing Elders to unite in the process. One or the other must be done.

derer. Woful combination! A mind impervious to truth; a heart steeled against goodness. Such is Satan: the union of all that is false, with all that is malignant.

From the creation of man, this faithless and pitiless enemy has pursued his steps. Endowed with transcendent force, urged forward by undying restlessness, labouring with sleepless energy, grasping at the universal dominion of nature, panting for the eternal ruin of human kind, eager only to dishonor the glorious name, and works, and truth of God, this great and bad Spirit, leading his immense, infernal hosts, seeketh only, and seeketh ceaselessly, whom he may devour, what he may pollute, how he may destroy. In Eden man listened to his seductions, and the wrath and curse of God against our undone race, was the first trophy of the great liar-murderer, in his pursuit of poor humanity. From Adam to Noah, "prince of this world," he nurtured it for that great catastrophe—which found eight souls with God, and sent untold myriads to woe. From Noah to Abraham, he seduced another world to perdition, and gloated once more, over the carcasses of a nation putrid around the Red Sea, over the bones of seven nations more which might have paved Canaan, and over fallen Israel, save two men. The law itself, while it made sin abound, made the abounding triumphs of this demon of falsehood and blood but the more apparent; and when the God-man came to his own—even his own received him not, and the chosen people and visible church of the adorable God so delivered itself up to hell engendered madness, that they shouted—not Christ—but Barabbas,—we have no king but Cæsar—upon us and upon our children be his blood! Oh! ruthless, piteous day! Ye will trust Satan, and not Jehovah? Oh! people laden with sins! And ye will trust him still, after eighteen centuries of tears! Ye will have Barabbas the murderer, Barabbas the rebel, Barabbas the robber,—the notable Barabbas will ye have; but Christ ye will not have? And so for weary centuries, victims all the while of robbery, seditions, blood-guiltiness, and all notable villainies—ye choose Barabbas still! Ye will have no king but Cæsar; and where is king Cæsar now—and where are your fathers' fathers—and all who, believing Satan, made and have kept that league with hell? Ye will share with the red-dragon, the shame of that precious blood? Ye will take upon your souls that stain, which eternity cannot efface? Ye will hang its infinite penalty for everlasting ages around the necks of children's children? Oh! day of black renown to the murderer-liar, which gave him the dominion of an apostate church at the moment that he was cast out from being the prince of an apostate world!

But all these triumphs cannot satisfy his vast, capacious perfidy. Ruin in Eden,—extinction, almost total, of the Adamic world, and pollution, scarcely less complete, of the Noaic—desolation to Israel—the blood of Calvary itself—these satisfy not; for the seed of the woman, may yet bruise the serpent's head. Again, the mysterious wickedness—the mystery of iniquity—the vigor of the liar-murderer begins to work. He has defeated the covenant of works; why not defeat the covenant of grace? He has won one church; why not win another? He has persuaded them that were once God's people, to reject and crucify their promised Lord; why may he not corrupt

those who once were not God's people, to renounce him who was crucified for them? He may—he can—he will. Alas! he did.

Forty days and nights—in the wilderness—he struggled personally for the overthrow of the God-man. Defeated, overcome, confounded; he, believing and trembling, yet abhorring and dreading, returned no more in person, till the fearful hour of the bloody sweat in Gethsemane. But he had his representative even amongst the chosen twelve; for he who was the truth, said, even to Peter, "get thee behind me Satan,"—and of Judas, "one of you is a devil;" and into this arch traitor's heart, did he, the liar-murderer, put the hellish purpose to betray the Lord of glory. Can it be that even his cruelty relented? That even his perfidious heart was appalled? Or did he see dimly that this frightful crime—God's chosen people murdering God's only Son—was more than even divine long suffering could endure, and must be pregnant with results in some way answerable to its own awful nature? Fearing to consummate an act, whose import must be tremendous, and might not be comprehended—can it be, that even he did, at the last moment, falter, and seek delay for further knowledge—and move the stern Roman to pause amid the vehement clamor for the blood of Jesus, and stir up the wife of Pilate, by horrible visions, to interpose her woman's intercession for the Just One? He remembered Eve, by whom he had set up his dominion over the world. Did he seek, through Pilate's wife, to arrest what he began to see, might be its overthrow?

The rending of the veil of the temple—the quaking of the earth with inward terror—the sun hiding in darkness his glorious light and refusing to make manifest the unparalleled deed—death trembling as one conquered, and relaxing his stiff, relentless grasp—the dead walking forth, awful amid the frightened multitudes—the manifest glories of the risen and ascended Saviour—the sublime wonders of Pentecost—the perpetual witness of God himself by countless signs—captivity itself lead captive, and gifts to men, priceless and innumerable; all these things only filled the soul of the liar-murderer with new conceptions of the extent to which his Judas, his Sanhedrim, his Herod, his Pontius Pilate, his bad, rebellious city, his corrupt, clamorous rabble of princes, nobles, priests, scribes, and pharisees, his hosts of immediate followers, his own ravening hate—had utterly undone him! And so the highest heavens resounded: "Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night." And then followed the sorrowful lament; "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the seas! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time."—(Rev. xii. 10, 12.)

The judgment of the world had set; the deliverer of it had been offered up; the prince of it was judged; the great assize of forty centuries was closed; the cause of poor humanity, which to men and angels, seemed so often lost—was won on Calvary; the great paradox was solved—God's hatred to sin—his love to sinners; the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, was slain; from thenceforth, what remained was for the crucified one to establish his con-

quests, to gather in his elect, to draw all unto him. Satan has lost the world. Henceforth his war is against the followers of the Lamb. He musters all his strength to seduce, to corrupt, to betray, to murder saints. He will be an angel of light—he will sit in the temple of God—he will profess that he is a God—he will conceal his lies, uttering them in hypocrisy—he will do wonders so cunningly, that though they be feigned, they shall almost deceive the elect—he will even be like the Lamb in his outward pretending, and subdue to whispers his dragon voice—he will be servant of the servants' God—Apostle, and successor of Apostles—if a prince, prince only of Apostles, that he may be vicar of Christ—he will draw the followers of Christ to himself, that he may more safely and more surely lead them to Christ—he will so love the saints, that he will teach the living ones to worship those who are dead—so reverence Jesus, that he will cause all men to worship his mother, his cross, the very bread and wine that represent his sacrifice—he will be so careful of God's honour, that he will conceal his written word for fear men may pervert it—so submissive to his precepts, that he will do nothing without manufacturing a divine, traditional precept for it—he will be so jealous of the rights of Christ in and over his church, that he will pursue, with fire and sword, even the followers of Christ who will not confess allegiance to Christ's vicar—he will so pity the nations of the earth, that he will accept their submission, and direct with absolute sway all their affairs in such a channel as to glorify St. Peter in the person of his successor; in one word, the liar-murderer, will destroy the earth in the name of the Creator, corrupt the church in the name of God, persecute the saints in the name of Christ, pollute society in the name of religion, and demonstrate in the name of truth and charity, that he is the father and the pattern of liars and murderers.

The Apostle John, as he stood upon the shore of his prison island, saw, rising out of the sea, a beast having seven heads and ten horns, upon his horns, ten crowns, and upon his heads, the name—*blasphemy*. To this fearful apparition, "the dragon gave his power, his seat, and great authority." And men "worshipped the dragon"—and "they worshipped the beast."—"And all the world wandered after the beast."—(Rev. xiii. 1—4.) That dragon, John himself informs us, "is the Devil and Satan."—(Rev. xii. 9, and xx. 2.) Upon that beast, to which the dragon—who is Satan—gave "his power, his seat, and great authority," John saw, a woman sitting; a woman "having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornications: upon her forehead a name written, *Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth; a woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus:*"—(Rev. xvii. 3—6.) A woman is, throughout the Scriptures, the image of a church: a pure virgin, a chaste matron, representing a true and faithful church: a filthy and vile prostitute, representing a corrupt and apostate church. When John saw a *church* in league with hell, polluted beyond utterance, and steeped in the blood of saints and martyrs, he says, "I wondered with great admiration." And the angel, at once explained to him the frightful "mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her."—(Rev. xvii. 6, 7.) The dragon as already shown, is

Satan—the liar-murderer. The beast to whom he gave “his power and his seat, and great authority,” and on which the woman sat, had seven heads—which represent, saith the angel to John, in the first place, “seven mountains on which the woman sitteth,”—(verse 9)—to wit, the seat of the authority of the polluted, persecuting, hell leagued church: and in the second place, seven forms of supreme authority which had been and should be manifested in that seat of the woman’s accursed authority, (verses 10—11:) every head, that is, every mountain and every form of supreme authority, written over with blasphemy—blasphemy! And one of these forms of supreme power, in that polluted seat of the woman’s authority—namely, the last form that shall exist there—is the beast himself on which she rode—being of the seven, but himself the eighth; that is, essentially the prolongation of the seventh, though in truth, an eighth, a blasphemous pope, successor to a blasphemous emperor—in the same spot: and he shall be followed by no new authority—but “goeth into perdition.”—(verse 11.) And the beast had ten horns—crowned horns—on every horn a crown. These, saith the angel, are ten kingdoms, which as yet, (to wit, while he spoke to John in Patmos,) have not arisen; they shall arise hereafter, when the beast himself arises: synchronously with the beast himself, shall the kingdoms of the crowned horns arise; kingdoms like-minded with the beast, and submissive to him; kingdoms warring with the Lamb—but at last to be overcome by him;—(verses 12—14,)—the kingdoms in short, foretold by Daniel from of old, and into which the Roman world, during the barbarian inundations, subsided after the fall of the Roman power in the West—and amidst which, and along with which, antichrist arose. And what vile, horrible, false, bloody church that is which this Mother of Harlots represents—doubt not, saith the angel, for “the woman which thou sawest, is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth;”—(verse 18;)—that imperial, eternal, all-conquering Rome—standing, while John listened, and the angel expounded unto him these awful visions—the undisputed mistress of the world—wielding an iron sceptre over “peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,” (verse 15.) Behold the vast, predicted sway of the liar-murderer, over prostrate nations—by means of that accursed beast, the possessor of “his power, his seat, and great authority,”—upon whom sits the false, bloody, filthy, apostate, foredoomed Church of Rome!

In this community,—Catholic—Roman—Apostolic—miscalled a church,—miscalled holy—there are, or rather were, two elements, the opposite of each other, which must be carefully distinguished. There was once a true church of the Lord Jesus in the city of Rome. Glorious confessors, blessed martyrs were there. Tender virgins there, were thrown to wild beasts in the amphitheatre, that heathen matrons might feast their eyes on the cruel death pangs of Christ’s gentlest lambs. The noblest Romans of them all, died for a show there, for Jesus’s sake—for vile ruffians, the height of whose dignity and joy, was *bread and games*—*panem ac ludes*,—*bread and games*—*panem ac ludes*,—for which the unwashed villains sold their country and their liberties, and clamoured day and night. How long the spirit of this early church lingered in apostate Rome—how far it mingled

with and controled her first crimes and lies—what remnant of it may yet tinge the lowest border of the lowest strata of the oppressed nations which own her sway; is not for man to say. Come out of her my people—saith the long-suffering God; so his poor, scattered, mourning children—one here, and one there—may still linger forlorn and sad amid blackness and ferocity, seeking peace and finding none. Let the loud cry therefore be lifted up by every voice in Christendom,—“Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.” And if they come not, let their blood be upon their own heads. Again it is true there were once in Rome, those “beloved of God, called to be saints;” for that chief of saved sinners, “Paul, servant of Jesus Christ,” has left to us an Epistle expressly written to them; and of all the churches planted by the Apostles, of all the Epistles written by the Apostles—not one Epistle has so marvellously accomplished its testimony against those to whom it was written,—not one church has so long, so fully, so clearly demonstrated, by its fate, the truth of God. “Boast not against the branches” was the faithful and prophetic warning. “But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; *because of unbelief, they were broken off; and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear: for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.*” (Rom. xi. 18—21.) She was high-minded, she did not fear, she did boast, she did not stand by faith; and God did not spare her. Nay, her case is this much worse than that of the Jews, that they were the natural branches, and being broken off, might be grafted in again; but Rome is the wild olive, and being broken off, can be no more grafted back. In all the Word of God, there is nothing more remarkable than the utter difference which every where obtains between his mode of speaking of the Jewish and the Roman apostacies. To the latter there is neither promise, nor exhortation to repent; but only wrath and wo, and the quenchless hate of an insulted God: to the former, pity, and boundless love, and promises overflowing with grace, mercy and peace, yet to be fulfilled in peerless glory. It is not then this early Christian Rome, nor the feeble remnants of long rejected truth that may yet linger in obscurity amidst her ruins: it is Papal Rome, the mother of harlots and of abominations, the vile, drunken harlot, with hands and face and raiment smeared with Christian blood; this is the last, great, master piece of the liar-murderer.

“When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it.” “There is no truth in him.”—(John viii. 44.) Such is the testimony of him who cannot lie. What truth then could there be in that hateful beast, whom this father of lies made his vicar, or in that polluted harlot who sat, in infamous state, upon him? Dragon, beast, and harlot—all alike, liars—slanderers—perfidious—haters of all truth—mockers of it, scoffers at it, their lives, their conduct, their principles, their speech, their very being, one constant, false witness against the truth, one ceaseless effort to turn the truth into a lie—one vast, continual perjury! Truth, the first, most glorious, most essential attribute of Jehovah,—the basis of his

eternal throne, the very essence of all his acts, and of every manifestation he maketh of himself: truth, the other name of him who is the way and the life; of him, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning; truth, the glorious object of all intelligent search in this world of chaos, the image of that sublime rectitude from which we are fallen, and in being restored to which in knowledge and holiness, we are restored to the lost image of God himself; truth, the bond that holds the universe together, that keeps man united with man in every portion of his social existence, that fixes the trust of our hapless race to the throne of the infinite and eternal one; truth, the grandest, the simplest, the loveliest, the sublimest of all abstract contemplations, the sweetest, the bravest, the wisest, the most effective of all practical existences; this is the object of quenchless abhorrence to the dragon, the beast, and the harlot, the murderer-liar and his accomplices. What lies has not Rome told and acted, coined, certified, sworn to, with a four-fold perjury, against God, against his truth, against his saints, and against human kind? Is there one attribute of God that has not been traduced by Rome? One act of his administration of which she has ever spoken, that she has not borne false witness of it? Is there one essential doctrine of religion, natural or revealed, that she has not denied, perverted, or obscured? One lie of Paganism, Heathenism, Judaism, or even Atheism itself, which she has not stamped, in its ultimate and essential foundation, if not in its manifested blackness, with the feigned approval of heaven? Has she even spoken of God's saints but to villify and degrade them? Has she even fulfilled one hope of the human race, ever failed to betray every trust reposed in her, ever omitted to prove herself false, recreant, faithless, perfidious, to all, every where, in all time, that put confidence in her truth? *Idem—semper—ubique*—is her boastful claim; and it is true in the most fearful of all senses. *Mystery—blasphemy—mystery—blasphemy*—every where, always, unchangeably false; so pronounceth God against Rome, and so heaven, and earth and hell attest.

It is an easy transition, to pass on from hatred of truth to hatred of all who love truth. The murder of God's saints seems to us poor, dim sighted mortals, a more atrocious form of crime than the hatred of that divine light in which these saints walk: but, in reality, it is a mere dependent accident—a palpable manifestation—the concrete form of the abstract enormity. So God puts together the two charges in one count of the indictment—perfidious liar against all truth, and pitiless murderer of all who love truth, art thou, oh! dragon. This terrible blood-guiltiness of the liar-murderer, has a double manifestation; *first*, in his direct shedding of the blood of the righteous, by means of his agents and followers; and, *secondly*, in his leading on the wicked to such enormous crimes, that the wrath of God overtakes them even here. Equally, in both cases, he feasts on blood; equally, he feels that he has wounded and mocked heaven-descended truth, whether he obscures her life-giving light, and seduces to ruin those she weeps over while she condemns them, or whether he gluts his immediate hate in the suffering of her chosen ones. When the Adamaic world perished—when Egypt “groaning for burial, stenchd the air”—when the carcasses of the whole host of Israel

filled the wilderness—when the seven nations of Canaan were cut off in their sins—when forsaken Jerusalem was delivered over to crimes and sorrows such as the earth had never heard of before, and the besom of destruction swept her clean and utterly: the wild and piercing yells, which the dull ears of mortals could not distinguish from the shout of battle and the screams of dying multitudes—were bursts of demoniac joy from the hosts of the liar-murderer. Until the personal advent of the God-man, this—rather than direct persecution—was the common form in which the Dragon exhibited his lust for blood. For why should he cause the false to shed, before the time, the blood of the false, when they were alike sweeping one another, and the whole world, onward to perdition? But from that hour when there appeared in heaven that great wonder, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars—travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered; and a great red dragon having seven crowned heads and ten horns; from that hour that dragon has stood ready to devour that child—and to overwhelm that woman, and to consume the remnant of her seed.—(Rev. xii.) From that hour the conflict has not ceased—and the great spectacle of earth has been the victorious struggle of Christianity, first against apostate Judaism—then against heathen Rome, and now, for twelve centuries, against Papal Rome.

It was contrary to the spirit of Judaism to persecute; and it persecuted nothing till its mission was ended, and then it began with the blood of the Son of God. But with the loss of God's spirit, the Jews lost, at the same time, the power to slay his servants; and the Christian blood shed even in Jerusalem, was shed by the connivance of heathen Rome. On Rome therefore, heathen and papal, lies the blood of fifty millions of Christian martyrs; a number greater than that of all the malefactors executed by public authority, since the world began! The testimony of the world's hatred to God, is greater than the testimony of its hatred to all crimes united. The blood-guiltiness of Rome, heathen and papal, is established by an earthly testimony more dreadful and emphatic, than all the remaining guilt of human kind.

Peter, say the Romanists, founded the church at Rome, and was its first Bishop. In the 45th year of the Christian era, he wrote his first Epistle from that city; at least we must believe it, for so Rome has constantly declared, and here repeats it to-day in the chronology prefixed to the Baltimore edition of the Rhemes version of the New Testament, "published with approbation." The *idem, semper, ubique* says so: let us believe it. But Peter says, in that Epistle, (V. 13.) that he wrote it from *Babylon*: and John proves at large, (Rev. xvii.) that mystic Babylon is Papal Rome: and thus the *idem, semper, ubique* proves that Papal Rome is "the habitation of devils, and the hold of ever foul spirit," (Rev. xviii. 2.) and that she is "drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." (Rev. xvii. 6. and xviii. 24.) And to this agree all the records of earth for twelve hundred years. Blood—blood—blood; crucify—crucify—crucify; to prison with the heretic—to the rack with the heretic—to hell with the heretic: accursed—accursed—accursed let him be—in all the faculties of his mind—in all the powers of his

soul—in all the affections of his heart—in every bone, every muscle, every tendon, every nerve and member; excruciate—excruciate—excruciate—men, women, children—families—nations—generations; kill, slay, burn, ravage, exterminate: anathema—anathema!

Oh! accursed Antichrist—the brand of God is upon thee. Is there nothing thou hatest but truth? None thou wilt in no wise tolerate but them that are right? How marvellous is this conjunction! In all the oceans of blood shed by Papal Rome, not one solitary drop was ever shed but to establish a lie! Never, even by wondrous accident, did Popery set herself to work, and take to the faggot, the rack, the gibbet, the cold steel—but that she was wrong—out and out wrong, and the right with her victim. When all the countless graves over which she has spread bloody winding sheets, shall burst open, not one murdered tenant of them all but will hear the voice from the great white throne, saying,—“bad you may have been, but Rome was worse, wrong you may have been, much and often, but you died in the right, and your innocent blood is clotted on the hands and face of the drunken harlot.” Oh! accursed Antichrist, why did you shed, for centuries together, the blood of those poor Greeks who professed to love Jesus, because they would not worship images, nor bow down to pictures? Why did you desolate Europe with countless woes and crimes, in the fierce wars about investitures? Why did you marshal almost uncounted millions of Europe’s deluded chivalry, upon the embattled hosts of Asia—for a hundred and fifty years together—making the universe one great place of skulls, in those fearful crusades to protect idolatry? Why did you exterminate, with ruthless fury the inoffensive Vaudois? Why did you uproot and murder the Bohemian people—the faithful and heroic followers of Huss? Why did you put out in blood the reviving cause of God in Spain, in Italy, in so many parts of Germany, three centuries ago? Why did you butcher the poor Huguenots—the Hollanders—the Protestants of Ireland? Oh! why, for a thousand years together, have you, in cold blood, racked, tortured and burned, by means of the Inquisition—the scattered children of the most high God—in every nook and corner of the earth to which your bloody hands could reach? Oh! accursed Antichrist—vicar of the liar-murderer, idem, semper, ubique, innocent blood crieth against thee; innocent blood with which thou hast filled the earth, and polluted the sanctuary of Christ, and hid the face of heaven’s mercy from thee for ever. The loud and bitter cry of innocent blood, is lifted up against thee from the face of the whole earth—and from the breadth of the whole heavens, and from beneath the throne of God on high! Innocent blood which God would not forgive to Jerusalem—which he will never forgive to thee!

Yes, that cry will be heard. Surely will it be heard. Surely will God avenge his own elect. The great and terrible day of God draweth on apace. What did God do to his enemies when he brought his people out of Egypt? What, when he brought them into Canaan? What, when he opened wide the door to the Gentiles?—Alas! alas! then what will he not do when he comes of set purpose to establish in glory, his down-trodden saints, and to take vengeance on all his and their enemies? Who can abide the day of the wrath of God

Almighty? How will the liar-murderer endure his prison-house—and his eternal lake of fire? And thou—accursed Antichrist—how wilt thou endure that day, when the cry will be, “Rejoice over her, thou heavens, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her.” (Rev. xviii. 20.) And the response will echo back, throughout the universe, “Alleluia; salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God: for true and righteous are his judgments: for he hath judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.” Alleluia; the smoke of her torment riseth up for ever and ever. Alleluia; the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Amen: Alleluia. (Rev. xix. 1—6.)

LIFE OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

PART IV.

From the formation of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643, to his death, August, 1646.

THE General Assembly which met at Edinburgh, August 2, 1643, was rendered remarkable by the presence of the commissioners from the Parliament of England, and the celebration of the Solemn League and Covenant. In the prospect of the important discussions which would engage their attention, the eyes of all were again turned to Mr. Henderson, as Moderator, and he was the third time called to the chair. The business of the Assembly was conducted with great decorum in the presence of the English commissioners, Mr. Henderson exercising his function with a species of austerity, which became his person, and which he could employ on proper occasions. It having been agreed that the union between the two kingdoms should be cemented by entering into a sacred league and covenant, Mr. Henderson presented a draught of one, which he had composed, to a meeting of the three committees of the Parliament of England, the Scottish Convention of Estates, and General Assembly. This, after some alterations, was adopted by them, and transmitted to the General Assembly, and Convention. Being introduced into the Assembly by a most appropriate speech by the Moderator, it was received with the utmost applause, and adopted with tears of joy. With the same cordiality it passed the Convention of Estates, and was ordered to be transmitted to the Parliament of England for their approbation. The General Assembly renewed the appointment of their commission respecting the members to be sent from them to assist the Assembly of Divines sitting in London; and Mr. Henderson was ordered to set out immediately in order to insure the ratification of the Covenant.

On the 30th of August, Mr. Henderson set sail from Leith for London, in company with other commissioners. The Solemn League having been approved by the two houses of Parliament and the Assembly of Divines, the members of the latter, with the House of Commons, convened in St. Margaret's, Westminster, upon the 25th of September, and having first sworn, afterwards subscribed the Cove-

nant. Immediately before they proceeded to this solemn work, Mr. Henderson delivered an address to them, in which he warmly recommended the duty, as pleasing to God, exemplified in other churches and kingdoms, and accompanied with the most astonishing success. His account of the change which was effected upon Scottish affairs, by the renewing of the National Covenant, may be quoted as affording a fair specimen of his style, as well as an animated and graphic picture of an interesting scene in which he had occupied a conspicuous place. "When the prelates were grown, by their rents and lordly dignities, by their exorbitant power over all sorts of his Majesty's subjects, ministers and others, by their places in Parliament, council, college of justice, exchequer, and high commission, to a monstrous dominion, greatness, and, like giants, setting their one foot on the neck of the church, and the other on the neck of the state, were become intolerably insolent, and when the people of God, through their oppression in religion, liberties, and laws, and what was dearest unto them, were brought so low, that they choosed rather to die than to live in such slavery, or to live in any other place, rather than in their own native country;—then did the Lord say, 'I have seen, I have seen the affliction of my people, and have heard their groaning, and am come down to deliver them.' The beginnings were small in the eyes of the presumptuous enemies, (such as use to be the beginnings of the greatest works of God,) but were so seconded and continually followed by the undeniable evidence of Divine providence, leading them forward from one step to another, that their mountain became strong in the end. No tongue can tell what emotions filled the hearts, what tears were poured from the eyes, and what cries came from the mouths of many thousands in that land, when they found an unwonted flame warming their breasts, and perceiving the power of God raising them from the dead, and creating for them a new world wherein should dwell religion and righteousness. When they were destitute, both of moneys and munition, which, next to the spirits and arms of men, are the sinews of war, the Lord brought them forth out of his hid treasures, which was wonderful in their eyes, and matter of astonishment to their hearts. When they were many times at a pause in their deliberations, and brought to such perplexity, that they knew not what to do for prosecuting the work of God, (only their eyes were towards him,) not only the fears and furies, but the plots also and policies of the adversaries, opened the way unto them, their devices were turned upon their own heads, and served for the promoting of the work of God. The purity of their intentions, elevated above base and earthly respects, and the constant peace of their hearts in the midst of many dangers, did bear them out against the malicious accusations and aspirations put upon their actions. All which were sensible impressions of the good providence of God, and legible characters of his work, which, as the church and kingdom of England, exercised at this time with greater difficulties than theirs, have in part already found, so shall the parallel, be perfected to their greater comfort in the faithful pursuing of the work unto the end."

During the three following years, Mr. Henderson remained in London, and was unremittingly employed in assisting the Assembly

of Divines there, in preparing the public formularies for the religious union between the three kingdoms, which had been sworn in the Solemn League. His wisdom was displayed in preserving harmony among the members of Assembly, and in uniting their views as to those measures which were requisite in the prosecution of the great cause, which they had all solemnly sworn to promote. Different instances of this occur in the history of the proceedings of that venerable Assembly. There were very keen debates in the Assembly respecting the office of Doctor in the Church; those who inclined to Independency insisting, that, by Divine institution, there ought to be a Doctor in each congregation, as well as Pastor, while others maintained the absolute identity of Pastor and Doctor. When there appeared no prospect of accommodation, Mr. Henderson so managed the cause between the two parties, that they were brought in a committee, to agree on certain propositions, which, without stating the absolute necessity of a doctor in each congregation, or the Divine institution of the office in formal terms, provided that where there was a plurality of ministers in one congregation, they may be designed to several employments; the minister whose gift lay more in exposition than in application, being called "doctor or teacher." On another occasion, when the Assembly were employed on the subject of ordination, that passage in Acts xiv. 23, ("They ordained them elders in every church,") being proposed as one proof of the doctrine, Mr. George Gillespie, one of the Scots Commissioners, an acute disputant, objected to the application, urging that the word rendered *ordained* by our translators, properly expressed the people's act of choosing by suffrages. This introduced a warm dispute, which was terminated by their agreeing to Mr. Henderson's motion, that although prayer and fasting, mentioned in the latter part of the verse, might include the imposition of hands and ordination, yet the proof should be made to rest upon the whole verse, with a declaration of the Assembly's intention not to prejudge thereby any argument which might afterwards be urged from it on the question of popular election. But while he exerted himself in reconciling differences which arose respecting subordinate steps of procedure, he steadily resisted every attempt, however plausibly made, to introduce principles contradictory to those of the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed and Presbyterian churches. Acting according to these views, he stated himself equally in opposition to the schemes of the Independents, and of a strong party in the House of Commons, who, tainted with Erastian principles, denied the right of divine government, and wished to subject the proceedings of the ecclesiastical judicatories to the control and review of the Parliament.

In the beginning of the year 1645, Mr. Henderson was appointed to assist the Commissioners of the two Parliaments in the treaty between them and the King, at Uxbridge.

The Parliamentary Commissioners were instructed to demand the abolition of Episcopacy, and the ratification of the Presbyterian government. The King's Commissioners objected to the abolition of Episcopacy—upon which it was agreed to hear the divines on both sides. Mr. Henderson in a speech, which Lord Clarendon allows to have been eloquent, opened the cause, and took up that ground

which bade fairest for bringing the question to the speedy issue which the state of matters required. Waving the dispute as to the lawfulness of Episcopacy, he said, "The question now was, whether or not that form of government was essential to the church. He argued that it was not, in which opinion he was supported by the most eminent advocates for the church of England since the Reformation, who had not pleaded for the divine institution, or the necessity of Episcopacy. He stated that the question could not be answered in the affirmative, without condemning the Reformed churches, all of whom, except England, were without bishops. He showed that the bishops had always retained many superstitious rites and customs in the government of the church. That of late they had over and above introduced many innovations, and made a nearer approach to the Roman communion to the great scandal of the Protestant churches abroad and at home. That they had been the prime instruments of embroiling England and Scotland, and in kindling the flame which now raged through the three kingdoms. That for these reasons, the Parliament had resolved to change this inconvenient and mischievous government—and to set another in its room, more naturally formed for the advancement of piety, which alteration was the best expedient to unite all protestant churches, and to extinguish the remains of Popery—nor could he conceive that his Majesty's conscience could be urged against this salutary change, seeing his Majesty had agreed to the suppression of Prelacy in Scotland."

But the advocates of Episcopacy were determined not to risk their cause upon such grounds as were palpable to all, but studied to involve the question, by introducing the dispute at large, respecting Episcopal government. Dr. Stewart, clerk of the King's closet, and commissioner for his Majesty in matters of religion, enlarged upon the apostolical institution of Episcopacy, and endeavored to prove, that without bishops, the sacerdotal character could not be conveyed, nor the sacraments administered to any significance. The debate, Dr. Stewart said, was too general, and they ought to dispute syllogistically, as became scholars. To this Mr. Henderson modestly replied, that "in his younger days he had taught logic and rhetoric, and although of late he had declined that species of learning, yet he hoped he had not altogether forgotten it, and therefore agreed to Dr. Stewart's proposal." The dispute continued a considerable time, and in the judgment of auditors who must be allowed not to be prejudiced in favour of the divine right of Presbytery, Mr. Henderson, while he equalled the King's commissioners in learning—surpassed them in modesty. The treaty being broken off without success, Mr. H. returned to London, and continued to assist the Assembly of Divines in their labours. This year his health visibly declined, and he suffered repeated attacks of the gravel, and other disorders consequent upon hard study and confinement.

Towards the close of the year 1645, it was judged necessary that Mr. Henderson, with some others, should go down to Scotland, to attempt to bring about a better correspondence among the nobility, who, in consequence of the distresses of the country, occasioned by the ravages of Montrose, had fallen into disunion and animosities, which were fomented by the secret artifices of the Court. But, just

as they were ready to take their journey, Mr. Henderson was stopped, in consequence of the earnest request of the ministers and city of London, who represented the impropriety of his absence at that time, when certain questions, upon which the uniformity between the kingdoms turned, were in dependence. The last service which he undertook during his stay in the English Metropolis, was an answer to two scurrilous pamphlets against the Church of Scotland, by Bishops Adamson and Maxwell, which the Sectarians, in their great antipathy to Presbyterian government, had caused to be reprinted in London. But being called away before he had time to perform this task, he devolved it upon his colleague and friend, Mr. Baillie, who executed it with great ability in his excellent "Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland."

The King's affairs were, in the spring of 1646, entirely ruined; and he threw himself, without any previous notice, into the Scottish army, who retired with him to Newcastle. He no sooner arrived, than he sent for Mr. Henderson, who was his chaplain, to come to him. This was a critical moment. The only measure which promised settlement to the nation, and the restoration of the King to the actual exercise of his authority, was his speedy consent to the establishment of the Presbyterian reformation, which would have secured him the affection and support of the soundest and best part of the nation. That Charles was now disposed to grant this, there was reason to conclude, from his declarations to the Scottish army, and his letters to the Parliaments. Mr. Henderson was judged the fittest person to deal with his Majesty about the necessity of a speedy compliance.

He arrived at Newcastle about the middle of May. From his Majesty he received a welcome reception, but he soon perceived, not without deep concern, that he had been deceived as to his hopes of the King's compliance with the requisitions of his Parliaments. He signified, that he could not, in conscience, consent to the abolition of episcopacy; and proposed, that Mr. Henderson should carry on a dispute with some Episcopal divines, of whose names he gave him a list, in his presence. This, Mr. Henderson declined, as what he had no authority to undertake, and no reason to expect, when he complied with his Majesty's request in coming to Newcastle. All that "I intended," (said he,) "was a free, yet modest expression of my motives and inducements, which drew my mind to the dislike of Episcopal government, wherein I was bred in my younger days, in the university." It was, therefore, agreed, that the scruples which the King entertained should be discussed in a series of papers, which should pass privately between him and Mr. Henderson. These continued from the 29th of May to 16th of July. The papers are eight in number, five by his Majesty, and three by Mr. Henderson. After perusing them, it is difficult to read without a smile, the panegyrics which the Episcopalian writers have bestowed upon the *incomparable wisdom* of his Majesty, and the triumph which he obtained over Mr. Henderson in the controversy. While he was continually urging his request for a formal dispute between Mr. Henderson and the Episcopal divines, pleading that the universal consent of the Fathers, and practice of the primitive church should be admitted as the judge of

controversies and the authentic interpreter of Scripture, and starting objections respecting the power of the people to limit their princes, or to effect a public reformation; Mr. Henderson gave him a counsel, the neglect of which cost the infatuated monarch his crown and his life. "While Archimedes," said he, "was drawing his figures and circlings in the sand at Syracuse, Marcellus interrupted his demonstrations. Sir, were I worthy to give advice to your Majesty, or or to the kings and supreme powers on earth, my humble opinion would be, that they should draw the minds, tongues, and pens of the learned, to dispute about other matters than the power or prerogative of kings and princes; and, in this kind, your Majesty hath suffered and lost more than will easily be restored to yourself or your posterity for a long time." While thus engaged, his friends in London apprised him that matters were fast approaching a crisis. In April, 1646, Mr. Baillie writes him,—“The prevalent party desires nothing so much as the King’s refusing of any one of the propositions. It is the sense of all I meet with, that if the King should but delay to grant the propositions, this people will declare against him, and reject him for ever from being King. Though he should swear to it, no man will believe it; that he sticks upon Episcopacy for any conscience.” “May 19.—There is much talk here of the King’s obstinacy, the faction rejoices herein. If he would do his duty, in spite of all knaves, all would in a moment go right: but if God has hardened him, this people will strive to have him in their power, and make an example of him.” In July, he writes again;—“Your debates upon Episcopacy, I never took to be conscientious, but merely politic, and a pretence to gain time. I hear France has, or will loose that scruple of conscience very easily. Will such base hypocrisy be blessed? The passing of the proposition for Episcopacy will not do your turn now. You have that good property to do all out of time. Sir, if you have any power, let that man (the King) come off once very frankly in all things, and he shall have all as he ought to desire. Will he do it by halves and quarters? he is running to utter destruction; who can help it? Yet I must be one of the mourners for it. Sir, give over your disputations, they are but vain.” This information, Mr. Henderson communicated to his Majesty, (for whose ear it seems to have been intended,) but it had no effect upon him. By this time, commissioners from the respective Parliaments had come to Newcastle, with propositions of peace to his Majesty, and also commissioners from the General Assembly to join Mr. Henderson. All of them, on their bended knees, begged him to grant the proposition, but he steadily refused. Afterwards, Mr. Henderson, with Mr. Robert Blair, (who had greater favour with the King than the rest,) dealt with him most earnestly, and with tears, to satisfy the desires of his kingdoms, but without success.

During his conference with the King, Mr. Henderson’s health, which was bad when he came to Newcastle, had grown much worse. His constitution, which never appears to have been vigorous, was worn out with the fatigues both of body and mind, to which he had been subjected, with little intermission, during nine years. Judging that his distemper was mortal, he resolved to return to Scotland. But before he left Newcastle, he obtained an audience from the King,

and having again reminded him of the critical situation of his affairs, he bade a final farewell to him, having discharged the duties of his commission, as well as of that employment which placed him about his Majesty's person, in the fulfilling of which he had enjoyed little satisfaction. He went to Scotland by sea, and arrived at Edinburgh, August 11th, very sick, and much exhausted. During eight days after this, he continued so weak, that he was able to discourse but little. But he enjoyed great peace of mind, and expressed himself (in what he was able to say) much to the comfort of his brethren and Christian acquaintance who visited him. In a confession of faith, afterwards found among his papers, written with his own hand, and expressed as his dying thoughts, among other mercies, he declares himself "most of all obliged to the grace and goodness of God, for calling him to believe the promises of the Gospel, and for exalting him to be a preacher of them to others, and to be a willing though weak instrument in this great but wonderful work of reformation, which he beseecheth the Lord to bring to a happy conclusion." On the 19th of August, he rested from his labours, sickness, and sorrow, being mercifully taken away from seeing the evils which were approaching, and the interruption which God, in his wise sovereignty, was pleased to give to that work, in the promotion of which he had been so zealous and useful.

His body was interred in Greyfriars' church yard. As he had no family of his own, his nephew, Mr. George Henderson, performed the last kind office of humanity to his earthly part, and erected a monument over his grave, with suitable inscriptions. These inscriptions testify the high esteem in which Mr. Henderson was held at that time by all classes, as well as the affection of his relations. Not only was the lamentation of his death universal through Scotland, it extended also to England. A London newspaper, dated August 31, 1646, says, "This day—the only news was by letters from the North, and first of all, a sad lamentation for the death of Mr. Henderson." After the Restoration, when every species of indignity was done to the preceding work of Reformation, and those who had been active in promoting it, the Earl of Middleton, the King's Commissioner, procured an order of Parliament in July 1662, for erasing the inscriptions, and otherwise disfiguring his monument. But at the Revolution, justice was again done to his memory. The monument was repaired, and the inscriptions replaced. Had his enemies merely wrecked their resentment upon his perishable monument, it would have been a small matter, but they industriously strove to blast his immortal reputation. Laying hold upon his having died soon after his conferences with the King at Newcastle, they circulated the report that he had become a convert to his Majesty's cause, and that remorse for the part he had acted against him had hastened his death. But this report, which had not the least shadow of foundation, was contradicted by the concurring testimony of all who had access to be acquainted with his sentiments at that time. "The false reports, (says Mr. Baillie, in a letter to his cousin in Holland,) which went here of Mr. Henderson, are, I see, also come to your hand. Believe me, for I have it under his own hand, a little before his death, that he was utterly displeased with the King's ways, and ever the longer the

more, and who ever says otherwise, I know they speak false. That man died as he lived, in great modesty, piety, and faith." Mr. Blair, who was a fellow-commissioner with him at Newcastle, and who had an opportunity of being acquainted with all his transactions with his Majesty, and his private sentiments respecting his conduct, testifies that he held fast his integrity to the end, mentioning this incidentally in the memoirs of his own life, as a great inducement with him to accept Mr. Henderson's place as chaplain to his Majesty. And Mr. Livingston declares that he was present, and saw him die with great peace and comfort. About two years after his death, a pamphlet was published, as his declaration upon his death-bed, which, without an express recantation of Presbyterian principles, contained a high panegyric upon King Charles, particularly for devotion, magnanimity, charity, sobriety, chastity, patience, humility, and expresses a deep sense of the guilt of the Parliaments in their conduct towards him. This pamphlet was the forgery of a Scots Episcopal divine. No sooner did it appear, than the General Assembly appointed a committee to examine it, and afterwards emitted a declaration of its falsehood and forgery. In this, "out of the tender respect which they bear to his name, (which ought to be precious to them and all posterity, for his faithful services in the great work of Reformation in these kingdoms, wherein the Lord was pleased to make him eminently instrumental,) they declare, that after due search and trial, they do find that their worthy brother, Mr. Alexander Henderson did, from the time of his coming from London to New Castle, till the last moment of his departure out of this life, manifest the constancy of his judgment touching the work of the Reformation in these kingdoms. All that he was able to speak in that time, (from his arrival in Edinburgh till his death) did clearly show his judgment of, and affection to, the work of the Reformation, and cause of God, to be every way the same then that it was in the beginning and progress thereof; as divers reverend brethren who visited him have declared to this Assembly, particularly two brethren who constantly attended him from the time he came home till his breath expired." "Upon consideration of all which, this Assembly doth condemn the said pamphlet as forged, scandalous and false. And farther declare the author and contriver of the same to be void of charity and a good conscience, and a gross liar and calumniator, led by the spirit of the accuser of the brethren."

The removal of Mr. Henderson, at such a critical juncture, was a great loss to the Presbyterian cause, and as such was lamented by the wisest men in the three kingdoms. He was a man enriched with an assemblage of endowments which have rarely met in one man. He possessed talents which fitted him for judging and giving advice about the political affairs of a nation, or even for taking an active share in the management of them, had he not devoted himself to the immediate service of the church, and the study of ecclesiastical business. He was not more distinguished by the abilities which he displayed in his public conduct than by the virtues which adorned his private character. Grave, yet affable and polite; firm and independent, yet modest and condescending, he commanded the respect, and conciliated the affection of all who were acquainted with him,

and the more intimately his friends knew him, they loved him the more. The power of religion he deeply felt, and he had tasted the comforts of the Gospel. Its spirit breathed in all his words and actions. The love of liberty was in him a pure and enlightened flame; he loved his native country, but his patriotism was no narrow, illiberal passion; it opened to the welfare of neighbouring nations, and of mankind in general.

Educated in Episcopal sentiments, and having the fairest prospects of advancement in a hierarchy, fast rising in greatness, after he had set out with an ardent mind in the career of ambition, he sacrificed his hopes to the convictions of his conscience, and joined himself to a small body of men, who, though honourable in the sight of God, were despised and borne down by those who were in power. As his adoption of the original principles of the Church of Scotland was not hasty, nor the effect of personal disgust, but of deliberate examination, and the fullest conviction, he persevered in the maintenance of them without deviation, amidst great temptations. Though he had received a liberal education in the first university of the kingdom, and had attained to an eminent station in it, he cheerfully devoted his time and talents to the care of a people in an obscure corner, where he lived, contented and beloved, upwards of twenty years, and from whom he at last submitted, with extreme reluctance, to be parted. Called forth by the irresistible cry of his country, when he found her reduced to the utmost distress, by the oppression of ambitious prelates supported by an arbitrary court and corrupt statesmen, he came from that retirement which was congenial to him, and entered upon the bustle of public business, at the time of life when others think of retiring from it. Though he sighed after his original solitude, and suffered from the fatigues and anxiety to which he was subjected, yet he did not relinquish his station, nor shrink from the difficult tasks imposed upon him, until his feeble and shattered constitution sunk under them, and he fell a martyr to the cause.

He appeared on the public stage with a mind improved by reading and experience, and an acquaintance with mankind, which genius, directed by cool attention, can acquire in situations very unfavourable. His learning, prudence, and sagacity, soon distinguished him among that band of patriots who associated for the vindication of their national rights; and he was consulted by the principal nobility and statesmen on the most important questions of public concern. The confidence reposed in him, and the influence which he was enabled to exercise, which were as great as any ever enjoyed in a Presbyterian church, he did not, in a single instance, betray or abuse.

In forming an estimate of Mr. Henderson's character, it would be improper to overlook his qualifications for assisting ecclesiastical judicatories, and particularly the Supreme Council of the church to which he belonged, in which he repeatedly occupied the situation of Moderator. His character, his appearance, his manners, procured him respect, both from his brethren in the ministry, and those who acted as Elders. Without infringing the liberty of the court, he could urge on a vote, or put a stop to tedious debate and desultory conversation. No honest mind could be hurt by the severity of his reproof, for all candid men could perceive the goodness which dic-

tated it, or make allowance for the necessity of his situation. Even occasional discoveries of heat of temper, which are often to be seen in studious men, of amiable dispositions, when wearied out with unreasonable opposition, were not without their utility in the situation which he occupied. It was his custom, as Moderator, to introduce an important question with a short speech, in which he gave a perspicuous view of the case,—and on its decision, he also said a few words, recapitulating the Assembly's judgment. The pertinent and religious reflections which he threw in, on remarkable occurrences, had often a most happy effect, sometimes filling the Assembly with deep concern, at other times, cheering and elevating their minds amidst discouragements and heaviness. But among all his qualifications, what deserves particular attention, was that faculty of fervent, sweet and appropriate prayer, which he exercised without flagging, through all the Assemblies in which he moderated.

Mr. Henderson was too actively engaged in public business to find much time for preparing works for the press. But though he published little to the world as his own, his compositions were passed into acts, both of the church and the state—obtained the sanction of the supreme authorities in the three kingdoms, were subscribed by all ranks of persons, and will continue to be famous in the history of his native country, and to be remembered as long as any taste for true patriotism and genuine religion remains. It will be recollected by the friends of genuine liberty, and of the Presbyterian Reformation, that the principal public papers from 1637 to 1646, and particularly the bond in which the National Covenant was renewed in 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant, were drawn by the pen of Alexander Henderson.

Besides these, and his papers in the controversy with the King, he was the author of a tract, which does not bear his name, entitled, "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland." This small publication, which was written and published when he was in London in 1641, attending the Treaty, must have been very useful at the time; and may be consulted still, not only as a relic of the valuable author, but also for information, as it contains a description, pretty circumstantial, of the government of the Church of Scotland, not only as it is to be found in her books of discipline, but as it was practised at that period.

There are three sermons of Mr. Henderson's in print. The first is that preached before the General Assembly in 1638, already noticed. The second sermon is on Ezra, vii. 23. It was preached before the House of Commons at their solemn fast, on Wednesday, December 27, 1643, and is described by Mr. Baillie, as "a most gracious, wise, and learned sermon," a character which it justly deserves. His third printed sermon was preached before the two Houses of Parliament, on Thursday, 18th July, 1644, in Westminster, being a day of public thanksgiving for a victory obtained by the forces of both kingdoms, near York. The text is Matthew, xiv. 31. His manner of preaching was strictly *textual*, so that none of his sermons could, with propriety, have been preached from any other passage of Scripture than that which is placed before them.

As a public speaker, he was eloquent, judicious, and popular.

His eloquence was easy, but impressive; grave, but fluent. It was like the motion of a deep river, which carries one insensibly with a full tide, rather than the rapidity of a swollen torrent. "Learned, eloquent, and polite," says Grainger, "and perfectly versed in the knowledge of mankind, he knew how to rouse the people to war, or to negotiate a peace. Whenever he preached, it was to crowded audiences; and when he pleaded or argued, he was regarded with mute attention."

I may conclude with the following character of him, drawn by his friend Mr. Baillie, in a speech delivered before the General Assembly in 1647:—"That glorious soul of blessed memory, who is now crowned with the reward of all his labours for God and for us, I wish his remembrance may be fragrant among us, so long as free and pure Assemblies remain in this land, which we hope shall be to the coming of our Lord. You know he spent his strength, and wore out his days, he breathed out his life in the service of God and of his church. This binds it on our back, as we would not prove ungrateful, to pay him his due. If the thoughts of others be conformable to my inmost sense, in duty and reason *he ought to be accounted by us, and posterity, the fairest ornament, after John Knox of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy.*"

[For the Spirit of the sixteenth Century.]

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

THE history of the Presbyterians, in common with that of other dissenters from the English establishment is, for nearly thirty years after the restoration, but a narrative of cruel and heartless persecution. All past services were forgotten. Charles II. might have remembered the Solemn League and Covenant, when he was seeking for a jest of unusual piquancy for the entertainment of Rochester or Sedley, Buckingham or Grammont, or those depraved women, from whom have sprung so many of the proud nobility of aristocratic England. A Protestant, during his whole life in profession, while a Papist in heart, (if that expression may be applied to a man so utterly heartless;) attended almost in his dying hour by the pious Bishop Ken, who gave him absolution, and craved his blessing, (perhaps, because profligate as the monarch had been, yet even in the dying debauchee, the devout but bigoted prelate saw only the earthly head of the church;) then from a popish priest receiving the consecrated wafer, when so feeble that he had been well nigh suffocated by his wheaten idol, and at last, expiring in the arms of one of his mistresses; his death, like his life, was hypocrisy and a lie! The too openly avowed popery of James, soon drove *him* from the throne, and he was succeeded by William and Mary, the best of the Stuart blood; the former Presbyterian, and both Protestants, both lovers of civil and religious liberty. Now, when toleration was established by a statute of the realm, it might have been well hoped

that Presbyterianism would have emerged in her majesty and her beauty from the obscurity to which, for thirty years, she had been consigned, and would have advanced, through successive triumphs, at home and abroad, to the exercise of that sway over the hearts and the understandings of men, to which her primitive faith and her primitive order so justly entitled her. But, alas! it was not so. In less than two years after the passage of the act of toleration, a measure was adopted, under the influence no doubt of the purest motives, by which every thing peculiar to Presbyterians was abandoned, for the sake of union with their independent brethren: a union desirable indeed on many accounts, but utterly inconsistent with the principles of Presbyterian polity.

It is not a little strange, that important and interesting as are the facts in English ecclesiastical history to which we are now referring, they should have attracted so little attention, and should be so little known. We have experienced considerable difficulty in finding the articles of union, and we suppose few of our readers have ever seen them. We shall therefore in this place, give a brief abstract of those articles, which may be found at large in Bogue and Bennet's History of the Dissenters; First Period, chap. vi. sec. 3.

In the preamble, the very names of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, are spoken of as having been abandoned, and in point of fact, persons belonging to either denomination were, for some years afterwards, simply called United Brethren.

The 1st article—Of the church and church members, after a just definition of the Catholic Church, goes on to speak of particular churches and church members, in a style natural enough for Congregationalists, but entirely un-Presbyterian. In the election of officers for instance, (including pastors of course,) and the administration of government, each particular church and congregation is represented as absolutely independent of every other.

In article 2d—Of the ministry, they merely say, that in so great and weighty a matter as the calling and choosing a pastor, they judge it *ordinarily* requisite that every church, consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations—and that in the ordination of a pastor, it is *ordinarily* requisite that the pastors of neighbouring congregations concur with the preaching Elder, or Elders (of the congregation) if such there be.

In article 3d—Of censures, the pastor and other elders, if such there be, are to lead and go before the church, and the brotherhood to give their consent, in a way of obedience unto Christ, and unto the Elders as over them in the Lord. Thus, there is no provision for the trial of a minister, except by his own congregation.

In article 4th—Of the communion of churches, we are told they "should not walk so distinct and separate as not to have care and tenderness towards each other, but their pastors are to have frequent meetings together, that by mutual advice, support, encouragement and brotherly intercourse, they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord." But to exclude the idea of Presbyterian authority over a congregation, they go on to add, that "none of our particular churches shall be subordinate to one another, that none of said particular churches, their officer or officers shall

exercise any power, or have any superiority over any other church or their officers." They add that "one church ought not to blame the proceedings of another, until it hath heard what that church charged, its elders or messengers can say in vindication, &c. and that they are most willing and ready to give an account of their church proceedings to each other when desired, for preventing or removing any offences that may arise among them.

In article 5th—Of Deacons and Ruling Elders, they affirm the Divine authority of the former, and leave the latter undecided, agreeing that a difference with regard to it, shall make no breach among them.

In article 6th—Of Synods, they say, in order to concord, and in any other weighty and difficult cases, it is necessary and according to the mind of Christ, that a Synod be called to consult and deliberate about such matters; that a Synod may consist of smaller or greater numbers as the matter may require, and that particular churches, their elders and members, ought to have a reverential regard to the judgment of such Synod, and not dissent therefrom without apparent grounds from the Word of God.

Article 7th is "of our demeanour towards the civil magistrate."

Article 8th—Of a Confession of Faith, esteemed sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scriptures as the Word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice: and own the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, the Westminster Confession, or either Catechism, or the Savoy Confession, to be agreeable to said rule.

Article 9th, is for occasional communion with other Christians.

It is manifest to every one at all qualified to judge on such a subject, that the churches and ministers, that became parties to these articles, ceased, by the very act to be Presbyterians. They might be and doubtless they were pious Christians, and sound Calvinists, but whatever ecclesiastical name they bore—they were, in fact, but Congregationalists. Here, then, we might well close our enquiries with the allegation, that from this period the history of this body is not the history of English Presbyterians, but of a section of English Congregationalists, and that Congregationalism, not Presbyterianism is answerable for their subsequent fall from the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. But what could have induced the Presbyterians to take a step so ruinous? Were they so feeble as to be constrained to seek shelter under the protecting wing of Independency? Far from it. Had they no men of tried ability and well known piety to lead them? Directly the reverse was true. In almost every particular in which there was a difference between the two denominations the Presbyterians possessed the decided advantage. Both denominations, indeed held substantially the same doctrines, for each adhered to the doctrines of Owen and Flavel. In personal piety there was, perhaps, as little difference. In each body there was some declension from the purity and spirituality which had characterized the religion of their fathers thirty years before, while neither had sunk to that formality which thirty years afterwards was so mournfully prevalent even among those of their children who continued orthodox in doctrine. But the Presbyterians, when the union was formed, were far more numerous than the Independents, while their rolls were graced by a

much larger array of immortal names. Among the Independents of that day, there is no such name now recurring to our memory, save that of John Howe, for Watts was not yet ordained, and Owen and Goodwin had entered into their rest. To the Presbyterians were still left Baxter and Bates, and Flavel and Philip Henry, and Matthew Henry. We believe that each of these great men was a strenuous advocate of this union. It is certain that the last meeting at which Flavel was present, was one in which he successfully employed his influence to induce the Devonshire ministers to assent to the union, and the last writing traced by his pen was a letter describing that meeting, and announcing its result.

We remarked, that at the time of the union, the Presbyterians were much more numerous than the Independents, but gradually lost their superiority. Bogue and Bennett inform us, that there are no means of precisely knowing the number of each denomination at this period, but at the commencement of the reign of George I. they estimate the Presbyterians to have constituted two-thirds of the whole dissenting body. One means of making an estimate it seems, was this: In the meetings for their common business, held by a joint committee of Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, it was agreed that for one Independent and one Baptist, there should always be two Presbyterians. By what inducement then, we repeat, could the Presbyterians have been led to enter into an arrangement by which, for the common good, they yielded every thing, while to them nothing was conceded? The chief inducement was that by which more than a century afterwards, the Presbyterian church in these United States formed a union as unequal as this with their congregational brethren of New England; a sincere desire to promote the interests of religion. But English Presbyterians had one apology which cannot be pleaded for our fathers.

Let it be remembered that the Presbyterian discipline was never truly and fully operative in England. It was by stealth that Presbyteries and Sessions met during the reigns of Elizabeth and the two first Stuart kings. The Westminster Assembly did, indeed, spread before the world a noble platform of polity as well as faith. But this body was not an Ecclesiastical Synod invested with powers to adjudicate, or to establish a government, or even to send down recommendations to the church. It was but an advisory council which had been convoked, and even its members designated by the Parliament to aid that body with its *advice*, in religious matters. After its doings had been reported, every part of its system was adopted in Scotland, both by the Parliament and the General Assembly. But in England, the plan of government drawn up by the Assembly, was never fully adopted. As reported by the Assembly, it provides for the government of the church, by parochial, classical and provincial Assemblies, (answering to our Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods.) and authorized the meeting of national and œcumenical Assemblies, upon proper occasions. When the other parts of the Westminster Platform were adopted by the Parliament, a decision on the plan of government was postponed. The postponement was occasioned by a difference of opinion between the Assembly and the Parliament. The Assembly held that the church in the

exercise of her own proper functions both of teaching and ruling, was of right, independent of the civil magistrate, so that over her judgments in such cases, he has no proper control. This great principle, involving the headship of Christ in his church, has ever been dear to true Presbyterians, and is now more dear to them than ever, since to maintain it, seven or eight hundred ministers, licentiates and students of theology, have recently sacrificed all the advantages of the establishment in Scotland. But though, on this point, we deem the Westminster Assembly to have been clearly in the right, we cannot express the same opinion as to their other ground of difference with the Parliament. The Assembly desired not only to establish Presbytery, but to do so without tolerating other systems. To this sentiment, (wrong in itself, and now rejected by all Presbyterians, yet held at that time by almost all denominations,) the Parliament would not assent. They postponed acting on the form of government for some time, and when at last they passed an ordinance providing for the establishment of church judicatories on the Presbyterian basis, they provided therein that an appeal should lie, in cases of disciplinary process, from the judgments of the classical assembly, (the Presbytery) to commissioners to be appointed in every county and to Parliament itself in the last resort. We presume that it was chiefly owing to this clause in the ordinance, though in some degree also to the increasing power of Cromwell, the army and the Independents, that the Presbyterian system was never fully carried out in England. Provincial Assemblies, (Synods,) met for several years in London and Lancashire, but no where else. Yet the proper business of such courts seems never to have been fully performed, either by these or the lower judicatories—and the National Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of England was never convoked. Ordination was conferred by various bodies of ministers designated by Parliament, for that object, from time to time.

If the Presbyterian government could not gain a full establishment under the long parliament, much less could it do so when the power of Cromwell and the army was paramount, and least of all after the unconditional restoration of the perjured Charles. From the restoration till the glorious revolution of 1688, no Presbytery could meet, and bodies of Presbyterian ministers would assemble in secret conclave to ordain the few devoted men, who, in these circumstances of peril, were willing for the sake of conscience, of truth, and of the blessed Saviour to associate themselves with that hated and down-trodden band, rather than with the rich and powerful sect, by law established. An interesting illustration of this state of things is afforded in the case of Matthew Henry, as recorded in the biography prefixed to his commentary.

As the Presbyterian polity was never fully acted on in England, the Presbyterian population there had never enjoyed the full advantages of the Presbyterian system, and had never learned duly to appreciate them. During the entire reign of the second Charles, and the second James, the Presbyterian congregations, by the inevitable effect of the persecution reigning around them, were practically Independents. They were bound to their Independent brethren, by a common faith, by a common opposition to Popery, Prelacy and arbi-

trary power, and by common sufferings under the hand of common oppressors. The necessity of union for their common defence, was plain, palpable and deeply felt. It is therefore the less surprising, that when the act of toleration had given them the opportunity of carrying out into full practice, a system that for thirty years had existed on paper only, they should have been induced to waive that inestimable privilege for the sake of the additional security to be derived from their close union with their Independent fellow sufferers.

Another reason why the Presbyterians were at that time willing to give up the peculiarities of their system, may be found in the fact, that they seem to have supposed that Presbyterian government, from its very nature, could not be maintained except as the established religion of a country. When disappointed in the hope of seeing their ecclesiastical government extending its authority over the population of the kingdom, they appear to have been scarcely aware that this authority might be sustained over themselves exclusively, and that it would confer on those who should voluntarily submit to it the advantages of unity of counsels and unity of action as fully as though the whole nation were Presbyterians.

From this period, the English Presbyterian Church rapidly declined. Having yielded their polity, in the course of a single generation, they had in a most wonderful degree, abandoned their doctrines.

The truths set forth in the Westminster Standards had been exchanged by many for Arminianism, and the downward course of the English Presbyterians, after they had paused for a little season at the half-way house of Arianism, terminated in that lowest depth of nominal Christianity—SOCINIANISM! In all these changes, the degenerate successors of the men of the Solemn League and Covenant have retained the name of Presbyterian, for the unworthy purpose of still enjoying endowments which had been made for the propagation of principles directly opposed to theirs.

At the time when the case of Lady Hewley's charity was decided—some eight or ten years ago—they organised themselves into a General Assembly, Synods and Presbyteries, in order, no doubt, to give to the civil courts a new evidence of their Presbyterianism, but since it has been ascertained that the truths formerly held by Presbyterians, and the spirit which formerly characterised them, are more convincing evidences of their identity, than the mere name and ecclesiastical shape, we have heard nothing more, in this country at least, of these Socinian, Presbyterian Judicatories.

In less than thirty years after the adoption of the articles of union, Arianism, lurking in the church, concealing her name, and disguising her principles, was dragged into the light. It had been previously manifested in the established church, in the writings first of the celebrated Whiston, and soon afterwards in those of the more celebrated Samuel Clarke. After some time, it shewed itself among the Dissenters, and was found chiefly to prevail among the Presbyterians, and particular (or Arminian) Baptists. Among the former, it was first brought to public view in the city of Exeter. Soon it was found to have spread itself extensively in the Presbyterian churches through all England, except the northern counties. In London, in-

deed, it prevailed less than in the country. Of forty-four Presbyterian ministers in that city, in 1730, nineteen are said to have been Calvinists, thirteen Arminians, and twelve Baxterians. Yet among these was the learned Lardner, who since an Arian, died a Socinian. Doubtless many of the thirteen Arminians and twelve Baxterian Presbyterians of the metropolis, were heretics of the one or the other of these creeds. As Arianism at first, and Socinianism afterwards, spread in the Presbyterian church, the "people of God" came out of her. Whole orthodox congregations, when they became vacant, would choose an Independent minister, and would afterwards arrange themselves with that body. Sound portions of Arian churches would secede and form new congregations of the Independent order. In like manner Independents who adopted Arian principles would become Presbyterians.

The general cause of this decline may be found in the great religious declension which pervaded the visible church, of every denomination in England, throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. In some cases this manifested itself in utter disregard and neglect of religion. In some instances, in a cold, formal orthodoxy, in others, in heresies of various hues and shapes, in others again, in bold infidelity. What was the special offence which had grieved the Spirit so fearfully to depart, or whether its name was legion, we have not the means of judging. One sin, common to every branch of the church, was the want of a true missionary spirit. The history of the Church of Christ proves that the lack of this always leads to declension in piety, and generally to terror in doctrine, while the *antiseptic* influence of the missionary spirit has often removed an incipient tendency to corruption in doctrine, or arrested, for a season at least, the progress of mournful declension. Another cause applicable to the dissenters only, was this. Such was the opposition which all classes of dissenters, the orthodox as well as heretics, met with from the established church, that this community of interest drew them more closely together, than was desirable for the interests of true religion. There was among them an excessive and unchristian ultra-charity. The perversion of a single term, Bogue and Bennett represent as having had much influence, especially among the Presbyterians. That term was *candour*—used to denote a liberal, tolerant spirit. Orthodox ministers would preach for years, with Unitarians as their colleagues; Trinitarians, Arians, and Socinians, would exchange pulpits, and accept and give each other ministerial aid. Was it strange under such circumstances, that those doctrines which the carnal mind loves best should continue to gain ground? The controversy which grew out of the publication of Dr. Crisp's works, begat a strong and just hatred of Antinomianism. But this in its excess produced a rejection, or at least, a disparagement of those blessed doctrines of grace which distinguish the Gospel from every other system of religion, but which, carried to extremes, or separated from other qualifying truths seem to be Antinomian.

A pride of intellectual freedom, made many dissenters seek to distinguish themselves by new doctrines, better accommodated to human reason than the doctrines which their fathers taught.

Intimately connected with this was the hatred which most of the

dissenters cherished against creeds and confessions of faith, as impairing their Christian liberty, and giving to human compositions the honor due to God's word alone.

Of the same general character and tendency was the disposition to look chiefly to the talents, learning, and apparent personal sobriety and decency of ministers, and to inquire very little about their orthodoxy of sentiments, when a pastor or professor was sought for.

These causes of declension are said to have prevailed among the Presbyterians, much more than among the Independents. Why it was so, we know not.

And it is to be remembered, that English Presbyterians were first Congregationalists, and *then* Arians. Among other causes leading that branch of the Congregational church, rather than the other, to embrace Arianism, were these. By the articles of union, all the fences which Presbyterianism erects around the church were broken down. There was no subjection of ministers and churches to Presbyteries and Synods, whose duty and whose right it would be to inspect, and if need be, to subject them to wholesome discipline. Again, the Presbyterian standards had fallen greatly into disuse. They were too straight-laced for an age so enlightened and so liberal. Ministers and Elders were not required to adopt them at ordination.

Once more: The children of professing parents were admitted to the Lord's Supper and all the privileges of the church, if they were of sober life, and acquainted with the principles of religion, though no work had ever been wrought on their hearts. This of course filled the church with impenitent persons, ready to seize on any specious form of heresy which might solace their souls with a false hope of acceptance with God. There could have been no more suitable preparation of the people's hearts for Arianism.

Lastly, Bogue and Bennett (to whom we are indebted for most of the facts occurring at this period of the history,) inform us that for admission into the seminaries of the Presbyterians, designed to train young men for the ministry, evangelical piety was not deemed necessary; and they intimate that these unconverted young men found no difficulty in afterwards entering the ministry. Blind leaders of the blind in truth! "Decency of conduct, freedom from vice, and some appearance of seriousness," were all the requisites for admission into the Presbyterian seminaries.

To the Presbyterian Church pertained various rich endowments, made in her palmy days by her pious sons and daughters. Now, when the watchful eye of church judicatories was no longer resting upon faithless ministers, when Presbyterian forms were abandoned, when to demand a recognition of the confession of faith would have been considered an inroad on Christian liberty, and when *candour* required that Arminianism should be tolerated among Presbyterian ministers, and that no close scrutiny should be made of the doctrinal views of those ministers, even on other topics; when doctrinal preaching was abandoned for the delivery of practical discourses, not based upon the great truths of the Gospel, but upon insulated precepts of the Bible, and sometimes on the general reasonings of heathen moralists; it is not strange that these endowments, as well as

the contributions of their hearers, should induce many moral, sober men, but men who were entire strangers to vital godliness, to enter the Presbyterian ministry.—These, remaining unconverted, would be ready at once to adopt Arian views.

The Independents, in many respects, occupied a far higher ground. They pretended to no such *candour* as the Presbyterians boasted of. Of course, in their practice they manifested no such miscalled liberality, or if at all, at least in a much smaller measure. Their pecuniary endowments were much more inconsiderable. Confining the election of pastors and other church officers to the members of the church in full communion, and receiving none as members, except after examination on their experimental piety, they preserved a godly ministry. This they were enabled the more easily to effect, after adopting a regulation in their seminaries, by which none were received into those institutions, except “such as gave satisfactory and creditable evidence that they were born of the Spirit, and that Christ was formed in their hearts the hope of glory.” Among them, it is said, that the rage for free inquiry was happily unknown; and Christian communion was not held “with such as they suspected to have erred from the faith.” As the patriot in time of war, rejoices to see his own house in flames when it has been made a fortress for the common enemy, so the true-hearted Presbyterian rejoices to perceive that this apostate church declined in numbers and in influence, as it departed from the scriptural doctrines on which it was originally based. We have seen, that at the commencement of the reign of George I. they constituted at least two-thirds of the whole dissenting body. In 1808, the Presbyterians were supposed to constitute not more than one-twentieth of the whole number of dissenters. From these too must be deducted the congregations in the four northern counties, and most of those in London, which are attached to the Scotch Church, and have not fallen into Unitarianism. These amount to about one-seventh of the whole number of nominal Presbyterians, and to them must still be added twenty Scotch seceding congregations. This statement will show the English Presbyterians, properly so called, to have dwindled into insignificancy.

If it were permitted to us to scrutinize the future, as we have endeavoured to develop the past, we cannot but believe, that there would be imposed upon us a far more pleasing task than that which we have imperfectly performed. The signs of the times seem to promise a brighter day for English Presbyterianism, than it was permitted to see, even in the days of the long parliament. The Presbyterian Church throughout the world appears to be rising in spirituality, as well as in the missionary spirit, and in the number of her sons. The establishment of the free Church of Scotland has roused the spirit of the reformation in every true Presbyterian bosom, as the sound of the trumpet recalls to the heart of the ancient war-horse, the martial ardor of years gone by. The noble effort of the Synod of Ulster to purge itself from Arianism, has raised the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, to an eminence higher than any on which it has stood for a century. Our own church has never been so fully marshalled for the wars of the Lord. Those who have gone out from us, we trust will gradually throw

aside every weight, and ultimately manifest themselves worthy followers of Calvin, and Knox, and Witherspoon. If we do not deceive ourselves, we already see some symptoms of this coming regeneration. The other Presbyterian Churches in our own land, are daily becoming purer and more efficient. In France and in Germany, in Holland and in Switzerland, the principles and the spirit of the reformation again manifest themselves in the reformed churches. And will England alone have no reformed church, in the full sense of the term, to offer to Him who alone is the church's true head? We cannot, we will not believe it. Look at the increase and improvement of the Scotch Presbyterian Churches in England. Look at the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales; Presbyterians in every thing but name. Look at the deep sensation produced by recent occurrences in Scotland, among all the dissenters in the sister kingdom. See the line drawn each day more and more distinctly, between doctrinal popery and the principles of the reformation, until soon it shall no longer be a line, but a gulf, like that between the rich man and Lazarus, wide, deep, and impassible. Oh! who can doubt but that in England, in merry England of past centuries, the mighty England of she present day, there will soon be a free Presbyterian Church, enrolling among her members, ministers like Baxter, and Bates, and Flavel, and laymen like Fairfax and Hampden? Do not the signs of the times indicate that the great battle between truth and error will be fought, mainly by Papists on the one side, and by Presbyterians on the other? If this be so, may we not look for a vast development of the energies of Presbyterianism in every Christian land, and for a vast increase of the Presbyterian host, from the ranks of those Christians of many names, who indeed love the Saviour in sincerity, but whose systems of order and of doctrine are less apostolic, than those with which the Head of the Church has endowed the communion of which we are members,—alas! too sluggish, too cold, and too ungrateful members!*

CALAMY.

WHAT ORDINARY POWER EXISTS TO CHANGE THE FAITH AND FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH? THE QUESTION CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO THE DOCTRINE OF INCEST.

[When the trial of *Mr. McQueen*, for incest was urged before the Assembly of 1842, it was our opinion that there was nothing in the case to take it out of the ordinary rule; and that as that gentleman had failed to prosecute his appeal, it ought to have been considered as fallen from—and the decision below stand as in case of default; or if the case were to be considered as really to be tried, then it ought to have been sent back to the Synod, which had been passed by without any sufficient reason; and as Chairman of the judicial committee of the Assembly—we urged first the one, and then the other of these points upon the attention of

* Those who preserve the numbers of the Magazine, will please correct two or three errors which occur in the Notes, as published in the October number:—Page 527, 2d paragraph, for “they shewed,” read “they shew.” Page 527, 2d paragraph, for “manes,” read “waves.” Page 528, 1st paragraph, for “of bishops,” read “with bishops.” Page 531, 2d paragraph, for “Baxter had,” read “Baxter was.”—C.

that body, without success. It is not often that good comes from a departure from settled law; and it is yet to be seen what good will come from it in this instance.

When the Assembly resolved to try the case, we were of opinion that it was best to allow the argument to proceed upon the widest ground; so that if we must have the matter agitated, the church might have the benefit of showing the scripturalness of her doctrine, and the opportunity of expressing her firm adherence to her explicit faith. In this view, the opinion which we delivered in the case, and which has been published, was made up and stated upon the Scriptural, and not the constitutional view of the subject. Indeed, as it regarded the latter view, there could hardly be two opinions. The result was most decided, and, as it seems to us, ought, all things considered, to have been final.

Those who are opposed to the doctrine of our standards on this important subject—both in and out of the church—have manifested no disposition to let the matter rest; but seem resolved to bring about a change in those standards and that doctrine: and there is some appearance of their having made an impression in certain high quarters from whence—in these latter days—the true light is expected to shine forth. It seemed to us therefore that it was time to put forth another view of this whole subject, and to enquire how far there exists any *ordinary power*, to alter the great doctrines and principles of the Presbyterian church; a point not heretofore much attended to, but certainly one of the very highest importance. We therefore drew up the minute which follows, and submitted it to the Synod of Philadelphia, at its late meeting. It was referred to the committee of Bills and Overtures, who reported (as we remember) that it ought not to pass, which recommendation, the Synod disregarded so far as to refer the subject to the next Synod, and order the minute to be published for general information and consideration. This has not been done as yet—though above a month has elapsed, and most of the other important subjects brought before that Synod, have found their way into the newspapers. We therefore print it from the original draft remaining in our hands, and which we believe exactly corresponds with the minute directed to be published.

It is to be observed that that there is an immense difference between a disagreement as to the true sense of our standards, and one as to the truth of those standards in the admitted and indeed indisputable sense: between an enquiry into the proper construction of those standards, and an attempt to mutilate them by fundamental changes. The former is illustrated in the regular action of all judicial and even all legislative proceedings where there is a written constitution, and is inseparable from the administration of government and discipline; the latter corresponds with attempts to make changes in the federal and state constitutions. The important question is, does any ordinary power exist to change our faith and our church principles in any point held to be Divinely revealed? If this question be answered negatively, it puts an end to the present agitation about incest, and establishes a practical truth of the very highest importance and force. If it be answered affirmatively, it draws after it consequences of the most serious, and, as we believe alarming character; and subjects the entire faith and principles of the church to the control of the actual majority of the Presbyteries for the time being, in such a form that a very insignificant minority of the ministers of the church might, under recent decisions of the Assembly, and without the concurrence of a solitary church in the whole connexion, utterly subvert every distinctive feature of our standards. Even supposing that there is no danger, at present, of any such evils, yet what can be said in defence of a system whose action regularly followed out, may bring about such result? The truth is, that Presbyterianism in the Bible and in our standards, and Presbyterianism in the Seminaries, the Boards, the Periodicals, the mouths of our great men, and, too often, the decisions of our church courts—are often so distantly related—that their union would violate no rule of the law of incest ever contended for by the most rigid interpreter.]

WHEREAS, attempts are now making to change the doctrine of the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian church in the United States on the subject of Incest, and two Synods, on their own motion,

have expressed opinions favourable to the proposed alteration, and others may adopt a similar course; it is proper, if not necessary on the part of this Synod to express its unalterable adherence to the doctrine of our standards in this particular, and its firm purpose to resist, with its whole influence, all attempts to change it. And in giving expression to this general and fixed determination, it seems proper to use the occasion, not only to utter our deliberate belief that the doctrine of our standards in this particular is in full accordance with the revealed will of God, and its strict observance a most important safe-guard to the purity of society; and still further, that the proposed change, even if it could be lawfully effected, would have no other tendency than to degrade the church in its outward character, and convulse it in its interior condition; but also, and in order to put an end, if possible, to such agitations, to protest against the existence of any ordinary power, or mode, by which the faith of the church, or its great and fundamental principles can be changed. Our explicit faith is, that the whole church of God combined, has no power to make any articles of faith, or to unmake any; but that it can only declare and profess that faith revealed from heaven. What that is, according to the belief of this church, is set forth in its Confession. And not only is no ordinary provision made for changing this faith, but the very notion of making such a provision is absurd, since the faith itself is propounded as being, not of man, but of God, and therefore unchangeable. Nor does this lay any pretext for human infallibility; since that which the church of Christ has held for above eighteen centuries as divine truth, may surely be held by us as divine truth still, without the fact of our disallowing any ordinary contrivance for its future change, as mere human opinions, subjecting us to the charge of believing our Confession to be inspired. Nor is there any hardship in this; since they who do not hold our faith were never under any constraint to profess it; and such as change their faith, have surely no right to change the Confession of those who have not changed their faith; and manifestly the hardship of driving men who have not changed their faith to the alternative of giving up their church or changing their Confession, is infinitely greater than that which men bring upon themselves to change their church when they have changed their faith. Nor does the power vested in the General Assembly and the majority of the Presbyteries to establish constitutional rules, from time to time, (*Form of Govt. ch. XII. sec. 8.*) touch this question at all. For the Confession of Faith declares that "the whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, *faith, and life*, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence, may be deduced from Scripture, unto which nothing at any time is to be added;" and that the things "which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word," are only "*some circumstances concerning the worship of God, and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies.*" (*Confession Faith, ch. I. sec. 6.*) In regard to these comparatively unimportant matters, concerning which God has not been pleased to reveal his will plainly and fully, the General Assembly may, in a faithful observance of the "*general*

rules of the Word," adopt two courses: it may pass acts, from time to time, which it may, in its sound discretion, also change; or it may send down Overtures, which, when they are approved in writing by a majority of all the Presbyteries, may "*be established as constitutional rules*"—which cannot afterwards be changed, except in the like manner. But that, under such provisions as these, a power should be claimed to alter at will the faith of the church, is not only absurd in itself—but would make the majority of the church, instead of God's unchangeable truth, the basis of the faith of God's people, which would be impious. Or to say the least, it would substitute the varying, and capricious decisions of actual majorities, in the place of a written rule which can neither be seduced, corrupted, nor deceived—as the agreed sense of the unchangeable will of God; and thus lay a foundation for perpetual changes in the faith of the church, or else perpetual schisms in its body. This Synod, therefore, holding the faith of the church to be true, to be based on God's Word, to be the same held by the elect in all ages since the days of the Apostles, and to be in its very nature unchangeable—protests against all attempts to change it,—and especially against the efforts now making to change so much of it as relates to the subject of Incest; and hereby solemnly binds itself to resist, to the uttermost, and in every form—all such endeavours.

The stated clerk of this Synod is hereby directed to cause an attested copy of this minute to be laid before the next General Assembly, as our respectful remonstrance in the premises; and as an Overture to that body, praying it to assert openly the unalterableness of the faith and fundamental principles of the church, by any ordinary or constitutional proceeding.

CLOSE OF THE WORK.—FAREWELL ADDRESS.

THE present number of this periodical, completes the ninth year of my labours as an editor—and in all probability, closes, finally, my connection with the periodical press. In the month of January, 1835, I issued the first number of the *Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine*, in connection with MR. ANDREW BOYD CROSS, as joint proprietors and editors of that monthly. That work was continued during seven years; for the first year and a half, Mr. Cross and myself were jointly engaged in conducting it; for the next year, that is from June 1836, to June 1837, Mr. Cross conducted it alone, I being in Europe, and contributing chiefly such articles only as bore my name; and for the remaining four and a half years, to the end of 1841, when the name of that periodical was changed, I was in the principal, and for the most of the time, the sole charge of the work. The present publication—which now completes its second year, is but a continuation of the former one, under a new name, and under my sole care. I have written more than half the matter printed in the nine 8vo. vols. which constitute the two works: the balance, besides the important and valuable contributions of Mr. Cross, was written by a large number of persons, amongst whom are

some of the ablest men of this age, whose contributions were, no doubt, the chief cause of whatever hold the two works have had upon the public mind during so many years.

The subscription list has varied, from nothing—at which it started on the issue of the first number, to a thousand, which is the highest point it reached; the average issue being about eight hundred—which, with the numerous extras, gives a total issue during the nine years, of considerably over a hundred thousand pamphlets, containing from four to five millions of pages. The circulation has penetrated into every section of the United States, and into many foreign countries, and has reached almost every class of readers. This has been accomplished, without paid agencies, or any personal effort to obtain subscribers. The patronage was won by the work itself.

The *actual* pecuniary result is a loss equal to about the amount of one year's expenditure out of the nine; although the *apparent* result is an inconsiderable gain, which is represented by small debts scattered over the whole nation, the mass of which, those who owe them have, apparently, no idea of paying, nor I of getting. This result was not unexpected, nor is it otherwise unpleasant than as it exhibits the misfortunes, the carelessness, or the want of honesty on the part of my fellow beings. It is not without satisfaction I contemplate this proof that I have served my generation long and earnestly, without the possibility of its saying it paid me for it.

If I could see that it was my duty to continue this publication, there is nothing in its business department, nothing in the feelings of the public towards it, nothing in the facilities of conducting it, that would present any obstacle half so great as I have repeatedly surmounted. As far as I am capable of judging, the facts are the other way. The work is discontinued against the remonstrances of its firmest supporters—in the midst of a patronage about equal in all respects to the average of the nine years—and with a list of contributors as able and numerous as it ever had. It is not killed; it does not die; it is not driven from the field. But on a calm survey of what is around me and before me, it does not appear to me to be my duty, any longer, to make the sacrifices and endure the toil required by my position, and I therefore voluntarily retire from it.

Of all literary efforts, those connected with the periodical press, are the most fruitless and evanescent. Of all kinds of influence, that exerted by it, is the most doubtful and precarious. Of all cares, those imposed by its superintendence are the most wasting and ceaseless. Of all responsibilities it inflicts that which is the most comprehensive and embarrassing. There are few men who have conducted a periodical, that would willingly resume such an employment, or even think of continuing it beyond the limits of the plainest necessity. This general repugnance, is immeasurably increased, in my regard, by the controversial character which the work with which I have been so long connected, has been obliged to assume. I shall not, perhaps, be considered sincere by all who will read these lines, when I solemnly declare that by nature and by principle, I am utterly averse to the painful and wasting excitement of controversy; but God is my witness that I have at no time em-

barked in any controversy, personal or public, which it appeared to me I could avoid and preserve my honour and my conscience; and that the pain I have suffered from this source alone is infinitely beyond any possible compensation, which any thing but a sense of having done my duty, and tried to serve my master, could bestow upon me. I now find myself in a position, which does not imperatively require the continuance, on my part, of this state of things; for many of those subjects which have required this kind of defence or attack, are either in a new position, or are taken up in all parts of the country by many able hands. Moreover, new controversies are springing up, in some of which I have no heart to embark; and others, if I should continue this periodical, I must wage with individuals and with classes of persons, with whom I have no heart to combat. It is also true that men who reach my time of life, and have imposed upon them the painful necessity of comprehending all the worthlessness and insignificance of their immediate generation—acquire a greater love for truth in itself considered, as they gradually lose their fervid hope of seeing it triumph around them; and so, while they do not despair of humanity, they pitch their expectations more and more remotely, and begin to live less and less for present results. It is a mercy, not a ground of sorrow, when we learn such lessons before our powers are destroyed in efforts whose fate it must be to perish with those for whom they were put forth and those against whom they were directed, both of whom are, too often, unworthy of them. And above all, my vocation is to preach the gospel of the ever blessed God; and while I was, and still am, willing to risk every thing else—I cannot, I dare not, risk, by toils which are beyond my failing health and increasing years, the insupportable calamity of living, and not preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ.

In the course of my editorial career, I have been obliged to discuss a multitude of great subjects affecting the interests of the human race, and the glory and advancement of the Redeemer's cause. That I may not have often erred, I dare not say. But I can affirm that I have sought to know nothing but truth, to promote nothing but righteousness, to please none but God. What harm I may have done, I deeply lament and would gladly atone. What good, I lay humbly and gratefully at the Saviour's feet. For the rectitude of my intentions I appeal to God: for the truth of my opinions, to posterity.

If it were left to me, I would close these labours, with an act of general amnesty. With me, it is a very small thing to be judged of man's judgment; and there are few, I would hope, whose malevolence is proof against the deadening power of time and forgiveness. However that may be, it is my part to be just alike to my own feelings and principles, and to the character of others. Those who have wronged me—I heartily forgive; those whom I may have injured or wounded, I pray to forgive me.

There is but one duty left, and that is the hardest of all. How many noble and true-hearted men—how many clear and upright spirits—how many faithful and confiding friends—how many great and cultivated minds—how many brave and generous hearts—how many pure and ardent Christians—have I not been brought to know, or been enabled to appreciate more truly, by reason of my relations

to the press? Amidst much, alas! how much, that tempted me to detest and contemn my race—how much also have I discovered to make me reverence, trust, and love, those bright and glorious samples of humanity, which God, in mercy, scatters here and there amidst a world cursed and polluted by sin? Venerated men—beloved brethren—honoured fellow labourers—dear, thrice dear fellow worshippers at the shrine of heaven-descended truth—farewell. No more will my weaknesses claim your indulgence; no more will my poor labours win your smiles, by the objects to which they were directed more than by aught of worth in them. Farewell—great, good, noble friends. Eyes that seldom weep, are dim with tears as I trace these words; and a heart that only turns to adamant under efforts to deter it, melts with almost unmanly tenderness, at every recollection of so much goodness from those who might so justly and so often, above all others, have censured me. May that God who has blessed the world by giving such men to it, stand by you every moment of your pilgrimage through it, and bring you, in his good time, to crowns and thrones amidst that redeemed, victorious host, which will abide in his presence forevermore, and where, by a miracle of grace, I hope to join the blessed company.

Ascribing to the unmerited goodness of God all the favour that has been bestowed upon me during these long years of toil, I now close, as I suppose for life, my connexion with the periodical press.

ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE.

Baltimore, November 28, 1843.

☞ *Notice to Correspondents and Subscribers.*—The articles remaining on hand unpublished, will be carefully preserved, subject to the order of their respective authors. We were in hopes we should have been enabled to print them all in an extra number of this work—which we would willingly have done, if we could have obtained from our subscribers in arrear, the means of doing so. But having already added the amount of two extra numbers to this *volume*, and having made arrangements for adding, in the form of a *supplement*, matter equal—as we suppose it will be—to about two-thirds of a third number,—thus adding, without charge, about one-fourth more matter for the year, than our terms require; we hardly felt it to be proper to go farther, under the circumstances. Those indebted to us upon subscription will be allowed to pay at the rate of \$2 50 per year, until the end of this year; after which the accounts both of this and the former work, will be put into the hands of *D. Owen & Son*, Booksellers, Baltimore,—who will make them out uniformly, at the rate of \$3 per year—and send them by mail to all who are behind hand at that time.



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
walt,cls v.2

Spirit of the XIX. century.



3 1951 002 802 757 A