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ERRATA.

Page 420, 6th line from bottom, for "conscience" read "consciousness."

" 426, 17th line, for "consciousness" read "conscience."

" 426, 9th line from bottom, for "sight" read "right."

THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

VOL. XVIII.—NO. 1.

JULY, MDCCCLXVII.

ARTICLE I.

OUR ECCLESIASTICAL RELATIONS TO FREEDMEN.

The history of the following document is this: The General Assembly which sat at Macon, in 1865, appointed a Committee to take into consideration the relations of our Church to the Freedmen, and to report to the next Assembly. Upon corresponding with the Committee, the chairman discovered that it would be impossible to secure a meeting. He then wrote to each of the members, discussing the question in all its aspects as they occurred to his own mind, intimating his own opinions, and inviting from the Committee an expression of their views. Upon the reception of their replies, he found so great a diversity of opinion existing between the members of the Committee as to make it impracticable to frame a report which would embody the views of the majority. Ascertaining that some of the Committee would be present at the Assembly at Memphis, and being hindered from going himself, he drew up the paper which is subjoined, and sent it to those brethren in the hope that they might adopt it, for substance at least, as their report, and present it to the Assembly. This they did not do; but having kindly informed the Assembly that this paper was in their hands, it pleased that body to permit it to be read, and subsequently to order that it be offered to the Editors of this REVIEW for publication.

The Committee to whom was referred the subject of our relations and duties, as a Church, to the Freed People in their present altered condition, beg leave to present the following report:

They confess that they have been greatly embarrassed by the extreme difficulty of the questions which have encountered them,

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and which, in the opinion of some, are incapable of solution under existing circumstances. They trust that they will be justified by the importance of the subject in laying before the Assembly the whole case as it occurred to their minds, and in exhibiting and comparing the different supposable schemes in accordance with which our policy towards the freed people may be framed. They hope that, by pursuing this course, they will, if they accomplish nothing more positive, at least open the way for an intelligent and thorough-going discussion of the whole matter. There are several great considerations which, at the outset, deserve our attention.

1. In the first place, we have always acknowledged, and now hold the scriptural doctrine of the specific unity of the human race. We believe that all mankind sprang from one original pair, are involved in the consequences of Adam's fall, and depend for their recovery solely upon the mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ. God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." "As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." As, therefore, the sons of Ham share with us the ruin of a common fall, they are interested alike with us in the glorious hopes of a common redemption. As sinners, equally dependent upon the grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men, we and they have the same gospel, the same Saviour, the same Spirit, the same Church on earth, and the hope of attaining through mercy the same heavenly home.

2. In the second place, we have always fully recognised, and we fully recognise now, the unity and brotherhood of all believers in Christ Jesus—a unity and brotherhood which is not affected by distinctions of race, nationality, sex, culture, or civil status. It is not affected by differences of race or nationality, for the apostle Paul distinctly asserts that in the new man "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision." It is not impaired by difference of sex, for in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female. It is not destroyed by difference of culture, for in Christ there is neither wise nor unwise. It is not

subverted by difference of civil status, for in Christ there is neither bond nor free. At the same time, we hold this unity of believers to be spiritual. It is one which exists in Christ Jesus, and is predicated of men only as they are characterised by a common relation to him within the spiritual sphere of his Church. All believers, as such, constitute one body, the members of which are indeed distinguished by a diversity of spiritual gifts, but which as a whole is united to Christ as its Head, and derives from his Spirit, as its informing life, a unity which is organic. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." As, therefore, the unity of believers is spiritual, it does not conflict with the civil differences, as such, which exist between men, and which are the result of providential ordination. It is a unity which may coëxist with political, civil, and social distinctions. There is no necessary inference, in the present condition of things in this world, of a political, civil, or social equality from the spiritual oneness of believers in Christ. We are justified, however, in endeavoring to realise an outward expression of this unity of believers so far as we can do so without doing unwarrantable violence to those distinctions in human society in the midst of which the Church finds herself to be placed.

3. In the third place, our Church is confronted by an order of things, which, so far as civil relations are concerned, is, in some important respects, entirely new; and which may be regarded as the result of providential appointment. That portion of the population in our bounds, which formerly existed in the condition of slavery, have, by governmental act, been emancipated from that condition. Their civil status is changed. Whether their political status will also be essentially altered, is still a question *sub lite*, the decision of which the future alone can develop. We have now to deal with these people as civilly free. It therefore deserves to be considered by us whether we ought not to adopt such measures as will, at least to some extent, conform our relations to them to the existing order of things. The eccle-

siastical disabilities which attached to them, growing out of the state of slavery, are no longer in existence. Whatever may be our opinions in regard to their moral preparation for the great change which they have experienced, it must be admitted that, technically speaking, their minority in the Church has been removed. The question is therefore a serious one, whether they are not entitled to greater privileges and powers than they previously had a right to expect; and we are met by the fact, which we ought not to ignore, that they are now, either of their own motion, or under the promptings of others, actually demanding them.

4. In the fourth place, we are encountered by *social* differences which we are obliged to take into consideration. The question is not whether these differences ought to continue or not. They exist, and will probably continue to exist; and the question is, What, in view of them as an existing fact, is the course which, as a Church acting wisely and prudently, we ought to pursue? They constitute difficulties, which, for some time at least, must continue to meet us. They naturally spring from the indestructible distinction of color, and are enhanced by the memory of relations but recently destroyed, and destroyed in opposition to the views and desires of the white people of the South. The force of this difficulty does not lie in the fact that our people are in any degree indisposed to worship together with the colored people. That they have always done. They have been accustomed to sit with them in the same buildings, and at the same communion tables. But in the past there was no tendency either to social equality, or to an equal participation of the blacks with the whites in the government and discipline of the Church. The case is now changed. The elevation of the colored people to *civil* equality with the whites, tends to produce in them a desire for *social* and *ecclesiastical* equality. This the whites will not be willing to concede. A separation of the two classes would seem to be the natural consequence. The freed people will go to themselves in order to attain that independence of white control which, possessed of civilly, they will also desire to have ecclesiastically.

Here, then, we have several great considerations in the light of which our course is to be determined. We have the natural unity of the races; we have the spiritual oneness of believers in Christ; we have the civil equality of the colored people with the whites; and we have difficulties arising from social differences which invincibly oppose the realisation of this spiritual unity and civil equality in an outward and formal ecclesiastical shape. Now, looking with an eye of kindness and Christian love upon the freed people, and sincerely desirous of securing their spiritual welfare by the best means, we are led to inquire, What is the policy which ought to be adopted by us?

The first question, evidently, which requires to be settled is, Whether we shall, without an effort on our part to prevent such a result, permit them to withdraw from us into separate organisations? Or shall we endeavor to retain them in ecclesiastical connexion with us, so that we may exert upon them that direct influence for good which we were enabled to exercise in the past? To the adoption of the latter alternative we are urged by several weighty reasons.

1. These people, though no longer our slaves, and, as such, immediately dependent on us for religious instruction, are among the poor in our communities, and we are only their *neighbors*. when, in accordance with the great principle inculcated by our Saviour, we go to their assistance in their need, and give them, as far as in us lies, the gospel of our salvation. We cannot discharge our consciences of this obligation. If they are willing to receive the gospel at our hands, we cannot refrain from giving it to them to the extent of our ability. Now, as ever, their spiritual necessities appeal irresistibly to us for help, and may the compassionate Redeemer give us grace to answer the call, and hasten to their succor.

2. We have been prepared, by long experience in the work of instructing them, to go forward still in the discharge of the same beneficent office. We shall sacrifice all the results of that experience if we now withdraw ourselves from them, or which is the same thing, permit them to withdraw from us without an effort on our part to hold them in connexion with us. We are of all

men best prepared by our knowledge of their characteristics and wants to give them the gospel efficiently; and duty to the great Master and to their undying souls impels us to consecrate the fruits of our past training to the promotion of their everlasting good.

3. Whatever may be the condition of the freed people in the future, it is clear that they are not now prepared to organise fully for themselves, to furnish or elect their own spiritual teachers, and to constitute themselves into Presbyteries and Synods.

4. Should they establish separate organisations, it is to be feared that they will be exposed to fanatical, licentious, and superstitious influences which will tend to ruin them, and to injure the interests of society in general. It is now a year and a half since they were emancipated, and their religious history during that period, in cases in which they have set up for themselves, only serves to confirm this apprehension. Did the limits of this report admit it, facts could be presented which would go to show that in many instances they have adopted ideas and practices which suggest the fear that they are rapidly lapsing into a condition of baptized heathenism.

5. It deserves to be considered that the ecclesiastical union of the two races, and their joint participation, as hitherto, in the sweet and charitable offices of religion, will operate to the production of harmony and mutual good will; while, on the other hand, their ecclesiastical separation will sever the most tender tie which binds them together, and tend to promote alienation and estrangement, if not to foster antagonism and hostility between them.

These considerations, drawn mainly from a regard to the interests of the freed people themselves, strongly impel us to the endeavor to retain them in connexion with us, and thus to check the progress of those influences which are threatening to corrupt and destroy them. And it is believed that we but interpret the common sentiment of our people when we express the opinion that our Church has still a great work to do for the salvation of the colored race, and that notwithstanding the discouragements

which may meet her, she will at least make a fair and earnest effort to accomplish it.

On the supposition, then, that we are unwilling to witness an ecclesiastical separation of the two races, and are anxious to retain the colored people in connexion with us, the important and difficult question next presents itself: Upon what plan shall we proceed in adjusting our relations and discharging our duties to them? This question is susceptible of three general answers: First, we may concede to them a *full* extension of power; secondly, we may concede to them *no* extension of power; thirdly, we may concede to them a *partial* extension of power. Full power, no power, some power—these are the alternatives between which we must elect.

I. The first general plan which has been mentioned involves the organisation of separate colored churches with full powers, and the right to representation in all the upper courts of our Church. The statement of this plan we regard as its refutation. It would, for reasons which it is not necessary to detail, be, at least for the present, hopelessly impracticable. We are not opposed to the enjoyment by the colored people of all the rights and privileges, the exercise of which would conduce to the glory of God, the good of the Church, and the salvation of their souls. But even were it possible, at present, to have our Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, partly white and partly colored, the people of color are not prepared for the plan under consideration. They have not the men who would be capable of sustaining the weighty responsibilities and discharging the difficult duties of spiritual teachers, or of adequately representing their interests and those of the whole Church on the floor of our higher judicatories. Whatever may be their own tendency to strive after the realisation of such a state of things, we are not ready, with our knowledge of their condition and wants, to yield it our sanction. We are persuaded that it would issue alike in damage to themselves, to the Church, and to society at large. If they are determined to be satisfied with nothing less than the possession of all the rights and powers of perfectly organised churches, all that we can say is, that they will have our best wishes for their

spiritual welfare, but we shall regret their purpose, and shall be constrained to withhold our approval of it, and to suffer them, however reluctantly, to withdraw from us entirely in their attempt to put it into execution. We would still, as ever, be willing to preach to them the gospel of Christ, as opportunity might be presented, but our ecclesiastical relations to them would, by their own agency, be necessarily severed.

II. The second general plan which has been indicated would involve the retention, in an unmodified form, of the system which has always existed. The colored people then would be, as heretofore, either parts of our ordinary pastoral charges under the watch and care of white sessions, or they would constitute simple missionary congregations. This plan is strongly recommended by its simplicity, and by the consideration that it would avoid the risks and dangers which are incident to innovations upon established usages. It deserves to be considered, however, that there are serious difficulties under which it would labor, and which would serve to embarrass its operation. These are mainly two-fold:

1. In the first place, it would take no account of the altered circumstances in which the colored people are now placed. From time immemorial, the Christian Church declined, for obvious reasons, to elevate slaves to office in the house of the Lord. They were regarded as in a condition of perpetual ecclesiastical minority. The colored people, while slaves, were in that condition, and we were justifiable in excluding them from office in the Church. But they have ceased to be slaves, and it is a serious question whether we should endeavor to perpetuate the disabilities which are peculiar to the status of servitude. Their moral and intellectual state may be at present very much what it always has been, and any extension of their powers should be contemplated with that fact in view; but if they are not slaves, their perpetual minority has been removed. It is not clear, therefore, that we would not be doing them injustice by endeavoring to keep them in that condition. It is evident that if they chose to exercise the powers with which they have been invested by their change of circumstances, they could do so. If, for

example, a body of colored Presbyterians should please to organise themselves into a church and elect their own office-bearers, what could hinder them from accomplishing their purpose? May it not be wiser in us to concede them such a limited exercise of power as they may be able to bear, and as may be regulated by the conserving influence of the white man, than, by holding them in complete subordination, to present to them the temptation to break with us, and assert for themselves such power as they are not able to bear, and as may be abused by fanaticism, superstition, and lust?

2. In the second place, it is extremely doubtful whether upon this plan, we can continue to hold them in ecclesiastical relation to us. Their tendency, whenever they are exposed to radical influences, is to a withdrawal from connexion with us, and it is probable that unless we meet that tendency by making to them some concessions involving an extension of their privileges, the masses of them will break with us entirely, and establish their own separate organisations in which they will possess the powers which we refuse to yield them. They will thus not only pass out of ecclesiastical connexion with us, but will be led by their conception of what will appear to them unreasonableness and injustice on our part, to oppose any moral influence in their favor which we would still be prompted by Christian charity to extend. And although it may be possible that some of them would be content to remain with us even though our present system should be unchanged, it is certain that the great majority will be encouraged by representations not wholly emanating from themselves, to sunder a relation by which, it will be urged, their rights are suppressed, and their privileges withheld. Whatever may be our speculative views as to the future of these people, it would seem to be clear that we are called upon to deal with them in the light of existing facts. They have been emancipated; but should the future reduce them to the same condition, substantially if not nominally, in which they formerly were, our measures may hereafter be adapted to the requirements of that condition. What we have to do with is the actual present, not the possible future. If we wish to keep them with us, especially in our cities and towns,

judging from their present disposition, some concessions would appear to be requisite. They will scarcely be satisfied with the old order of things entirely unmodified. Many of them have left us already, and should they become totally separated from us, it is to be feared that our opportunities for doing them good, so far as the masses would be concerned, will forever have departed.

While, however, these considerations have great weight, and claim our earnest attention, it must be admitted that caution and wisdom would be required in making any alterations in the old system, and it may be best to commit the question to the judgment of the Presbyteries who know the situation, character, and exigencies of the congregations under their charge.

III. The third general plan which has been suggested, contemplates a partial and limited extension of the powers and privileges of colored congregations. On the supposition that this plan should be pursued, there are at least three prominent schemes which are conceivable :

1. The first scheme is that of missionary congregations of colored people with the power of electing their own deacons. This scheme would be recommended by the consideration that, on the supposition that an extension of power is afforded to colored congregations, it provides for the most limited exercise of that power. It would "hasten slowly" in the introduction of changes. It would, however, be attended by the following difficulties :

(a.) If these congregations be conceded the power of electing their own deacons, they would not be purely missionary. They would be churches in an imperfect state of organisation. The election of deacons would be a step in the maturing process. It would appear to be a misnomer, therefore, to call them missionary congregations; and yet, if the right to mature be arrested at this point, they would lack the essential feature of Presbyterian churches—the possession of the ruling eldership.

(b.) In the second place, a missionary congregation of slaves could not attain to the perfect organisation of a church. But the case is changed. Constitute a missionary congregation of these people now, and, if they please, they may mature into a

fully organised church. They would then be entitled to representation in the upper courts. The result would be, in that case, that we would ultimately be met by precisely the same difficulties as those which would exist if we should at once organise colored congregations into separate churches with full powers, and the right to colored representation in all the courts of the Church. It strikes us that it would be better, either to treat these congregations as simply missionary, or, if it be deemed expedient to grant them the power of electing deacons, that they should be regarded as branches of existing churches.

2. The second scheme is that of fully organised separate churches, possessing the right of electing their own colored pastors, ruling elders, and deacons, and being under the care of Presbyteries and responsible to them, but without the right of representation in any of the upper courts. This scheme is attended with the advantage of meeting, and perhaps fully meeting, the desires of the colored people themselves, and of checking their tendency to break with us entirely, and form a Presbyterian Church which would be separate from our own. There is no doubt, also, that it tends to promote a kindly relation of the two races to each other, and by removing all cause of discontent from the minds of the colored people, to bind them to the whites by the tie of gratitude and affection. It is encumbered, however, with several difficulties.

(a.) In the first place, it makes no provision at all for the representation of fully organised churches in the courts to which they would be responsible, and by which they would be governed. These churches, therefore, would be destitute even of the representation which missionary congregations enjoy, for they are represented by the missionaries who have charge of them. It would appear that if churches be constituted with full powers, they are entitled to be represented in the higher judicatories.

(b.) In the second place, the colored people have not, at present, the men who are capable of adequately discharging the difficult and responsible functions of ministers of the gospel. There never was a time when they more needed than now, to be taught by wise and judicious men prepared by careful training

for the work of preaching, and fortified against the danger of being infected by radical and fanatical influences. They require in their teachers men who will be able to stand fast against the storm of temptation to which they will surely be subjected. God may please to call men from among them to the ministry, who may in time be qualified for its discharge, but it is improbable that such pastors can now be found among them as their exigencies demand. We should hesitate too, before we depress the requirements for the ministry in order to meet this special case. In lowering to any great extent the standard of ministerial qualification, we would depart from our settled policy in the past, and the ultimate results, in all probability, would evince that the advantages of the change were more apparent than real.

(c.) In the third place, this scheme would cut off the colored people from immediate connexion with white congregations, and deprive them of the salutary and conservative influence of the white race. They would cease to be under the care of white pastors, and the supervision of white sessions. This, we think, is, especially at the present time, to be deprecated. They are passing through a transitional process which is trying, and they need to be steadied by the moderating and supporting influence of their white brethren. It is true that they may reject that influence when proffered them, but what we contend for is, that we should endeavor to keep them under it, for their own sake. Should they persistently refuse it, the responsibility in the case will rest entirely upon themselves.

3. The third scheme, under this general plan, is to treat colored congregations as *branches* of existing white churches, conceding them the power to elect their own deacons, or even their own ruling elders, but retaining them under the care of white pastors. In those cases in which the power to elect their own ruling elders might be granted to a colored congregation, the scheme would involve the following elements:

(a.) The white and the colored congregations to be component parts of the same organisation, the colored congregation being a branch of the white.

(b.) The colored congregation to be served by the white pastor

of the church of which it would be a branch, in those cases—as in many country communities—in which one pastor might meet the demands of both congregations, or in which the services of only one pastor can be secured. In other cases, as in cities, the colored congregation to be served by a white collegiate pastor of the church of which it would be a branch, who would be installed as co-pastor with special relation to the colored congregation.

(c.) The colored congregation to be conceded the power to elect ruling elders from their own number who would have jurisdiction over the colored congregation alone; the unity of the session to be preserved by the appointment on the part of the white elders of one or more of their number as a commission to act with the colored elders in the adjudication of special cases emerging in the government and discipline of the colored congregation; the colored congregation to have, also, the power to elect the pastor or co-pastor, as *their* pastor, upon his nomination by the white elders; and the right to elect the white elders as *their* elders. This would leave the rights of the white congregation entirely unaffected, and at the same time give these colored Presbyterians the power of electing the men by whom they would be taught and governed.

(d.) The representation of the colored congregation in the upper courts to be through the white ruling elders of the church of which it would be a branch.

(e.) In case there should be but one pastor, the colored congregation to have the opportunity of contributing to his support; and in case there should be a co-pastor having special relation to the colored congregation, his support to be furnished by it; the amount so raised, if inadequate, to be supplemented by the contributions of the white congregation with which it would be connected. Assistance, too, might be obtained from benevolent individuals of other congregations, and from missionary sources.

This scheme is recommended by the following considerations:

1. It provides white pastors for colored congregations, a measure which, if practicable, would be of immeasurable benefit to them.

2. It would keep colored congregations to a considerable ex-

tent under the controlling influence of white ruling elders, and of the white congregations which they would represent.

3. It gives colored congregations the right to elect their pastors (a right deemed inestimable by Presbyterians,) but under such checks and guards as would render its abuse almost impossible. This would greatly tend to hold them in connexion with us.

4. The concession to the colored people of the right to elect their own ruling elders would powerfully tend to keep them in connexion with us, by meeting one of their most cherished expectations.

5. At the same time it meets the formidable difficulty of representation by providing that the colored congregations should be represented in the upper courts by white delegates. Supposing that the powers of colored congregations be extended at all, no other scheme can be conceived by which their representation can be secured without encountering insuperable obstacles.

6. It provides for the support of pastors of colored congregations.

7. It would effect no violent disturbance of the old relations between the whites and the blacks, but would preserve a close affinity between the two races in church organisation, and in the solemn and tender offices of religion.

This scheme is attended with two serious difficulties which may be regarded as comprehending the principal objections to it.

1. The concession of any rights to the colored people tends to create the desire for greater, and on the principle that it is just or expedient to grant them *any* extension of rights, it is impossible to deny them the *greatest* extension of them. The only answer to this which is possible is, that they are, ecclesiastically speaking, but children still in the condition of growth, as the wisest of them admit, and that, therefore, we must to a great extent do their thinking for them. We may give them what rights we think they can bear. If they demand more, the remedy is always in our hands—we can cut the bond that binds us together. That would settle the difficulty, and settle it effectually.

2. In the second place, the difficulty exists that if colored elders are elected, they would, on this scheme, be debarred their constitutional right to represent their own people in the upper courts, and thus the principle of the parity of the eldership would be sacrificed. This is a serious objection, but the answer that may be given is, that such a limitation upon the representative rights of the colored elder would be justified by the imperative necessities of the case.

Such is a somewhat extended, but, in view of the difficulty and importance of the subject, a concise statement of the different schemes upon which it is conceivable that our relations to the colored people may be constructed. In the present state of the question, it is not likely that any single plan would harmonise the views of the whole Church, and, therefore, the Committee would simply express the hope that it may please the Assembly to give currency to the statement presented in the report, so that it may be brought before the Church at large, and they would decline to urge the recommendation, at present, of any particular scheme. The subject is remitted to the wisdom of the Assembly with the earnest prayer that the great Head of the Church may guide it to wise conclusions.

The following resolutions, appended by the author of this report thereto, were also offered to the Assembly by the Committee:

1. *Resolved*, That this Assembly entertains for the freed people the sincerest sentiments of good will and affection; that it earnestly desires and prays for their salvation, and would encourage the employment of every legitimate means for the promotion of their spiritual good.

2. That it be recommended to all our ministers to exert themselves to the utmost of their ability, to give, as heretofore, the gospel to these people; to church sessions to urge upon parents among them the duty of presenting their children for baptism, and of bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and especially to evangelists and missionaries to devote a portion of their labor to the promotion of the salvation of the freed people.

3. That in the judgment of the Assembly, it is highly inexpedient that there should be an ecclesiastical separation of the white and colored races; that such a measure would threaten evil to

both races, and especially to the colored; and that, therefore, it is desirable that every warrantable effort be made affectionately to dissuade the freed people from severing their connexion with our churches, and to retain them with us, as of old; but that in those cases in which they prefer, though against our judgment, to establish separate organisations, they will carry with them our best wishes for their welfare.

4. That in view of the imperfect development of events growing out of the altered condition of the colored people, and the great difficulty of the questions arising from it, the Assembly does not regard the way as clear for a deliverance as to the plan upon which our ecclesiastical relations to them should be constructed; but would submit the whole subject to the wisdom and discretion of the presbyteries, leaving it to them to adopt such measures as they may deem best adapted to the circumstances and wants of the colored congregations severally under their care, and urging it upon them, that in case any changes of the existing system be proposed, respect be had to the question of the preparation of the colored congregations for such changes, and great caution and prudence be exercised in their adoption.

5. That it be recommended to the presbyteries in the case of colored persons who may be applicants for introduction into the ministry, to adhere to the course prescribed in the constitution for the examination, license, and ordination of candidates for the sacred office.

6. That the Assembly recommend that whenever it is practicable, Sabbath-schools and mission schools for the benefit of the freed people, especially the young, be established in connexion with our churches, and that the sessions of the churches take these schools into their charge and provide suitable teachers for them.

7. That the Assembly is not prepared to recommend the adoption of any system of secular education for the freed people; but should any of the presbyteries or churches under their care see fit to establish parochial schools for their benefit, the Assembly would extend its approval to such a measure, provided such schools are under the supervision of the presbyteries or the sessions of the churches with which they may be connected, and are furnished with such teachers as they shall endorse and provide. Further, that religious instruction on the basis of our standards be incorporated into such schools as a distinctive element.

8. That the heads of families are exhorted to afford opportunities to the freed people in their households to attend upon

family and public worship, and that they provide for them, so far as possible, catechetical instruction in the doctrines and duties of the gospel.

9. That masters and employers are exhorted to give to their servants and employés the things which are just and equal; to extend to them every facility for attending upon the means of grace; and to provide, so far as in them lieth, for the salvation of their souls.

10. That the freed people in our communion, who may be servants and employés, are exhorted to render to their masters and employers all proper honor and obedience; not despising them because they are brethren, but rather doing them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit.

ARTICLE II.

THE TWO TREES IN EDEN.

The brief narrative in the first chapters of Genesis, majestic in its simplicity, has failed to satisfy the minds of men. The origin of the race, the short probation of its federal head and representative, the lapse of the trustee and the consequent lapse of all his posterity, the tremendous interests involved in the trial, are all matters of too great importance to be slightly hinted at and dismissed without comment; too far-reaching in their results to be compressed within these narrow limits. Consequently, the philosophers of earth have not hesitated to emend, modify, and improve the history furnished by Heaven. For many generations this good work has been in progress. The revelation of God has been duly arraigned and tried at the bar of each new science, even while the science was yet in its infancy. But it was reserved for the *savans* of the present day, and mainly for the theologians of New England, to set aside the divine record entirely; to substitute a higher inspiration, and to smile with complacent compassion upon the ignorant credulity that is content with the bare word of God.

Quite a distinct and different class of commentators have assailed the Scripture account of the creation and fall of man. There are those who acknowledge the inherent truth of the Bible, but claim that this truth is hidden in allegories. With them, the six days of creation are six ages, whose length is to be measured by the revelations of modern science. The special act of creation, the making of man in the image of God, is understood to mean the gradual outworking of laws of progress and development which God has stamped upon nature. The numberless theories that have been invented to displace or supplement the teachings of prophets and apostles, have not conferred immortality upon their authors. The most of them have been left out of sight, as the world grew older. Ever and anon the *Atlantic Monthly*, endeavoring to keep step with the *Westminster Review*, digs up one of these corpses, and out of the dust of its crumbling bones, manufactures a first-class infidel article. But the dust returns to its dust again, and very little harm is done to humanity.

In the sad story of the fall of man and the loss of Paradise, there are to be found the seeds of ten thousand fanciful theories. So many vital doctrines, according to orthodox commentators, are contained in or grow logically out of the event itself, that the disproof of any point in the narration would be a signal infidel victory. To admit that the status of the entire race was made to depend upon

“the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world,”

is to admit the whole gospel by implication. Therefore, the most that modern wiseacres acknowledge is, that the entire story of Eden is an allegory, and open to the interpretation of all humanity. The folly of this—the best of the anti-scriptural theories, is about equal to its wickedness. It would be an insult to the understanding of any enlightened Christian to examine the foundations of such a scheme, or to attempt its refutation. Moreover, life is too short, and the dread realities of eternity too urgent,

for immortal souls to waste time in groping through these misty labyrinths.

Taking the literal account given in the second and third chapters of Genesis, it does not appear that the second tree, "the tree of life," was included in the prohibition. "The tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it." The right to the fruit of the other, if enjoyed before, was lost in the fall. If it was to be the reward of obedience, as some have argued, it is not so stated in the record. Aside from the plain declarations of God's word, and aside from reasonable inferences from stated facts, the most that has been written concerning these two trees, is the mere product of human fancy. Granting the facts as recorded to be *literally* true, it may not be altogether unprofitable to examine with care, all the details of the wonderful narrative.

The tree of knowledge was the forbidden tree, from whose baleful shadow the innocent pair emerged—sinners. Strange, that there should be in the midst of the most glorious spot in the universe of God—next to his own dwelling place—a tree whose poisonous juices should mingle with each drop of blood in the veins of every man (save One) that has ever trodden or shall ever tread the earth! Strange, that this poison should be so virulent, so ineradicable, reaching to the thoughts and intents of the heart, staining the purest emotions of which humanity is capable, resisting the power of divine grace itself, and cleaving to the soul and body of the brightest saint to his last expiration! O fatal tree!

Without doubting the doctrine that the forbidden tree was the test of man's obedience, and therefore served the purpose of the Creator, whatever might be its natural characteristics, it is worth while to inquire whether or not some real and necessary connexion existed betwixt the fruit and its effect upon the physical condition of humanity. In fact, this exact inquiry, with reference to both the trees of the garden, is the object and subject of the present article. And it is proper to remark at the outset, that none of the suggestions that follow are to be regarded even as the assertions of opinion upon this matter, but

simply as inquiries. The prevailing tendency, perhaps, is to "spiritualize" away plain statements of actual occurrences, and to ignore the apparent laws which would be recognised in any other department of research, from the dread of reducing some occult scriptural doctrine to the level of finite understanding. But God has given his revelation to man, to fallen man, to be studied and pondered; and it may not *always* be earthly, sensual, and devilish, to take his statements at their obvious, literal meaning.

It would be difficult to determine how much of the general theory of the fall of Adam has been founded upon Milton's world-renowned poem. The gorgeous drapery with which he has surrounded the story hides the rugged outlines. The orderly sequence of events; the discourses of angels, fallen and unfallen; the doctrinal passages, according so well with later revelation; the majestic march of his verse; the evident piety of the poet; all tend to give his work the authority of a formal commentary. And indeed, those very portions of the "Paradise Lost" which men are accustomed to regard as the most fanciful, are those which would be the hardest to *disprove*, either by direct Scripture texts or by fair inferences from the Bible narrative. For example: The physical effect of the fatal fruit, as related by Milton, was to inflame the passions. The inspired record contains no hint upon which he could have based the theory; yet the burden of probability may as well be with him as against him, and it is not impossible to erect an argument in support of this very position.

Because, it will not be denied by any candid student of the Bible, that the natural appetites of humanity were natural when humanity was sinless. The sin that defiles the race, whether regarded as positive transgression or as want of conformity to the divine law, has its seat in the soul. "Out of the *heart* proceedeth all evil." It is easy to say that the *nature* of man is depraved, but what is this *nature*? Is the definition of the lexicographer entirely satisfactory to the thinker? Does this *nature*, which eludes the most subtle analysis, reside in the immortal part of man, independently of his perishing body?

Or does the *nature* abide with the lifeless clay crucible, when the vital principle has been evolved,—eliminated by the grim chemist who set up his laboratory at the very gates of Eden? Or does the *nature* die when the body dies, while the freed spirit escapes without a stain?

If one could divest himself of the dread of what are called “material” theories, some of the difficulties suggested in these questions would disappear. Man is not all soul. He is not all body. The immortal spirit delivered from the “thralldom” and “clog,” is not the man and never will be the man until the time of restitution comes, when his “oppressive clay” shall be raised from among the dead and reunited to the soul. Only then, only when the last trump shall sound, will this human nature be perfected. Then shall this mortal put on immortality, and death shall be swallowed up in victory.

It was the man that sinned, body and soul together. The thought and purpose of disobedience was in the soul; the act was performed by the body. And as the defilement and guilt passed upon and entered into the one, the seeds of dissolution entered into the other. So the point of the argument is reached.

The fruit of the tree was poison, and perhaps it was inherently destructive of natural life. Slowly, but inflexibly; imperceptibly, but positively, the process of decay began and continued, and will continue while time endures. “Dying, thou shalt die!” It is a prophecy no less than a threat. It is the announcement of a necessary and inexorable fact, as well as the pronouncement of a judicial sentence. Death spiritual, death temporal, death eternal; the first and the last affecting the soul, because the sin in the thought and purpose, snapt the cord that bound the soul to God, the fountain of life; and the temporal death, involved in the others by necessary consequence, and secured by the decree of God which made the fruit of the tree deadly to the animal organism. What though the man carried the poison in his system for near a thousand years; the death was no less inevitable at last. A hundred analogies are found in the *Materia Medica* of all ages. The herbs of the field contain active principles, (extracted by the skill of the chemist, from the days

of the Borgias to the present time,) which infallibly destroy life with horrible accuracy, in a day, a week, a month, or a year, according as the quantity is increased or diminished. The poisoning fruit of the forbidden tree has made the earth one vast charnel-house. There was but one antidote, and access to that was barred by the swords of the cherubim, flaming at the eastern gate of Eden.

Before leaving the tree of death for the grateful shade of that other tree of Paradise, it may not be amiss to recall one or two questions that must forever perplex the thinker. No man by searching can find out God. The paradoxes of the Bible can be harmonized by him who spake the universe into being, and by none besides. Yet these questions continually arise to baffle the shallow powers of finite intelligence, and are as constantly dismissed, unsolved, waiting for the time when access to the tree of life shall be granted to humanity. Then, perhaps, all that is now obscure will become plain, because in the locality where that tree grows, the Lord God and the Lamb are the light of the city.

Was man created immortal? If so, the fruit of the forbidden tree could not affect his status. If not, the fruit of the tree was not needed to ensure his dissolution. If the fruit of the better tree was to be the reward of perfect obedience, the man was not inherently immortal. If it could confer no such gift, what is the meaning of the divine command to guard the way to it, "lest he put forth his hand, take, eat, and live forever"?

Here again, the vast domain of nature furnishes numberless analogies. The inflexible laws regulating the motions of the stars are so well understood by the modern astronomer, that he is able to point his telescope to the exact spot in the heavens where the hitherto unknown planet will be found. Nothing can be more simple than the explanation. Certain aberrations in the courses of the mighty orbs whose tracks through space are definitely known, lead the sage to suspect the influence of another planet; and reasoning from the apparent effects, he turns his glass with marvellous accuracy to the point in space where the cause will be discovered. Yet the same divine hand that formed the planet, and launched it forth upon its orbit, as

really controls, guides, and sustains it, as if none of the laws of attraction and gravitation were in existence. The sovereign, unchangeable decree of God, is the satisfactory solution of all difficulties.

It is remarkable that the tree of life is never mentioned in the Bible, between the short history in the third chapter of Genesis and the vision of John in Patmos. It is remarkable that it is not mentioned in Genesis, until the probability of man's seizing the life-giving fruit, and thereby securing his immortality in spite of his offence, is plainly stated. For no other satisfactory explanation of the commission of the cherub with the flaming sword can be given. "Keep the way to the tree of life, lest the man eat thereof, and live forever." An expounder of the word, whose reputation for piety and high scholarship gives peculiar authority to his expositions, has suggested that "some other explanation might be sought, because it is not credible that the fruit of the tree should have an inherent life-giving power. There seems to be something contrary to the higher spiritual teachings of Scripture, and repugnant to man's spiritual apprehensions of divine revelation, to ascribe to dull, material vegetation, the distinctive attribute of divinity. There is but one who can kill and who can give life." His explanation of the command of God, to cast out the man, is perhaps as good an explanation as can be given upon this general hypothesis. The father of lies had wrought the ruin of the race by his false promise, "Ye shall be as gods." And with this delusive promise still ringing in his ears, before the least of his lofty aspirations had been realised, the guilty sinner is arrested and tried, and the dismal curse pronounced. Far different from the glorified condition of "the gods," was the status of this cheated, sentenced criminal. And to complete the humiliation of that doleful hour, God adds the prohibition of the other tree, in bitter sarcasm. "The man thought he would become a god by partaking of the fruit of the tree of knowledge; doubtless he thinks the tree of life will confer immortality upon him and his race. Therefore guard the tree!"

It is perhaps enough to remark, that it was the devil who

promised the first result. It is God who *reiterates* the promise of the other, in the Apocalypse.

In regard to the recorded facts, taking the words at their obvious and literal meaning, it may be observed, first, that the exclusion of the fallen pair from Paradise seems to have been necessary, *because* the tree of life was there. There is no other reason assigned for their dismissal. While it is true that the delights of Paradise had been forfeited by the act of disobedience, and while other reasons for their expulsion may be readily imagined, still the one sufficient reason given by the Creator is, "Lest the man put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever:—*therefore* the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden." It does not seem probable that the Lord God used this language in derision. It does not seem probable that he would have stationed the armed cherubim as guards to the tree, merely to point a sarcasm. There is an appearance of terrible reality about the whole transaction.

Secondly: Still regarding the record as literally true, the abounding mercy and grace of God are discovered in the man's expulsion from the garden. If the tree would have conferred immortality upon Adam and his posterity, so far from reversing the curse, it would have added to its horrors, if he had partaken of its fruit; because the redemption of the race had not been wrought out by the second Adam, who brought the true immortality to light. By an inexorable necessity, those forfeited joys could only be reached through the portals of the grave. Therefore, if the unhappy sinner had secured an immortality by means of the tree of life, once more would Satan have triumphed, and the race would have inherited a sure eternity of woe. But God had some better thing in reserve for the children of men, and therefore "he sent him forth from the garden," and thereby prevented a catastrophe too horrible for human contemplation. Surely, there is nothing repulsive in this view of the narrative in Genesis.

In the long interval between the loss of Eden and the revelation that closes the record, two facts are constantly apparent to the Christian student. First, that the enemy of God and man

never relinquishes the work he began in Paradise. Throughout a history of forty centuries, his machinations are visible on every page. And there is something more than poetical imagination in the story of "Paradise Regained," where the success of the work of restoration is made to depend upon the defeat of the same archenemy in his attempt to overcome the second Adam. The other fact is, the ever-recurring promise of a restitution of the joys lost in Eden. There appears to be a continual recognition of a condition of incompleteness, to give place hereafter to the full fruition of the Paradise of God; and this reparation, often deferred and prevented, is still renewed in promise; and taking the prophecies literally, they *always* apply to the present place of human habitation. The glowing predictions of the blossoming desert in Isaiah, the resurrection of the dry bones in Ezekiel, the promise of universal knowledge of Jehovah in Jeremiah, and a multitude of others, have, by some spiritual alchemy, been all transmuted into descriptions of disembodied bliss in some unknown locality beyond our solar system. It may be that the force and beauty of the passages in question are somewhat marred in the process of transmutation. How wonderfully apposite to the glorious reality these predictions would appear, if the dreams of the millenarian should be verified.

In the apocalyptic vision, the tree of life reappears. The first time is in the second chapter, and in the epistle to the church at Ephesus. The *order* in which these letters to the seven churches occur; the order of the various exhortations; and especially the order of the blessings promised to "him that overcometh," may not be without meaning. Without pretending to explain what may be included in the gifts of the "hidden manna" and the "white stone," it may not be fanciful to assert that these beatitudes increase in glory, from the first to the last. Certainly the culminating reward to the victor, which is nothing less than a seat in the throne of Christ himself, leaves no degree of glory and honor for human conception or human attainment.

None will doubt or deny that these various rewards are to be conferred upon the saints after their warfare is accomplished. When they shall have "overcome," have finished their course,

this sequence of blessings shall begin. And if it be true that this orderly sequence obtains here, then the propriety of beginning with access to the tree of life is almost too apparent for comment. Whatever else was included, in the way of loss and damage, in the expulsion from Eden, the deprivation of the right to the tree of life, or the failure to attain this right, is the only loss that God records in his word. The charge to guard the tree, is the last sentence spoken in Paradise. As the guilty pair descend the slope beyond the eastern gate of Paradise, the very last sight that meets their sorrowful eyes, as they glance backward towards their happy home, is the gleam of the terrible weapon of the guardian cherub. The very last impression they receive, as they lose sight of the place of their innocent habitation, is the mournful fact that in losing Eden, they have lost the tree of life. Therefore, divine wisdom and grace present the restoration of the tree as the very first of the many privileges purchased by the second Adam for all his posterity. "To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God!"

The description of the "holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God," as recorded in the closing chapters of the Apocalypse, contains the last mention of the better tree. It is not possible for mortal wisdom to compass the things therein described. Mortal imagination may not ascend those heights. The effulgent glory dazzles the eyes of the gazer. If the things therein promised are to be literally fulfilled, the redeemed and risen father of humanity will not regret the loss of his first dwelling place. If the language is all figurative, the things signified by the pearly gates, the golden streets, and the pure river, will surely transcend in glory. Then all the sorrows and calamities that have cursed the earth, legitimate fruit of the fatal tree of knowledge, will be no more remembered forever; because "in the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, will be the tree of life, which bears twelve manner of fruits, and yields her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations; and there shall be no more curse!" O glorious tree!

If an argument may be built upon the suggestions thus rudely put together, it would not necessarily militate against any orthodox theory concerning the fall and restoration of the race. God entered into a covenant with the progenitor, of the distinctive terms of which the two trees were constantly present tokens. That the tree of life was a sign, a seal, and a sacrament, is doubtless true. That the tree of knowledge was a token, a test, and a warning, is also true. The covenant implies conditions, and the conditions involve both warning and promise. It is not possible to conceive of a compact between the Creator and his intelligent creature upon any other hypothesis. Upon the minds of the vast majority of those who accept the story in Genesis as literally true, there is, perhaps, a vague impression that the object was attained, and the use of the trees exhausted, when sign, seal, warning, test, and promise, all disappeared amid the terrible realities of the fall. With the exodus from Eden, a new era begins, and the interest of humanity henceforth centres upon the work of the second Adam. Still further: in so far as these trees were types and emblems, the character, the office, and the work of Christ, the grand and glorious reality, "the way, the truth, and the life," have so overshadowed the feeble symbols, that few men are inclined to search beyond that which is obvious in their symbolic teachings. But it is proper to observe just here, that while types and symbols are usually spoken of as shadows adumbrating the coming substance, they always have an inherent office and function peculiar and *natural*. The paschal lamb whose blood was sprinkled upon the lintels and the door-posts, occupies the front place among the types of the Levitical ritual; yet it was the natural food of the people. And the fact that it was the wonderfully appropriate emblem of the Lord Christ—of his office and work—only furnishes another proof of the infallible wisdom of him who instituted the feast. Why should analogous reasoning fail when applied to the trees in Paradise? Why should it be incredible that God made two trees, one whose fruit was poison—death to the physical man—and one whose fruit yielded the fabled elixir of life, securing eternal youth to him who partook of it? And what more

natural and appropriate, and more in accordance with God's usual dealings with man, than that he should appoint as the test of obedience, the tree whose very fruit contained the curse of death? And still more emphatically, how applicable and natural, that the tree which was the sacrament and seal of that covenant of works, should, when the trial was finished and the reward won, yield her twelve manner of life-giving, life-perpetuating fruits ! Verily, the dreams of the old heathen sages, and the wilder dreams of more modern students, have here at once their foundation and fulfilment. The ambrosia of the gods and the elixir of life, will both be found on the banks of the beautiful river !

At the risk of prolixity, for the subject seems to grow as the discussion proceeds, a few words may be added about conscience. Is it an original and natural faculty of the mind, or is it the direct product of the fatal tree ?

No advocate of the Calvinistic creed need be reminded of the total insufficiency of this "moral sense," this "vicegerent of God," as it is popularly termed, as a rule of faith or practice. It inflamed the zeal of Saul of Tarsus, while he breathed out threatenings and slaughter; it empurpled the wheels of Jugger-naut with the blood of self-immolated victims; it has in all ages enabled the votaries of false creeds to die like heroes and martyrs; it has filled half the pulpits of a vast Christian empire with flaming zealots athirst for human blood ! Nobody will deny the usefulness of an *enlightened* conscience; but the uneducated faculty is no safer guide than any brute instinct of the natural man. It is the veritable "knowledge of good and evil," wherewith the enemy cheated humanity. Hereafter the gnawings of a *guilty* conscience may be the undying worm of the pit. But no Christian, saved by sovereign grace, expects his *approving* conscience to eke out the joys of Paradise. The subject has many sides, and this brief hint touches but one of them. The only question suggested is, Can conscience be predicated of the unfallen man ? Beyond the revelation God has given, all that affects the individual character of holy angels or sinless men, must be matters of pure imagination. It is true that the present generation has been furnished with the opportunity to investi-

gate all the mysteries of the unseen world; but the "mediums" have been so dense, the age so obtuse, and the strip of latitude to which the revelations have been restricted so narrow, that the world has very slightly improved the chance.

Finally: No doctrine is more clearly established, than that the scheme of redemption was irrevocably fixed before Eden emerged from chaos. It is no part of the present purpose to discuss any of the so-called paradoxes of Holy Writ. But there are multitudes dissenting from the general theories herein propounded, concerning the "physical" characteristics of the trees of the garden, who will readily admit that the plan of restoration preceded the fall. The announcement that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent was no less a prophecy than a promise. Indeed, it was addressed to the arch-enemy, and therefore could not be of the nature of a promise. "He shall bruise thy head!" If the adversary understood the words, he must have seen in them a portentous threat that added to the horrors of his dismal dominions. To the man he said, "Instead of the tree of life, thorns and thistles shall the earth bring forth; instead of having free access to it, thou shalt with toil and sorrow eat the herb of the field." There seems to be this implied antithesis at least.

If, therefore, the priority of the covenant of grace is established upon secure foundations, the inference that the drama enacted in Eden proceeded in the foreseen order is irresistible. He is a bold expounder who will undertake to show how the freedom and consequent responsibility of the creature may accord with the infallible foreknowledge of the Creator. But the Church cannot afford to relinquish her belief in the sovereign, *eternal*, and unchangeable love of her Head; nor in the antiquity of his purpose and plan. Whatever else may be inexplicable, this at least is beyond controversy. The stately march of Providence is neither retarded nor accelerated by mortal agency. The determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God can neither be hindered nor aided by wicked hands.

Supposing the preceding pages to be tolerably coherent, the argument upon this head is obvious. The trees were not planted

for mere show and adornment. The effects of their fruits were neither mythical nor accidental. Knowing that man would disobey, God in infinite wisdom prohibited that which was in its own nature deadly. "Eat not, for the fruit is death!" This is the sum of the prohibition and warning. And if by necessary consequence, the product of the one was death, the conclusion that the product of the other was, by necessary consequence, life, may not be evaded. The works of God are known unto himself from the beginning; and none of his works are imperfect in structure, office, or effect. And surely, none of them can be affected by any finite causes or contingencies.

ARTICLE III.

DR. THORNWELL ON RULING ELDERS.

This article, which is not accessible to our readers generally, we are sure will be acceptable to them, at the present time particularly, both on that account and also because of its eminent ability. It is taken from the *Spirit of the Nineteenth Century*, for December, 1843. We append to this preface a portion of a private letter from DR. THORNWELL to the Editor of the work above named, which appears there in the form of a note to the article, and which, as the Editor well says, "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."—EDS. S. P. R.

"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 laborious 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 labors 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 anything 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 organisation 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."

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, when assembled in council, possess according to Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 14, the right in question. If they are recognised in the word of God as *presbyters*, they are certainly

entitled to be members of the presbytery, and as certainly endowed with all the presbyterial 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 into the Christian Church, presbyter and ruler were synonymous terms. It would seem, indeed, that as these assemblies of the people were especially 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 the 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 anything 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 unsustainable 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 these 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 presbyterial 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 labor in the word and doctrine.” 1 Tim. v. 17.* To rule well was the duty of all elders, regarded simply as elders; to labor 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 labor 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.

* 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 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, Rosenmuller, and the vast majority of Protestant writers.

† The following passage from Jerome may be regarded as proof of some such permanent arrangement: “Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos, *Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum*, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant; quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat.” Ep. 85 ad Evang.

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 the

* 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 that Epistle, (Russell, vol. 2, p. 75,) *bishops* are called *οικονόμοι*, *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 *πάρεδροι*, *assessors*—that is, assistants in council—a plain allusion to their authority to rule; and deacons are called *ὑπηρέται*, *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 characterises 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. 3.—Russell, 2, 172, he

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.*

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 2nd sections of the Epistle to Polycarp, (Russell, 2, pp. 64, 65,) with the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, 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. 2nd. c. 27, 28, etc., 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.)—"Μηδεις χωρις τε επισκοπου τι πρασσετω των ανηκοντων εις την εκκλησιαν. Ουκ εξον εστιν χωρις τε 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, Labb. 1. p. 1505,) Τους πρεσβυτερουσ μηδεν πραπτειν ανεν της γνωμης τε επισκοπου. The Council of Toledo says, (Labb. 2. p. 1226,)—Sine conscientia autem episcopi nihil penitus faciendum—or as it is in the margin—nihil presbyteri agere presumant.—To these may be added xxxviii. can. Apost. Labb. 1, p. 33.

We learn from Posidonius, that until the time of Austin, in the African churches, elders were not permitted to preach in the presence of the bishops; and only by his authority and as his substitute when the bishop was absent. They did not officiate by virtue of any 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

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.

* *Eidem presbytero potestatem dedit coram se in ecclesia evangelium praedicandi 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 episcopis tractare coeperunt verbum Dei.* Vit. Aug. c. 5.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Socrates, Lib. 5. Soz. Lib. 7.*

demanding 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 humor; 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 they were not precisely the presbyters who, in the times of the apostles, 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 laboring 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—
(πρεσβύτεροι τῆ λαοῦ.)

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 labor 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 organisation 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 showing 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, recognises 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

* *Presbyter eum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui presentes sunt manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.*—Labbe. 2, p. 1199.

† *Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τῶ ἐπιτραπήναι ὑπὸ τῶ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.*—Labbe. 1. p. 1461.

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 labor 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 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

* Lib. Pontif. Vit. Pelag. Dum non essent episcopi, qui cum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo episcopi, Joannes de Perusio et Bonus de Ferentino, et Andreas, Presbyter de Sotia, et ordinaverunt eum.

† Apud Cypr. Epist. 75—Omnis potestas et gratia in ecclesia constituta sit ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi et manum imponendi et ordinandi possident potestatem.

name of the Apostles'—though clearly the products of a later age—required, as indispensable, the presence of but two. These testimonies do not, as is generally supposed, exclude presbyters from participating in the process—though the presumption is, that as their coöperation 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 neighboring 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 neighboring 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 neighboring bishops to assist them.* Hence there soon arose a distinction betwixt the method of ordaining a presbyter and the

* 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.

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. 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 meets 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 the 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 a 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 these

* Cyprian Epist. 63.

† Labb. 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 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 and teaching. The people express their approbation by *election*; the rulers of the Church, after a full

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 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 neighbors, 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 neighboring bishops had taken the matter into 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 minis-

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 Presbyterial 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.

ters, 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.

ARTICLE IV.

THE RELATION OF BAPTIZED CHILDREN TO THE
DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

*Being the substance of a Speech before the General Assembly, at
Memphis, November, 1866. By the Rev. A. W. MILLER,
Charlotte, North Carolina.*

The Book of Discipline offered by the Revision Committee, is, in many respects, vastly superior to the present Book. The brethren have laid the Church under many obligations for the great pains they have taken in the important work committed to them, and for the very satisfactory character, upon the whole, of its performance. Particularly, all honor is due to them for the attention they have given to the baptized youth of the Church. The several sections devoted to them, contrast most favorably with the bald and meagre statements of the old book. But, in one particular, the old book is better than the new; viz., in the preservation of an important scriptural principle, the relation of *all* baptized persons to the discipline of the Church—a principle which the new has dropped. True, the Revised Book uses the term “discipline” in relation to baptized non-communicants, but in a general sense only, as embracing instruction, training, oversight; not in a technical sense, involving censure or judicial prosecution—the only sense admissible in a “Book of Discipline,” or “Canons of Discipline,” as distinguished from a “Confession of Faith,” a “Form of Government,” a “Directory for Worship;” all of which, especially the “Directory,” treat of the oversight and instruction of the children of the

Church. In a "Book of Discipline," technically denominated, the term "discipline" is used, of course, only in a technical sense. It follows, then, that the Committee's "Canons of Discipline" do really deny the liability of baptized youth to discipline, (and thus contradict the teachings of our present Book,) in denying their liability to it, in its technical sense; and thus, what they say touching the government and oversight of such youth, belongs properly, not to their "Canons," but to the "Form of Government." With what consistency, too, can the "Canons" direct that such youth shall be solemnly admonished by the session, of the sin and danger of neglecting their covenant duties, (chap. 2, sec. 5; "*in connexion with the session, etc., . . . on which occasions . . . they shall be warned of the sin and danger of neglecting their duties,*") since admonition is "a church-censure," "the formal reproof of *an offender* by a church-court?" (chap. 4, sec. 1 and 2;) and when, according to their canons, none but a church-member, professing faith in Christ, can be an offender? (chap. 1, sec. 3.) If the youth of the Church be not liable to "judicial prosecution," then how liable to *the first step, admonition*? And if such youth should offer this as a reason for not obeying the call of the session, then what reply can the session make? And if not liable even to admonition by the session, then of what value is that "*government*," of which they are the subjects, according to the "Canons"? What is government worth that cannot be enforced? Without discipline, government is mere advice. But after all, nothing is gained by the Committee by putting such youth *within* government, but *without* discipline. According to their "Canons," discipline is the exercise of authority, and *the application of laws* appointed by Christ. (Chap. 1, sec. 1.) And their "Form of Government" teaches that the government belonging to the session involves "the power to call before them offenders—to admonish, rebuke, suspend, or exclude from the sacraments those who are found to deserve censure." (Chap. 6, sec. 3, sub-sec. 6.) The giving two senses to the term "discipline" in the "Canons" seems to have been an afterthought—done in order to cover the doctrine that baptized youth are not subject to ecclesiastical censures.

Such is not the doctrine of our Church, whatever may be the practice. For seventy-eight years it has held that "all baptized persons are members of the Church, are under its care, and subject to its government and *discipline*; and when they have arrived at the years of discretion, *they are bound* to perform all the duties of church-members." According to our "Book of Discipline," then, *the obligations of baptized persons can be enforced by discipline.*

Our respected brother, Dr. Adger, thinks that "it is not certain in which sense the word 'discipline' was used." But surely our standards sufficiently explain themselves! The General Assembly of 1789 affirmed the doctrine of the Book of Discipline, that "baptized *children* are subjects of discipline." The Assembly of 1799, in answer to the following overture: "How far and in what sense are persons who have been regularly baptized in infancy, and have not partaken of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, subject to the discipline of the Church?" replied, "That the public standards of this Church contain a sufficient answer to the question." Surely, that Assembly deemed its Book of Discipline free from ambiguity, admitting of one sense only! The Assembly of 1809 says: "There is reason to apprehend that many of our congregations neglect to catechize the children that have been admitted to the sealing ordinance of baptism, *and do not exercise suitable discipline over them.*"

Again: The Assembly of 1811 appointed an able committee "to report a full and complete answer to the following overture from the Synod of Kentucky: 'What steps should the Church take with baptized youth, not in communion, but arrived at the age of maturity, should such youth prove disorderly and contumacious?'" Now, if "discipline," as used in our Book, implies no more than education, instruction, cultivation," then what need of a committee and a report? Why not cut short the matter at once, by answering the overture, that "no steps, under these circumstances, could be taken?" For the *contumacy* of such youth implies that "education and instruction" had already been given, and been despised too; and if the "discip-

'line' of our book contemplated nothing more, then, what more could be done? Here, then, we are conducted to no doubtful conclusion as to the sense which the Assembly put upon the "discipline" referred to. This committee made a report, which took the ground that such contumacious youth were liable to excommunication. But, if the committee's sense of what was involved in "discipline," was not the sense of the Assembly, why did they "recommend the report to the serious consideration of all the Presbyteries and ministers?" If the distinction made by our Revision Committee had been ever recognised by our Church, then how strange that this subject—the relation of baptized children to the discipline of the Church—should have been discussed in so many Assemblies, for a period covering more than fifty years! Whence the necessity of this protracted discussion, if the doctrine of the Committee were ever held by them? How easy to have prevented all this agitation, by simply saying, "The word 'discipline' has two senses: the one general, the other technical; applicable to baptized children only in the former." But this our fathers did not say. Their standards were modelled after those of the Church of Scotland, which admitted no distinction, as to judicial prosecution, between church-members; and they knew that the constant practice of that Church corresponded to its teachings, as it does even to this day. "The rules of our discipline, and the form of process in our church judicature, are contained in Pardovan's (*alias* Stewart's) Collections, in connexion with the Acts of our own Synod." (Records of Presbyterian Church, p. 519.) The difficulty that beset the subject, in the minds of many in those Assemblies, seems to have been not a theoretical, but a *practical* one. *The general neglect of children, both by the family and the Church, in this country, is a monstrous evil, and the fruitful source of a thousand evils—complained of, again and again, by our General Assemblies, even in the earliest times of our Church. Neglect of instruction, neglect of oversight, must be followed by neglect of restraint, neglect of discipline. If covenant-obligations be not inculcated, they will not, of course, be enforced. Where can be found in our Church a single instance even of parents*

being disciplined for the open violation of baptismal vows? And what an increasing neglect of the baptismal seal do the statistics of the Church exhibit! The lax practice of the Church has engendered the lax condition of society, and this, in turn, has reacted upon the Church with disastrous effect, so that the difficulties in the way of regaining, by the Church, her former hold upon her children, and reviving her ancient discipline of them, long since obsolete, which many would resent as an outrageous intrusion upon their imagined rights, appear to most to be so formidable, that few are willing to encounter them. But in the few instances where the attempt has been made, here and there, the Head of the Church has crowned the effort with encouraging success. Again. According to the Committee, only a *professor* can be an offender, technically considered—the subject of judicial prosecution. Therefore, a baptized person who does not confess Christ, although confessedly a member of the Church, and although arrived at manhood, and although he be guilty of crimes that have brought upon him due punishment by the State, is yet no offender before the Church. But according to the old divines, baptism is profession. “*Baptizari est profiteri*,”—“to be baptized is to make a profession,”—says Ursinus. This sentiment of Ursinus was endorsed by the Westminster Assembly. He goes further, and says, “To be born in the Church is, to infants, the same thing as to make a profession.” (De Bapt. Infant.) In like manner, the learned Vitranga observes that “to be baptized into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, signifies that we *name*, that is, publicly *profess* the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as our Master, to whom we are bound by infinite benefits.” (“Baptizari IN NOMEN Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti esse ad id baptizari, ut *nominemus*, h. e. publice profiteamur nomen Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, tanquam Domini nostri, cui infinitis beneficiis obstricti simus.”—*Observat. Sacr.*

In the earliest ages of the Church, baptized children were designated, equally with their parents, “disciples” “Christians,” “holy persons or saints,” “the faithful.” The following inscriptions upon the tombs of young children shew that the

ancient Church made no distinction amongst its members, whether infant or adult: "Maurentius, son of Maurentia, a most pleasing child, who lived 5 years, 11 months, and two days, worthy to repose in peace among the *holy* persons." "Sacred to the great God. Leopardus rests here in peace with *holy* spirits." "Julia reposes in peace among the *holy* persons. A. D. 291." "Cyriacus, *a faithful*, died, aged 8 days less than 3 years." "Eustafia, the mother, places this in commemoration of her son Polichronio, *a faithful*, who lived 3 years." "*A faithful*, descended from *faithfuls*, here lies Zosimus: He lived 2 years, 1 month, 25 days." (But how denominate infants "*faithfuls*," unless the Church held them to belong to the *professed family of God*? In this light, the venerable Waldensian Church also regarded them. One of their ancient Confessions says: "We have but two sacramental signs left us by Jesus Christ; the one is Baptism; the other is the Eucharist, which we receive to shew that our perseverance in the faith is such as we promised, when we were baptized, being little children," etc. "Infants are rightly called *faithful*," says Augustine, "because they, after a sort, do confess their faith by the words of them that bear them." (De peccatorum remissione.) Calvin observes: "This principle should ever be kept in mind, that baptism is not conferred on children in order that they may become sons and heirs of God, but because they are already considered by God as occupying that place and rank, the grace of adoption is sealed in their flesh by the rite of baptism. But if any one were inclined to refuse them baptism, we have a ready answer: they are already of the flock of Christ, of the family of God, since the covenant of salvation which God enters into with believers is common also to their children. As the words import: I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee. Unless this promise had preceded, certainly it would have been wrong to have conferred on them baptism." (Letters.) The learned Bullinger, held by Calvin in high esteem, observes, in like manner: "Infants are numbered and counted of the Lord himself among the faithful; so that baptism is due unto them—as far forth as it is due unto the faithful."

So also the Scotch Church, as shewn by her standards, and through her theologians. Says Boston: "Ye who are saints by profession, yet only baptized, not partakers of the Lord's table, why do ye continue so?" "Separation from the men of the world lying in wickedness, is the necessary duty of all saints by profession, and particularly of communicants." Says Jno. Brown of Haddington: "All professed Christians, come to years of discretion, are bound by the law of God to partake of the Lord's Supper, and it is their sin, if they be incapable of regular admission to it."

The Scotch Church, in her Book of Discipline, says: "A minor that is a male past fourteen, and a female past twelve years of age, may be called before church-judicatures, when guilty; as for pupils under that age, it will be rare if ever they be concerned as delinquents, except *ubi malitia supplet aetatem*, that is, where strength of nature is as far advanced in them as it useth to be in others of riper years." (Book iv.) "Since minors are punishable for adultery, much more ought they for a rape." "He who writes infamous libels is punishable. If the offender was a minor, or was provoked, or confessed his fault—these things will lessen the punishment." (Book iii.) So also the Reformed Church of France: "What censure should be inflicted on them who marry their children (being minors) to papists? It was resolved that both they *and their children* should be deprived of the Lord's Supper, and do public penance for this their offence." (National Synod at Saumur, 1596.)

Thus we see that the doctrine of the Committee, that a communicant only is a professor and can be an offender, liable to prosecution, is not sustained by the teachings of the Church of all ages. Yea, it is inconsistent with their own directions, requiring minors to appear before the session, that they may be "warned of the sin and danger of neglecting their covenant duties." The doctrine of the Committee introduces a new principle into the kingdom of God. From the beginning, it was held that the child of the covenant was subject to the discipline of the covenant, as well as entitled to its privileges. The child of the Old Testament was bound to be circumcised, which if

neglected, membership was forfeited; parent and child were cut off. But the circumcised child was "a debtor to do the whole law," and was bound, at the proper age, to observe the passover, as well as circumcision. God declared that the soul that should "forbear to keep the passover, should be cut off from among his people." The principle then was, that if *either* seal of the covenant was neglected, the covenant was broken, and church-membership, with all its precious privileges, forfeited. Now, if this principle has ceased, and another principle been introduced, let the proof be furnished. The New Testament Church is based upon the Old. Christ came no more to destroy the Church, than the Law. He recognised the church-membership of children. When believing parents, who acknowledged him as the Messiah, brought their children to him, he received them, laid his hands upon them, as the angel of the synagogue was wont to lay his hands upon the children of the Church, blessed them, owned their membership, saying, "Of such is the kingdom of God;" shewing thus that they stood in the same relation to him and his kingdom, as did the children under the Old Testament—a relation which obliged the believer to procure for his children the seal of the covenant, whatever that might be. But the baptized child, equally with the circumcised child, is "a debtor to do the whole law," and is bound, when reaching years of discretion, to observe the Lord's Supper, which if neglected, the covenant is broken, and church-membership forfeited. For, "the soul that forbeareth to keep the passover, shall be cut off from among his people." But the passover was never abolished, but "fulfilled" in the Lord's Supper. A neglect of the Christian passover, then, exposes to excommunication. "Every soul which will not hear that Prophet—the Lord Jesus Christ—shall be destroyed from among the people," is the law of the New Testament Church. Acts iii. 23. "Him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you." Acts iii. 22. Does not the baptized youth, who, at years of discretion, wilfully neglects the Lord's Supper, refuse to hear the great Prophet of the Church? And is he not guilty of rebellion against the great King of the Church? And does he not deserve to be "destroyed

from among the people?" And is not the Church *commanded* to excommunicate him for this great sin? And is the Church free from guilt, if she hesitates to obey the mandate of her King? Why, the Jewish child who was not circumcised, was, even on account of that neglect of the covenant, excommunicated by God. Is God less strict now than then? Is the guilt of covenant-breaking less heinous under the present dispensation, than under the former? Is the New Testament Church, though more spiritual and richer in privileges than the Old, less guarded and protected than it? Is position in the former less responsible than in the latter? Or may responsibilities be ignored, and obligations violated by any, with impunity, in the one, and not in the other? Such was not the doctrine of the Apostolic Church: "The promise is unto you, and to your children. . . . Moses truly said unto the fathers, A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, like unto me. Him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And every soul which will not hear that Prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people." Upon which passage, Chrysostom pertinently observes: "But he would not be like unto Moses, if so be that every soul that will not hear, should not be destroyed;" *ecclesiastically*, he shews, under the present dispensation, equally as under the former.

In conformity to this New Testament Canon of Discipline was the doctrine of the purest churches of the Christian era. The primitive Church, it is well known, subjected her baptized youth, and even her unbaptized catechumens, to discipline. Thus, too, taught the ancient Bohemian Church, whose illustrious representative, John Huss, suffered martyrdom a century before the Reformation—a Church which Luther affirmed to be the purest and most conformed to the Apostolic Church of all since the days of the apostles, and which Calvin praised for its excellent discipline in these words: "Quod optimâ disciplinâ prædita, quam jure vocare possumus optimum atque adeo unicum retinendæ obedientiæ vinculum." This honored Church of Christ, this faithful witness to the truth, held that church-discipline (in its technical sense,) embraced every period of life, from infancy

to old age: "Disciplinæ subjacent omnes unitate, *ab infante usque ad senem*, a subdito usque ad dominum, ab acolutho usque ad episcopum." Conf. Bohem.

Coming down to the Reformation period, we adduce, first, the testimony of that illustrious man, JOHN CALVIN. Animadverting upon the Decrees of the Council of Trent, bristling with terrible anathemas, he comes to their Canon XIV, Locus ii., De Baptismo; which treats of the obligation of the rebellious children of the Church, when adult, to discipline: "Whosoever shall say that such infants, when they grow up, are to be interrogated whether they are willing to ratify what their godfathers promised in their name, when they were baptized; and when they answer that they are not willing, that they are to be left to their own will, and not to be constrained to a Christian life in the meantime, *by some other punishment than keeping back from the Eucharist*, and other sacraments, *until they repent*, let him be anathema." ["Siquis dixerit, hujusmodi parvulos baptizatos, cum adoleverint, interrogandos esse, an ratum habere velint, quod patrini, eorum nomine, dum baptizarentur, polliciti sunt, et ubi se nolle responderint, suo esse arbitrio relinquendos, nec alia interim poena ad Christianam vitam cogendos, nisi ab Eucharistiæ, aliorumque sacramentorum perceptione arceantur, donec resipiscant, anathema sit."] Upon this Calvin remarks: "I AGREE WITH THEM HERE, so far, but wish my readers to observe, what a deluge of anathemas they have poured forth. What they disapprove, dropt on some occasion from Erasmus, perhaps without much consideration. This I do not deny; and yet a candid interpreter would only desire some correction in the terms, and conclude that the author of them was not fully versant in the government of the Church. No man of equity and moderation will fly at once to the terrors of an anathema." "In quarto"—he had been considering Canon X, and then adds, "To the next three heads I not unwillingly subscribe. On the fourth, I agree with them, etc."—"ea tenus illis assentior, ut lectores interea monitos velim quanto anathematum profluviis diffluxerint. Quod improbant, alicubi Erasmo excidit: parum considerate fortassis. Non nego, etc." Calvin, then,

held that the rebellious baptized youth were subject, at the proper age, to discipline beyond mere suspension from the Lord's table, to which they were accustomed all their lives. He attributes the contrary opinion to Erasmus, and in a manner which shews that his lax doctrine *was held by none of the Reformers*. He thinks that such a sentiment inadvertently dropt, even from Erasmus; which, if deliberately entertained by him, would prove "*that he was not fully versant in the government of the Church*"! He condemns, and justly, the Council of Trent for hurling an anathema at Erasmus—and at our Revision Committee—for simply uttering such a sentiment! For "no man of equity and moderation," says he, "will fly at once to the terrors of an anathema."

Concurring with Calvin, are the sentiments of another of the most learned and accomplished of the theologians of the Reformation, Martin Chemnitz. "In learning there were few equal to him. There was scarcely a theological controversy in which his counsel was not asked. Romanists themselves acknowledged that no one since the death of Luther assailed their system so fundamentally as Chemnitz. His famous book, "*Examen Decretorum Concilii Tridentini*" contains, in the section "*De Baptismo*," these memorable words: "It is not to be left free to the choice of those who have been baptized in infancy, when they come to be adult, whether or no they will have that confirmed which was done in their baptism; as though the covenant of grace and testament of peace, which is offered and sealed up to little children in baptism, should then first begin to be established, when the consent of their will, when adult, is added thereunto; for, from this wicked foundation the Anabaptists simply have taken away and condemned pædobaptism; but such baptized little ones are to be admonished, as they grow up, what a covenant of grace and testament of peace it is, which God hath entered into with them in baptism, and by what promise of gratitude they have likewise obliged themselves unto obedience to God, with the renouncing of the devil. And they are seriously to be exhorted that they render thanks unto God for that wonderful great benefit, that they abide in that covenant of

peace, and endeavor to fulfil that obligation, by mortifying sin, and setting upon newness of life, and that they do this freely and sincerely; or if they shall, through unthankfulness, depart from that covenant and engagement, that then they repent and return to the covenant, and subject themselves again to that stipulated obedience. But as for them that shall do otherwise, the most severe comminations of the wrath and indignation of God are to be heaped up and set before them, *unto which excommunication is to be added; for these are the weapons of our warfare.*" He then adds, that "compulsion to the faith by means of corporal punishments, the Church of Christ ignores; for she has only the sword of the Spirit." (*Illis enim, qui in infantiâ baptizati sunt, cum adoleverint, non libera proponenda est optio, utrum ratum habere velint quod in baptismo ipsorum actum fuit, etc. Secus vero facientibus proponendæ et exaggerandæ sunt severissimæ comminationes iræ et indignationis divinæ, quibus clavis ligans, retinendo et alligando peccata, et excommunicationem addere debet. Hæc enim sunt arma militiæ nostræ. 2 Cor. 10. Coactionem vero ad fidem, quæ per externam vim, et corporales poenas fiat, Ecclesia Christi ignorat: quæ tantum habet gladium Spiritus.*")

Chemnitz, as well as Calvin, attributes the contrary opinion—that it rested with the children of the Church, to fulfil their obligations or not—to the time-serving, compromising Erasmus,* and he shews what use was made of it by the errorists of his age, the Anabaptists, who wounded the Church by their pestilent heresies, which were justly condemned, in the severest terms, by Luther, Calvin, Beza, Melancthon, and all the Reformers. "*From this wicked foundation,*" says he, "the Anabaptists have taken away and condemned pædobaptism." Those who hold with Erasmus, may here see *on whose foundation* they are building, and with how great reason, Baptists now, as Anabaptists formerly, claim (as they do,) the Revision doctrine as a concession to their principles.

* "Ad Erasmum ascendo, a quo ultro profiteor me in plerisque dissentire. Quid enim in eo potissimum sequar non invenio, qui ita varius est, ut eum satis appareat quid crediderit dissimulare quam dicere maluisse." BEZA.

In accordance with the views of Calvin, were the regulations of the Genevan Church. "The order which ought to be kept for little children," prescribes, that "when a child shall be sufficiently instructed, and have passed his catechism, then he shall recite solemnly the sum of that which is therein contained, and also shall make, as it were, a confession of his Christianity in the presence of the Church. Item, before this be done, that no child be suffered to receive the Supper of the Lord, and that the parents be advertised not to bring them before that time: for it is a thing most perilous, as well for the children as the parents, to enter into it without good and sufficient instruction. Item, that those which shall be by force constrained to come, shall be called before the seniors, elders or commissioners, and if they will not be persuaded by good counsel, the report shall be made to the Seniory. Also, to take heed to such whether they do their duty or not, and that the commissioners have an eye unto them to take order accordingly." "If any be negligent in coming to church, so that there be perceived in him a notable contempt of the communion of the faithful, or if any shew himself a contemner of the order ecclesiastical, that they admonish him. And if he render himself obedient, that they send him away gently. But if he do persevere from evil to worse, after they have advertised him three times, *that then they shall separate him from the Church*, and declare him to the Seniory." The Laws and Statutes of Geneva, as well concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline as Civil Government.

We have already shewn that the Reformed Church of France, and the Church of Scotland, held their minors amenable to discipline. We shall now shew that they enforced discipline against all non-communicants. "By the Act of Assembly, 3d August, 1642," says the Scotch Book of Discipline, "every presbytery is enjoined to proceed against non-communicants; and by the 11th Art. Cap. 12, of the French Church Discipline, those who have been a long time in the Church, and will not communicate of the Lord's Supper, if they do it through contempt, or for fear of being obliged to forsake all manner of idolatry, after several admonitions, *they shall be cut off from the*

body of the church; but if it be through infirmity, they shall be borne with for some time, until they can be established."

Again. Both the French Church and the Scotch Church disciplined communicants and non-communicants, who were guilty of the sin of dancing: "By the Church Discipline of France, (Cap. 14, Art. 27,)" incorporated also in the Scotch Discipline, "those who make account to dance, or are present at dancing, after having been several times admonished, *shall be excommunicated* upon their growing obstinate and rebellious; and all church-judicatures are to see this act put into execution."

Again. The French Church disciplined non-communicants who failed, without sufficient reason, to fulfil their engagements to marry: "In case the offending and deserting party have never communicated at the Lord's table, due admonitions shall be given in the consistory, and, if without effect, his or her obstinacy shall be on three several Lord's days publicly denounced and signified to the people. And on the *fourth*, they shall be publicly informed, that we do repute such a person by name no member of our Church."

The New England Church, in her early days of purity, when illustrious names adorned her annals, included in her discipline the disobedient children of the Church. Thus testifies Cotton Mather in his "History of the New England Churches from 1620 to 1698:" "We judge, that the discipline of our Lord Jesus Christ in our churches ought to be extended to the children baptized in them, inasmuch as these persons are certainly those which the Scripture calls *within*, and not *without*. And the practice of the purest churches has been agreeable to this principle, as well the Primitive before, as others since, the Reformation. Reason also says that where a *privilege* is expected, a *discipline* is to be acknowledged. Although it is a membership in the catholic Church that gives right unto baptism, yet particular churches owe a duty to the catholic Church, part of which duty is the application of discipline unto those baptized persons, whom the providence of God shall cast under their inspection. The discipline which we count owing to these

persons, is, an *instruction* in the laws of our Lord Jesus Christ, an *admonition* upon a scandalous violation of those laws, and upon incorrigibleness in evil, an *open rejection* from all ecclesiastical privileges. And although persons are most clearly liable to this process, when they have actually renewed their baptismal covenant, and recognised their subjection to the government of our Lord, in his Church, and the children of the Church are to be accordingly labored withal, that they may be brought hereunto, yet we do not think that any of the said persons refusing or neglecting thus to do, are thereby exempted from such care of the Church, to bring them unto repentance." Book v. ch. 15. The observations of the learned Increase Mather merit attention: "Baptized persons are under the discipline and government of the Church. When a person is baptized, he is solemnly admitted into Christ's school; can any one be admitted into Christ's school, and yet not subject to the order and discipline of that school? Again, baptism is the livery which of right appertaineth to Christ's household servants. Surely, if a person accept of that livery; he doth thereby submit himself to the laws and government of Christ, which is exercised in Christ's family here on earth. Therefore, the persons in question being baptized, may not plead exemption from discipline. That discipline and government which Christ hath appointed in his Church, hath been exercised towards children, according to their capacity, in all ages of the world. So it was when the Church was domestic, and after the Church became national. So too, the Christian Church of old, did discipline such children, although not presently admitted to the Lord's Supper. Furthermore, since the anti-Christian apostasy, the Reformed Church hath ever owned this truth. . . . The neglect of discipline toward children hath been the woful cause of much evil among us—withholding from this generation that which is, by the Lord's appointment, the means of restraint and recovery out of this evil. This very neglect hath brought a wound upon those churches, which—except the Lord be exceeding merciful—is now become incurable, and incurable. *Hinc prima mali labes*; children have been let alone so long, and many of them have become such

Belialists, that it has now become a difficulty, and almost an impossibility, to bring them under the yoke of Christ. . . . It is a zealous and dilligent attendance to discipline according to the rules of Christ, and not curtailing the covenant, that will keep churches pure. There are two ways practised by men in order to keep churches pure, the one is *human*, the other *divine*. The human way is to straiten the grace of the Lord's covenant; the divine way is faithfully to attend to discipline."

Thus, we have shown that the covenant-obligations of children were held to be enforceable by discipline, even to excommunication, by the Apostolic Church, by the Primitive Church, by the Bohemian Church, by the Reformed Church, (which condemned the contrary doctrine, as the foundation of Anabaptism,) by the Church of France, by the Church of Scotland, (whose discipline has moulded our own,) and by the New England Church in her palmiest days. Our Revisionists, in this discussion, have called for the testimony of the Churches. We here furnish it. And now, confronted with it, what can they say? Will they rebut it by the contrary testimony of other Churches, or even of one single Church of the Reformation? Let them produce it. It is incumbent upon them to do it. But if unable, they are bound in candor to admit, that the doctrine they urge our Church to accept, is a departure from the faith of her ancestors.

We adduce next, the views of some of the most eminent modern divines. And first of all, Dr. John M. Mason—one of the brightest lights with which the Church of God was ever blessed. "The Church is to inspect the conduct of her youth. I do not mean that she is to encourage hawkers of scandal, nor to entertain legions of spies, for their benefit. Not that she is to put on that dismal visage which petrifies the juvenile heart; nor to indulge that morose inquisition which arraigns as a crime, every burst of juvenile cheerfulness. It is as much a part of God's natural constitution that youth should be sprightly, as that age should be grave. To reduce to one size, and one quality, all the decencies of life in all its periods, is the attribute of zeal which never discriminates, of severity which never learns,

or of Pharisaism, which finds a righteousness in reprobating enjoyments which it cannot share.

“But, after every proper allowance and precaution, there is left a large field of juvenile conduct for the eye of the Church to explore. Both in affirming the principles of rectitude, and in resisting the principles of evil, she may and she ought to do much for her youth.

“If a child be exemplary in filial or fraternal affection; pure in behavior among others; diligent in learning the precious truths of revelation; reverential towards the ordinances of public and private worship; fearful of sinning against God; it is no small encouragement to have these excellencies observed, cherished, and honored, by those who bear rule in the Church. Timidity subsides; bashfulness is attempered into modesty; the ductile inclination grows into consistent purpose; and thus, ‘little ones’ are brought to Jesus Christ, and prepared for occupying, in due season, the places of those whose gray hairs announce the approach of that hour in which they are to be numbered with them who have died in faith.

“On the other hand, can any reflecting person doubt, that the seasonable interposition of the Church of God might save many a youth from falling a victim to his own depravity, or to the depravity of others? Why should a doubt be entertained on the subject? Is the experiment fairly tried? Are the churches in the habit of throwing themselves in between ruin and the youth who have not openly professed religion? Do parents, on the failure of domestic admonition, *ever* resort to this remedy? Ought they not to do it? Why should a tender and solemn remonstrance, in the name of the living God, the Creator, and the Judge of all, be without its influence in recovering an unpractised sinner from the error of the wicked? Why should not an *authoritative* exhortation, on the part of the Church of God, brought home to individual feeling, have some effect, as a rational means, in prevailing with the young to consider their obligation to recognise the vows made over them in their baptism? There are more troublesome consciences on this point, among our youth, than we perhaps imagine. Why should they not be told that

continuance in carelessness, or abandonment to iniquity, will compel the Church of God to disown them, and to rank them with those concerning whom she has no promises to plead? Let it not be said, that 'the state of religious society forbids such an interference—that parents and children would spurn at it as an encroachment upon their liberty—and that instead of gaining our youth, it would drive them, at once, into the camp of the profane;'—at least let not these things be said without *facts* to support them. They are the suggestions of fear, unsanctioned by experience. No doubt, in the decayed state of Christian order, much prudence is necessary for its revival; but the necessity of prudence cannot excuse inaction. It is very possible, also, that some young saints would 'kick against the pricks.' But the same objection lies against the faithful preaching of the word, and against the impartial use of discipline toward professors. There are weighty reasons why a judicious extension of Church authority to baptized youth in general, would not be so fruitless and despicable as some suppose:

"1. The mere power of *opinion* which it would employ, could not be easily resisted. It is to be remembered, that a very little quantity of opinion goes a great way with all minds which have not yet acquired self-stability; and *such* opinion as the Christian Church can at all times command, no man living *can* disregard with impunity.

"2 In many instances, this interference would combine with domestic precept and example; and how far their united forces would go, nothing but the event is entitled to pronounce.

"3. Dissolute as the world is, and disposed as multitudes are to scoff at every thing which bears the image and superscription of Jesus Christ, it will be no recommendation even with thoughtless people, that a young person fled away from the voice of kindly instruction; much less that he was thrust out on account of his vices. Some there are, who, to serve the present hour, would applaud his spirit; and, on the first disagreement, would upbraid him with his disgrace. It is not in human nature to stand easily under an excommunication of any sort. Exclusion,

for faults, from any decent society, is, and ever will be, a stigma. Whoever disbelieves it has only to try.

“4. The providence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his control over the hearts and affairs of men, are especially to be regarded. Perhaps no instance can be shown of contempt upon the discipline of his house not being followed, sooner or later, with most disastrous consequences to the offender. He has promised to own, support, and vindicate it, as solemnly as he ever promised to bless the gospel of his grace. If more stress were laid upon *his* agency in rendering effectual his own institutions, we should both discharge our duty more exactly, and see it crowned with greater success. Let the churches *begin* to look after their youth; let them commit their efforts to their Master's faithfulness. It will be time enough to complain, when he ‘leaves himself without a witness.’”

Similar views were entertained by Dr. Samuel Miller: “When they come to years of discretion, let them be affectionately reminded of their duty to ratify, by their own act, the vows made by their parents in baptism, and be urged, again and again, to give first their hearts, and then an humble acknowledgment of an outward profession to the Saviour. Let this plan be pursued faithfully, constantly, patiently, and with parental tenderness. If instruction and exhortation be disregarded, and a course of error, immorality, or negligence, be indulged in, let warning, admonition, suspension, or excommunication ensue, according to the character of the individual, and the exigencies of the case. ‘What!’ some will be disposed to say, ‘suspend or excommunicate a young person, who has never yet taken his seat at a sacramental table, nor even asked for that privilege?’ Certainly. Why not? If the children of professing Christians are born members of the Church, and are baptized as a sign and a seal of their membership, nothing can be plainer than that they ought to be treated in every respect as church-members, and, of course, if they act in an unchristian manner, a bar ought to be set up in the way of their enjoying Christian privileges. If this be not admitted, we must give up the very first principles of ecclesiasti-

cal order and duty." "The truth is, if infant baptism were properly improved, if *the profession, which it includes*, and the obligations which it imposes, were suitably appreciated and followed up, it would have few opponents. I can no more doubt, if this were done, that it would be blessed to the saving conversion of thousands of our young people, than I can doubt the faithfulness of a covenant God. Yes, infant baptism is of God, but the fault lies in the conduct of its advocates. The inconsistency of its friends has done more to discredit it, than all the arguments of its opposers, a hundred fold."

The report of the committee of the Assembly of 1811, above alluded to—Drs. Romeyn, Miller, and Richards—takes the same ground: "If the youth of the Church do not discharge all the duties of members, when they have reached the age of discretion, then let them be dealt with accordingly. If at that age, after having had all the care and attention prescribed as necessary, they do not conform to all the institutions of Jesus Christ, there is every reason to suppose that they will commit such open sins as will make it evident to all that they deserve to be cut off; or, if not, they will still deserve to be thus cut off, 1. For not improving their religious education. 2. Slighting warning administered by parents, teachers, and ministers. 3. Neglecting to fulfil the vows which baptism imposes. 4. For irreligion, breaking the covenant of their God."

Dr. John. H. Rice, of Virginia, held the same view, and reprehended the present practice of the churches, in treating covenant-breaking youth as virtually self-excommunicated: "A majority of our churches, perhaps, fall into another kind of inconsistency, and proceed upon the assumption that those who have been baptized in infancy, excommunicate themselves, when at the age of personal responsibility, they neglect to obey the commands of Christ; and that those persons, thenceforward, cease to be members of the Church until they enter it by another door, *i. e.*, until they are received to the communion of the Lord's Supper. Accordingly, when this is done, they are reported to presbytery as new members, received on examination." (*Evang. and Lit. Magazine.*)

Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, holds the same view: "When baptized children come to a suitable age, and have the requisite knowledge, they should be required to assume for themselves their baptismal vows, and should, as other church-members, be disciplined for any neglect or violation of their covenanted obligations." "There is a great temptation to adopt theories which free from painful responsibilities."

A member of the Revision Committee, whilst he respects the views of the old divines, yet affirms that "the subject of church government is better understood by the men of the present generation, than it was by our fathers." Only to a very limited extent indeed, can this assertion be allowed to be true. On the subject of the eldership, it may be granted, that correct views more generally obtain in our Southern Church now, than were entertained by the churches in preceding generations. But how many years of protracted discussion and controversy were required for this! And yet how much opposition does the revival of what is indeed the doctrine of the Apostolic and Primitive Church, encounter among us! How do our newspapers at this very time, teem with crude effusions of dogmatical, prelatical "Presbyterians!" And if our Southern Church has been led into the old paths, how greatly is she indebted to the torch of a venerable pioneer of a former age, here and there, that has lighted her way! But, on the general subject of the constitution of the Church, and its regimen, and the relations between the Old Testament Church and the New, what misconceptions, what ignorance, exist, even among our eminent divines. What information the great majority of these have upon such topics, has not been obtained by independent study, but picked up from reviews and newspapers. Where is the application, the toil, the culture, the scholarship, the thoroughness, that so generally distinguished the theological world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? How many of our ministers have any acquaintance with the writings of L'Empereur, Bertram, Leydekker, Buxtorf, Vitringa, Witsius, Gillespie, and many other worthies that might be named? It will be readily admitted by all, that a body equal to the Westminster Assembly could not

possibly be convened in this superficial age. There were giants in those days—and they abounded too! But where shall they be found now? Perhaps, one or two here and there, in all Christendom!

We shall consider now some objections that have been made to our doctrine.

1. It was objected by that eminent man, Dr. Thornwell, that “the two classes of professors and non-professors are not equally related to the idea of the Church: that the former class pertains to its essence, whilst the latter is an accidental result of the mode of organisation; for there can be no Church at all, where there is no professed subjection to the authority of Christ, but there may be a Church, and in the millennium there perhaps will be a Church, in which all are saints; and hence discipline, to the same extent, is not equally applicable to both classes.”

Though it be true that there can be a Church in which there are none but professors, personally, it is equally true that *such* a Church does but imperfectly represent “the visible Church, which consists of those who profess the religion of Christ, and submit to his laws, *together with their children.*” A community of single individuals would still be a community, (as long as it lasted!) but *such* a community would not be selected as a representative of society, which, with the Church, consists of families. The membership of children is essential to the completeness of the idea of the visible Church. And in the millennium, doubtless, the same elements will be found in the Church as now, professors and their children. The two classes are equally related to the covenant of the visible Church. Children are just as much in covenant with God as their parents are. They are not church-members simply because they are descended from professing parents, for this of itself could never have given them the right of citizenship in the commonwealth of Christ; but they are church-members because God has made his covenant with them, as well as with their parents. Wherever they are found, they are component members of the visible Church. There may be a Church consisting of professors only, in which there are no children—an imperfect representative of the visible Church,

however,—but there cannot be a Church in which there are children, that shall consist of professors only. The children of Baptist parents are none the less members of the Church, equally with their parents, because their membership is not recognised. God has put them in the Church, and God only can put them out. Children that are in covenant with God, whether professors or not, are members of the Church. All the duties, all the responsibilities of church-membership are theirs. All the education they need is due to them. If this be given, and after they have attained to manhood, any of them still resist their obligations, and refuse to yield obedience to Christ, then they have broken covenant with God, and the Church should disown them.

We reach the same conclusion, if, from the stand-point of the Reformers, we look upon the Church as “the whole body of the elect considered as united to Christ their head.” Why are any infants found in the Church? Had there been no covenant made with them, we could not have said whether there was a presumption for or against their election. But God *has* made a covenant with them, and so has brought them into his Church. And hence, say the Reformed divines, the *presumption* is, that they are of the number of the elect, and are to be so regarded, and so treated, until they give indubitable evidence to the contrary. When they have come to years of discretion, and in the case of any, all the faithful labors of the Church to lead them to acknowledge their obligations have proved unavailing, and they do not profess faith in Christ, love to him and his ordinances, and subjection to his laws, and so destroy the presumption of their election, they are accordingly to be judged as not belonging to the body of the elect, and therefore their proper place is *without* the Church, (which is “the whole body of the elect considered as united to Christ their head,”) and not *within* it. Their connexion then with the Church should terminate; for the evidences of election are plainly wanting. And it should terminate in that way which the case demands. This is the dictate of justice and of common sense. If the lack of those moral virtues or Christian graces, which are the evidences of election,

be simply their misfortune, then, of course, their connexion with the Church should terminate without censure, by a withdrawal simply. But if the lack of those qualities be a crime, (and in their circumstances it is a great crime,) then their church-membership should terminate by excommunication, which not only dissolves the connexion, but also passes a deserved censure upon their wicked apostasy. "Holiness to the Lord has been written upon their foreheads, and when they forget the obligations it implies, and walk in the light of their own eyes, and after the imaginations of their own hearts, they as much despise the covenanted claims of God, as if they had given themselves to his service by their own free act. They have been made vessels of the sanctuary; and in surrendering their being to secular ends, they are guilty of the same species of sin, which he commits who defiles the temple of the Lord."* It is just, therefore, that the Church should disown them.

Again: If the argument we have been considering be a sound one, viz., "That the two classes of which the Church consists, are not equally related to the idea of the Church; and therefore discipline is not equally applicable to both, to the same extent," then it condemns as unjust the regulations of the Old Testament Church in regard to her youth. The Jewish Church consisted of two classes, professors and non-professors; but if the Jewish child did not at a certain age make a profession of religion, and observe the ordinance of the Passover, he was excommunicated. Why not object then, that the excision of the unconverted, rebellious, Jewish youth was unnatural, unreasonable, and absurd? There can be no reply to this, except by affirming that the Jewish Church was not absolutely a spiritual Church, and that spiritual qualifications were not required of those who observed the ordinance of the Passover—to affirm which, is to contradict the word of God. The Jewish Church was a true Church. Christ was its head, and the enlightening, sanctifying, influences of the Holy Spirit were given to her, though not in the same liberal, abundant measure, which is now enjoyed by the

* Dr. Thornwell's "Discourses on Truth."

New Testament Church. Shall it be, that because the influences of the Spirit are given in larger measure to the Church now than formerly, therefore greater liberty is accorded to her youth now than formerly, to resist their obligations? "*He hath broken my covenant,*" is the reason God gives for excommunication. The reason is a *moral* one, and so universally applicable, under every dispensation. Such a crime in the New Testament Church, is far greater than it was in the Old Testament Church, in proportion as the light and privileges of the former exceed those of the latter.

If the regulations of the Church in regard to the discipline of her youth have been altered, then let this be shewn, and let the Church of Christ be permitted to see her "Revised Book of Discipline," subscribed with a "Thus saith the Lord." The Jewish youth, who broke covenant with God, by forbearing to observe the last sealing ordinance of his Church, was disciplined, not by an indefinite suspension, not by an exclusion from the Passover, but by excommunication. (Numbers ix. 13.) Let it be shewn that the Church now is at liberty to proceed differently against her apostate youth; and to enact that no further discipline is called for in their case, than a discipline to which they have been accustomed all their lives—exclusion from the Lord's table—albeit some of them have broken over all bounds of morality and decency, have forsaken the sanctuary and its ordinances, become outlaws, scoffers, infidels, drunkards, and whoremongers.

That Dr. Thornwell was not satisfied with his own argument, is apparent from the following remarks, taken from his review of a work of Dr. Breckinridge: "Our Book evidently makes the distinction between the visible and invisible Churches to be, that in the one, the profession, in the other, the possession, of faith is the indispensable condition of membership. The two do not, therefore, seem to correspond. The one is not an imperfect exhibition of the other, but a different, though a related institute. Where the specific difference is not the same, there can be no identity of species. Then, again, the constitution of the visible Church, through families, many of whose members never become

saints, would seem to intimate that the visible Church is something more than the communion of saints made apparent. The whole subject is encompassed with difficulties, and we should have been glad if Dr. Breckinridge had devoted to it a larger share of his attention. It is undergoing a warm and vigorous discussion in Germany, and we hope the result will be the clearing up of difficulties which still embarrass many earnest minds." S. P. R., Oct. 1859.

2. It is objected, that "as profession qualifies for the privileges of the Church, so also profession qualifies for the discipline of the Church." A Baptist would readily assent to this proposition, and would only suggest that the word "all" should be placed before "privileges." *How* does the profession made by an adult qualify him for the privileges of the Church? Thus: His profession has brought him within the covenant of the Church, and so being within the covenant, he is entitled to its privileges, under obligation to its duties, and amenable to its discipline. But *the child* of the professor, God himself has put within the covenant of the Church, even before its birth. It was born a member of the Church, because born within the covenant; and being within the covenant, the child also is entitled to its privileges, under obligation to its duties, and amenable to its discipline. The Baptist principle is, No baptism without profession. The Revision principle is, No discipline without profession. Why not, then, with Baptists, deny that infants can *covenant* with God? If no discipline without profession, why a covenant without profession? But if a covenant, then why not a covenant for *discipline*, as well as for *privilege*? No enforcing obligation without profession, say the Revisionists. But if the profession itself be included in the obligation, then, of course, the profession cannot be made the condition of enforcing the obligation! The qualification cannot, surely, be made the condition of the command, since God commands the very qualification itself! What, in one sense, are church-duties, are, in another sense, church-privileges. When the heart is in a proper state, they are so regarded. Now, will it do to affirm, that, whenever a child of the covenant, whose heart is not right

with God, fails to regard his duties as privileges, in such a case duties cease to be duties, and he is exempt from the discipline of the covenant?

It has been said: "If some members of the Church can be excluded from a privilege to which others are entitled, without prejudice to their church-membership, why may they not be exempted from a penalty to which others are exposed, without jeopardy to their relations to the Church?" We reply: 1. Such privileges as are also duties binding upon all members equally, none can be excluded from, "without prejudice to their church-membership." It is impossible. The obligations to perform all the duties of church-membership not only grow out of that covenant-relation they sustain to God, but are resolvable, back of this, into that essential relation, they, as moral agents, sustain to God's Moral Law, and from which, consequently, no power in the universe can release them. 2. Unbelief and impenitence—a criminal state of heart, out of which their "disabilities" spring—are altogether excuseless, unless sin carries with it its own apology. 3. Impenitent, baptized youth incur not simply *loss*, but *guilt*; and guilt necessarily exposes them to the just, deserved censures of the Church.

The doctrine of non-liability to church-censures, *without consent*, would have a terrible sweep—striking, as it does, at the foundation of the economy of nature, the economy of providence, the economy of grace, as well as the economy of a Church-state. We are born into the world without our consent; are constituted moral agents without our consent; made candidates for a never-ending eternity without our consent; were born of such and such parents without our consent; born in such and such circumstances without our consent. Relations have been constituted for us, without our consent, and yet they involve serious responsibilities. So, too, the relations we sustain to the Church, may be without our consent, and yet we cannot throw off the mighty responsibility. Children are constantly subject to responsibilities, without their consent or knowledge. "Covenants made with parents include their heirs. Estates descend, charged with various duties, which children neglect at their

peril. Without such arrangements, society could never attain its great end and object." The principle which Puffendorf lays down is indisputable: "In infants, a presumed consent is judged equivalent to a formal acceptance, it being taken for granted, that no one will refuse what conduces to his benefit." (Law of Nature and Nations. Book iv., chap. iv., p. 161.) So, too, Vitringa: "Semper enim de homine præsumimus, *salutem suam velle*. Sufficit, nos posse præsumere, infantem professioni parentum suorum non renunciaturum quia præsumitur suam salutem velle." (Observationes Sacræ. Tom. 1, p. 328.) And what conduces more to one's benefit than the possession of a covenant-relationship to God, the performance of covenant-duties, and the enjoyment of covenant-privileges?

Our doctrine, then, is supported by the analogies of nature and providence, of society, and government. It is supported too, by the analogies of all the covenants made by God with men. The covenant of works, made with Adam, was also made with us, but without our consent. Still, responsibilities were incurred, and the consequences of this transaction remain to this day. The covenant of grace, made with Christ, was also made with his seed, but without their consent—grace was given them in Christ before the world began. Duties devolve upon them in consequence, and privileges, everlasting privileges are theirs. So likewise, other covenants made with parents—*e. g.* with Noah, with Phinehas, with David—were made with their children, without their consent. So that all analogy upholds the provision of the ecclesiastical covenant, by which children become members of the Church, without their consent. In all these covenants, the presumed consent of children was judged equivalent to their formal consent. Steuart of Pardovan, in his "Collections," makes the following just observation: "By that covenant whereof baptism is a seal, the Lord promiseth to be our God, and we are in his promised strength to engage to be his people; which engagement, though Christian infants be not capable to come under of themselves, formally; yet, by parents vowing in their name and stead, they do thereby become absolutely bound to the performance thereof, because their

obligation and duty to be the Lord's were supposed, and previous unto their being baptized." So too, Matthew Henry: "The child's actual faith, and repentance, and obedience, are thereby made debts then incurred, to be paid at a future time. Baptism is an *obligation* which must be performed. It is the seal of a bond. We are in bonds to God; penal bonds to be the Lord's; which, if we break, we expose ourselves to the penalty." In like manner, the learned Lightfoot observes: "The equity of the obligation lies not in the parties understanding the thing, but in the equity of the thing itself. How come all men liable to Adam's sin? The equity of imputing it to them makes them liable, as they are in Adam's loins and covenant. How do men become bound to perform their duty? Not because able, but from the equity of the thing, because it is equal and fit that they should. So, children at baptism may come under obligation, not because they are able to perform their duty to know it, but the equity of the thing lays it on. They have this natural bond upon them, as creatures, to homage God; if the sacramental bond be added, they are bound, as Christians, to homage Christ. Why should this be so monstrous, since they are as much capable to know one, as the other? Let the objector shew why the uncircumcised child should be cut off from his people, and why God should visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children?" Engagements made for children, that accord with their moral obligations, and therefore with their true interests, are binding, however repugnant they may subsequently prove to their depraved inclinations. The child of a citizen is born a citizen, but is not qualified *by nature* to be a citizen, for it has a nature, which, left to itself, would prove destructive of citizenship, would make him an outlaw, and an outcast. His development requires constant watch, direction, restraint, instruction, culture—in other words, he must be different from what he was by nature, his nature must be changed, (in one sense,) before he is fit to discharge the duties, and enjoy the privileges of citizenship. But suppose that, in the case of any, this change does not take place, character is not improved by the ameliorating, conservative influences of the family and of society; social and

civil obligations are not fulfilled, but discarded and trampled upon; what then? Does the law deem the fact of the lack of the necessary change; the fact of the absence of proper moral qualifications; a sufficient reason for exemption from the penalty—banishment or death? Would it not be monstrous folly, to plead in behalf of an outlaw: “He never owned his responsibility to the law, he never acknowledged his obligations, he never discovered a sense of duty, he never had a heart for the ordinances of society, he never was disposed to be restrained by the bonds of civilisation and government; all the efforts made, at first to train him for duty, and subsequently to correct his errors, to abandon his vicious and criminal career, to reform his character, in a word *to change him*, have all been in vain; he is morally, and socially, *a dead man*; one, who ‘has never heard the voice of the law in his soul;’ it would therefore be most unreasonable and foolish ‘to exercise over him a kind of government wholly unsuited to his condition and circumstances,’ to treat the wicked like the righteous—an outlaw, like a faithful citizen,—and to inflict upon the *dead*, a punishment fit only for the *living*?” How would the law of society “treat” such a plea as this? Only as proving conclusively the justice of the penalty; the absence of moral qualifications for duty, as sealing the condemnation of the criminal. The fact that a change of character was necessary before the man could fulfil his duties as a citizen, the law takes no notice of; for it represents his obligations, not his qualifications, and has respect to the *doing of duty*, and not to what fitted him for it. Now is not this reasoning applicable to the case of the disobedient baptized? Does the fact that a *supernatural* change, wrought by the Spirit, is necessary to fit them for the duties of church-membership, affect their obligations either to duty or to discipline? Whence the necessity of a *supernatural* change, but from the fact that their nature is *spiritually dead*, so that a new creation is required? In the case of the young citizen, the ordinary influences of the Spirit in providence, are necessary to effect the needful change, form a virtuous character, and qualify him for his duties. In the case of the child of the Church, the

extraordinary influences of the Spirit in grace, are necessary to effect the needful change, and qualify him for his duties. The absence of qualification does not excuse from duty, nor exempt from punishment, in the one case—why should it in the other?

The necessity of a supernatural change in the second case, only reveals more clearly than is done in the first case, *the true condition* of our fallen nature—its *radical* depravity, originating its *total inability* to fulfil *moral obligations*, and requiring the agency of the Spirit to restore it to its normal, original state and power,—and therefore only reveals more clearly the utter worthlessness of all apologies made for it, and the perfect justice of the penalty due to those who are false to their own nature, and false to God. The question of duty does not turn on the giving or withholding of the Spirit, but on the obligations of the individual. It is our duty to yield perfect obedience to the law, but we are not able to do our duty. The Scriptures plainly require us to “serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear,” and with the same breath tell us we must “have grace” to enable us to do it. It would, then, be just as reasonable to object, that it was an unjust and cruel sentence which subjected the unbaptized unbeliever to everlasting destruction, because he lacked the grace necessary to enable him to comply with his moral obligations, as to object that it was an unjust and cruel sentence which subjected the baptized unbeliever to excommunication, because he lacked the grace necessary to enable him to comply with his moral and covenant obligations.

It has been argued, that “the obligations of Christians do not fall on unbelievers. The obligation of the unbeliever is to be a Christian, to believe—not to observe church-ordinances; but being a Christian, then, to observe them.” This reasoning is specious, but unsound. The true theory is, that upon all men, willing or unwilling, church-obligations rest. The difference between a professor and a non-professor is not, that obligations rest on the former, which do not on the latter, but the true difference is, that the former *assumes* obligations previously existing, whilst the latter dishonorably *repudiates* them.

A prescribed order obtains among these obligations. Faith in Christ is necessary, in order to the right observance of all church-ordinances. A precept or an institution may be positive, and yet obedience to it is a moral duty, if commanded by God. And what else is necessary for the due observance of the Lord's Supper, but a proper state of heart? And does not "a proper state of heart" come under the claims of the moral law, the essential, unchangeable law of our nature? And is not the "proper state of heart" for *sinner*s, *faith in Christ*, and *love to Christ*, the divinely appointed Saviour of sinners? And then does not the moral law require faith in Christ, love to Christ, and obedience to his commands? And are not these the qualifications for a due observance of the Lord's Supper? And the want of which is therefore condemned by the moral law? So that the non-observance of the Lord's Supper, on the ground of lack of qualification, is condemned by the moral law? Now, if this obligation rests on all, does it not devolve with greater weight upon those who, by a divine constitution, are already members of the Church? If the violation of *natural* obligations be attended with great guilt, is not the violation of both *natural* and *covenant* obligations attended with still greater?

It has been attempted to ridicule our doctrine, by representing it as equivalent to "excommunicating a person for not being regenerated." It is not on this account—the "not being regenerated"—that excommunication is applicable to any. That involves the sovereignty of the Spirit, and this is no ground, either for action or non-action, with the Church. But excommunication is applicable to them, because the moral and covenant obligations, which have been devolved upon them by God, and which will bind for eternity, have been violated. It is true, that their depravity is so entire, that they need the renewing influences of the Spirit to enable them to do their duty. But duty is none the less duty, if those renewing influences are not, in the way of sovereignty, bestowed. Not a particle of responsibility is thereby removed—not the shadow of an excuse is thereby furnished, (for the inability of the sinner, being his sin, cannot excuse,)—nor is amenability to punishment thereby

affected, in the least, both moral and ecclesiastical; for such are liable to ecclesiastical punishment, when ecclesiastical obligations are disowned. If it be objected, that it would be harsh and unnatural to cast out of the Church any "for not being regenerated," why may it not, with equal force, be objected, that it would be unjust in God to cast any into *hell*, "for not being regenerated"—since this was not in their power? If the phrase "for not being regenerated" renders ridiculous the idea of casting out of the Church, on this ground, it also renders still more ridiculous the idea of casting any into hell, on the same ground. What it does for the one, it does for the other. But in neither case is this phraseology accurate. Moral obligation takes hold of the moral states and acts of an individual, without any respect to the supernatural agency, which, since the fall, is now required for the creation of such states and acts as are holy and good. It is not said, "He that is *not regenerated*, shall be damned," but, "He that *believeth not*, shall be damned;"—although, as a matter of fact, it be true that no one can "believe," who is not "regenerated." So too, when the Saviour says, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God," here is simply the statement of the fact—"he *cannot* see the kingdom of God." Again, he says, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish!" Faith and repentance are required of sinners. But for the existence of these, regeneration is necessary. And this is not in their power, nor are the acts of faith and repentance. Still, they are *morally bound* to believe and repent. And they are morally bound to serve God. And without faith and repentance they cannot serve him. And if they do not believe, and repent, and serve God, they will perish, and justly; notwithstanding the fact that faith and repentance and true obedience, are not in their own power. Sinners, then, without the Church, that do not believe, repent, and serve, (and the proper field of labor is the Church,) are justly doomed to perish. And so, too, sinners *within* the Church, that do not believe, repent, and serve God, in ordinances and commandments, (which they are bound by covenant to do,) are justly *cast out of the Church*, and, unless they repent, are doomed to perish.

3. It is objected, That excommunication is not applicable to non-communicants, because such are already without the communion of the Church; in that position already in which excommunication places a person. But what is "the communion of the Church?" Surely not the communion table only! The "communion of the Church" is communion in its sympathies, affections, prayers, ordinances, privileges, watchful care, instruction, training, inspection, government, control, and discipline. If the children of the Church are without the communion of the Church, then of course are they without its sympathies, affections, prayers, watchful care, instruction, government, as well as discipline;—which is equivalent to being "without the Church;" for what is the "Church" without its "communion?" So that the theory of the objector "excommunicates" all the children of the Church! But if the children of the Church are not without its communion, as to care, prayers, instruction, and government, who has the right to come in here and separate "discipline" from communion, to which it pertains, as well as do the other elements? Calvin justly observes: "The children of the Church are in the communion of the Church, even before their birth." (In pueris infantibus, qui antequam ex utero prodierint, jam in communione ecclesiæ sunt. Instructio adversus Anabapt.) The baptized child is one of God's visible people. He is in the communion, not of the invisible, but of the visible Church, though not as yet in full communion, which still he is *bound* to be. He has his rights which the Church is bound to respect, and acknowledge. He has his interests which the Church is bound to conserve. He has his obligations which the Church is bound to see fulfilled. God has linked him to her by a tie which God only can dissolve. He participates in those rights, privileges, and benefits, which are found in her alone—such as properly belong to him in his present condition of minority. He is the object of her regard, her sympathy, and her labors. He is under obligation to come to the full possession of all his rights, to the full enjoyment of all his privileges, to the full discharge of all his duties, to the full performance of a covenanted, required service—in short, to the full communion of the Church. For

this, the influences of the Spirit are promised, and the efforts of the Church put forth,—to enable him to meet those moral and covenanted obligations which were upon him from the first moment of his existence. And if all effort has proved in vain, and he becomes, instead of a dutiful child, a guilty rebel, despising his birthright, contemning his rights and privileges, trampling upon his obligations, then it is the duty of the Church to cut him off from her communion, excommunicate him, as one who has broken the covenant of God.

The effect of excommunication is to terminate church-membership. “If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican,” says our Lord. Some have strangely supposed that these words refer to a private trespass between man and man, and not to a public sin against the church;—because it is not said, “Let him be to the church, but let him be *to thee* a heathen and a publican!” According to this view, one individual has the right to treat “as a heathen” him whom the Church treats as a Christian! And one member may be “a heathen” to all his fellow-members individually, and, at the same time, a Christian to the Church collectively! But if “*to thee*” he may be as a heathen, for a private trespass, much more may he be such to the *whole Church*, for a public scandalous sin.

The Jews were denied ecclesiastical, but permitted civil fellowship with heathen—the Canaanites excepted, whom God had devoted to destruction, and the Samaritans, who being once circumcised, and having received the book of the law, afterwards hindered the building of the house of the Lord, and were then excommunicated by the Jewish Church. That civil fellowship was not denied to heathen by the Jews, is evident also from the testimony of Josephus: “Our law doth not admit them (Gentiles) into our solemn or sacred assemblies, but it appointeth to communicate unto them all such things as they need, as fire, water, meat, also to show them the way, and let none of them be unburied.” (Contra Appionem.) Maimonides also shows that it was lawful for the Jews to buy and sell, borrow and lend, and make contracts with heathen. “It is lawful to go to the markets

or fairs of heathen, and to buy from them beasts, men-servants, maid-servants, though they be yet heathen; also houses, fields, vineyards; also for writing (contracts) it is permitted to go to their judicial courts." "With idolaters it is lawful to spend a day in mirth and gladness, (a king's coronation-day, or a man's birth-day,) eating and drinking, and observe the custom—*nevertheless hold it not for a holy day*, (devoted to idolatrous worship.)" Compare with this passage the directions given by the apostle to Christians: "If any of them that believe not bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go; whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake. But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not for his sake that shewed it, and for conscience sake." Have communion with him in his dinner, but not in his idolatry!

L'Empereur ("De Legibus Ebræorum Forensibus") well observes: "'Let him be unto thee as an heathen,' is as much as have no communion nor fellowship with him in the holy assemblies, nor in the temple; for heathen were not permitted to come into the temple; (Ezek. xliv. 7, 9. Acts xxi. 28;) whereupon Paul is accused for bringing Greeks into the temple, and so polluting that holy place: heathen were excluded from *atrium Israelis*, the court of Israel, which was without the court of the priests. There was without the court of Israel, *atrium gentium*, the court of the Gentiles, otherwise called *intermurale*, because it lay between the temple and the outer wall, mentioned Ezek. xlii. 20. Into this outmost court, or *intermurale*, heathen men were admitted to come and worship there, according to 1 Kings viii. 41; 2 Chron. vi. 32. Heathen, though sojourning among the children of Israel, and dwelling within their gates, might not eat of the passover, Ex. xii. 43, 45. Civil fellowship was allowed, but eating of the passover was forbidden. No heathen man, no, not he that was in the priest's house, might eat of an offering of the holy things, Lev. xxii. 10, 13. A sacrifice was not accepted from the hand of a heathen, Lev. xxii. 25. And heathen had no part or portion with God's people, Neh. ii. 20; they were not within, but without the Church, being 'aliens from the commonwealth of

Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.' So that, 'let him be a heathen,' must reach thus far: 'Let him no more partake in the ordinances than a heathen; have no more church communion with him, than with a heathen; let him be no more acknowledged for a church-member, than a heathen; and with good reason, he hath made himself as a heathen, yea, worse than a heathen.'" Thus social fellowship with heathen was granted, ecclesiastical fellowship denied. So too with regard to publicans. Of these, there were two sorts; some good and just men, exacting only what was appointed; others unjust, extortioners, and thereby infamous. Some were devout members of the Jewish Church, either native Jews or proselytes; others were infamous for their impiety and wickedness. The former enjoyed, of course, ecclesiastical fellowship with other Jews, and were admitted to the sacrifices and worship of the temple; of such, was the publican in the parable, who "went up into the temple to pray," as the Pharisee's words show; for when he thanks God that he is not as other men, adulterers, unjust, extortioners, he adds, *or even as this publican*; thus preferring himself not only to the infamous and scandalous publicans, but even to this devout publican. The other sort, notoriously scandalous, and justly esteemed as the worst of men—"publicans and sinners," "publicans and harlots," "publicans and gluttons," being synonymous in the gospels—were denied ecclesiastical intercourse with the Jews, and excluded from the temple. To this sort does Christ allude, when he says, "Let him be unto thee as a publican." Philo Judæus, in his treatises, "On Animals fit for Sacrifice," and "On those who offer Sacrifice," has abundantly shewn that all impious persons, those morally unclean, as well as those ceremonially unclean, were excluded from church-fellowship among the Jews. "The law ordains that a person who brings a sacrifice shall be pure both in body and soul." "The temple of the truly living God may not be approached by unholy sacrifices." "The real object taken care of, is not the condition of the victims sacrificed in order that they may have no blemish, but that of the sacrificers, that they may not be defiled by any unlawful passion."

“The lawgiver excludes all who are unworthy from the sacred assembly.”

It follows, that as both heathen and publicans were excluded from ecclesiastical, but not civil communion, therefore, for any one to be to the Church as “a heathen and a publican,” is to be “an alien from the commonwealth of Israel;” his connexion with the Church of God being dissolved. Thus, our Directory refers to this text, as warrant for excommunication, and uses the phrase “the Church’s excluding from her communion,” as equipollent with “*casting out unworthy members.*” The Form of Government has an expression of equal force, “*excluding the contumacious and impenitent from the congregation of believers.*” Our General Assembly uses plain, unambiguous language, that cannot be misconceived, when it says, “Resolved, that no church-session has authority *to dissolve the connexion of a communicant with the Church of Christ, except by excommunication.*” Digest, p. 145.

Excommunication is also signified by “devoting one unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the Spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.” 1 Cor. v. 5. That this phrase cannot denote, as some suppose, the miraculous infliction of physical evil by the apostle, is evident, for it was “a punishment inflicted of *many,*” and so no miracle wrought by the apostle; and there is not a syllable of any other punishment than that inflicted “of many.” And what need of any other, since “*sufficient to such a man is this punishment inflicted of many,*” says the apostle? If delivery to Satan meant not simply excommunication, but something more, Satanic torture, what need of it, if the former was “sufficient?” And if the punishment inflicted by the church was “sufficient,” then what was the punishment inflicted by the apostle? Was it *more,* or *less?* If either, then it was either unnecessarily severe, or good for nothing! But the sufficiency of the punishment inflicted by the Church, is a conclusive proof of the absence of any other—and of the identity of “delivering to Satan” and excommunication.

A long list of authorities could be exhibited to shew that this was the general sense of the phrase from the earliest age of the

Church to the present. A few only we present. First, the venerable Syriac version, so ancient that it was made before the New Testament canon was fully settled, thus renders the passage in 1 Cor. v.: "And I, while distant from you in body, but present with you in spirit, have already, as if present, judged him who perpetrateth this deed; that ye all assemble together in the name of our Lord Jesus Messiah; *and that ye deliver him over to Satan*, for the destruction of the flesh, that in spirit he may have life, in the day of our Lord Jesus Messiah." Here, the delivering to Satan is represented as the act of the Church, the apostle concurring, and consequently was a church-censure, and no miracle.

In like manner Basil, one of the ancient fathers, speaks of some who, in his day, "had been delivered to Satan for thirty years, that they might learn not to carry themselves filthily, yea, unnaturally, as they had done formerly; concerning whom, he advises that now, after so long a time, they might be, upon their spontaneous confession of their heinous offence, received again into the Church." So too, the learned Jerome: "He (the presbyter) has power, if I transgress, to deliver me to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved." ("Ille si peccavero licet me tradere Satanæ ad interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit.") Calvin holds the same view: "He calls it delivering to Satan, because the devil is *without* the Church, as Christ is *in* the Church." Turretine takes the same view. Witsius also, in his able treatise, "*De iis quæ a Paulo gesta sunt Ephesi.*" Owen likewise: "This delivery unto Satan is no more but the casting of a man out of the visible kingdom of Christ, so giving him up, as unto his outward condition, into the state of heathens and publicans, which belonged unto the kingdom of Satan." So too, President Edwards: "Excommunication is a punishment . . . whereby a person . . . is cast out of the Church, and delivered unto Satan." "He is cast out into the wicked world, the kingdom of Satan, where he appears to belong." John Brown of Had-dington, thus expresses it: "Excommunication shuts out from church-fellowship altogether, into the world, or kingdom of

Satan." Dr. Killen: "To deliver any one to Satan, is to expel him from the Church; for whoever is not in the Church, is in the world, and the whole world lieth in the wicked one." (Ancient Church.) The Church of Scotland, in her formula of excommunication, employs this expression: "I pronounce thee excommunicated, shut out from the communion of the faithful, debar thee from their privileges, and deliver thee unto Satan for the destruction of thy flesh, that thy spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." "Thereby letting us know how dreadful a thing it is to be shut out from the ordinary means of grace and salvation, and exposed to the temptations of our grand adversary, the devil." (Pardovan's Collec.) The Westminster Assembly, after a long, patient, thorough examination of this passage, as Gillespie shews, decided that it referred to excommunication, and ordered it to be inserted as a proof-text of this doctrine in their Confession of Faith. The Assembly's Notes so explain it: "What it is to be delivered to Satan, the Lord himself declareth, when he saith, 'Let him be unto thee as an heathen and a publican,' that is to say, be disfranchised and put out of the right and liberty of the city of Christ, which is the Church." Lastly, our own standards hold the same view. The Confession of Faith, the Larger Catechism, the Directory for Worship, cite this very passage, this *fifth* verse of fifth chapter of 1 Corinthians, as a proof-text of the doctrine of excommunication. Now then, if excommunication be "counting a person as a heathen and publican," and "delivering him over to Satan," thus "dissolving his connexion with the Church," how can it be affirmed, that to excommunicate the apostate children of the Church, *is just to put them where they are already?* Are they to the Church as heathen? Do they belong to the visible kingdom of the devil? What then becomes of their church-membership? The infant member has a two-fold character—a natural and a covenant character. As to the first, he is sinful; as to the second, he is holy, *i. e.*, devoted to God, God's property. If, in after years, his actual character accords with his covenant character, if he recognises God's right to him by observing his ordinances and obeying his commands,

then his membership in the Church continues. If, in after years, his actual character accords with his natural character, if he continues wicked, not recognising God's right to him, then his covenant character ceases—terminates by Him who constituted it, God—his church-membership is forfeited, he no longer remains within, but is put, by the Church, without.

4. It is objected, that if the excommunicated non-professor were subsequently to return, and profess penitence, he must needs be rebaptized. But this no more follows than that the excommunicated professor should be rebaptized upon his restoration. The one is not necessary, and is never done—why should the other be? The reason is this: Baptism is a sign and seal of two covenants; the covenant of grace, on which is based the invisible Church of all God's elect, and the Abrahamic or ecclesiastical covenant, on which is based the visible Church throughout the world. The covenant of grace is administered *through* the ecclesiastical covenant,—hence, baptism is the sign and seal of *both*. The invisible Church never drops its members. Excommunication never occurs there. Once a member, always a member. Now, the excommunicated non-professor may be, as the excommunicated professor frequently is, a member of the invisible Church; and, if so, his membership is a *sealed* membership, sealed by baptism. And if a member of the invisible Church, his excommunication from the visible Church for his crimes is the means of grace designed for his recovery. Whilst his crimes are not repented of, his remaining in the visible Church avails him little, nay, is injurious to him, for the influences of the Spirit, though not finally withdrawn, are yet temporarily, are suspended, and will continue to be until led to repentance; but for this, the medicine of excommunication is necessary—delivering him over to Satan temporarily, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. And when the medicine has wrought the cure, and, cleansed from his pollutions, and humbled, and penitent, and craving full restoration to his offended Father's favor, and full communion with the Holy Trinity, which is enjoyed only in the full communion of the visible Church, he

applies for restoration, the church, recognising the evidences of his interest in the covenant of grace, and his membership in the invisible Church, re-admits him into that visible Church, which owes its existence to, and derives its value from, the invisible Church of God's elect. But baptism is not repeated, because baptism is a sign and seal of membership in that invisible Church, to which it is evident that he belongs, and from which, of course, he was never excluded. The membership being unbroken, the seal also is unbroken, and still in force.

5. It is objected, That these apostates cannot be subjected to judicial prosecution, because that mode of discipline requires that particular offences must be specified, and certain actions singled out, whereas, the whole state of non-professing members is unsound, and their whole life a continued sin. But, we reply, no judicial prosecution is called for, no trial is needed. Such cases come properly under the category of "cases without process." Their guilt is open, their crime avowed by their very position, and by their own confession. They are covenant-breakers, and all that is required, is to sever their forfeited connexion with the Church.

6. Another objection to the doctrine of our Book, is, That it does not recognise the sovereignty of divine grace. It is said that "the Church, recognising the sovereignty of divine grace, both as to the time and manner of its bestowal, cannot undertake to limit the probation of her baptized youth, and say, at any one moment, *now* this matter of your conversion is to be taken into your own hands, and *now* the exhausted patience of the Church refuses any longer to indulge your procrastination." This is the objection of our highly esteemed brother, Dr. Palmer. In reply, we ask, what right has the Church to derive her rule of action from, or to frame her course by, the sovereignty of divine grace? God's purposes govern his conduct; God's commands govern our own. Obedience to his precepts, the observance of his ordinances, the enforcement of his laws, furnish us with the only warrant for *expecting* the bestowal of his grace. The Holy Ghost is indeed sovereign, and may act "when, where, and how, he pleases;" but yet he himself has shut *us* up to those ordi-

nances he has chosen as the channels through which he ordinarily communicates his influences, and the faithful observance of which entitles us to look for his blessing, and the neglect of which brings upon us his frown. This being so, we need only to inquire, Has not the Holy Ghost laid down for the Church, both in the Old Testament and in the New Testament, her rule of action towards her disobedient and rebellious children? Has he not ordained, that that soul who refuses to hear the great Prophet whom God has raised up, shall be cut off from among his people? And is it optional with the Church, whether or not she shall *obey orders*?

“To be destroyed from among his people,” or “to be cut off from his people,” was an expression, with which those whom the apostle addressed were perfectly familiar, as it repeatedly occurs in the Old Testament. It signifies excommunication. Turretine observes: “Together with our Calvin, and many other learned men, we judge that the ‘cutting off of a soul from the people,’ which so frequently occurs in the writings of Moses, refers to excommunication, and not to a divine judgment, or to eternal death.” Tom. 3, Quæst. 32, Sec. 10. So also affirm the learned Buxtorf, Bertram, Piscator, Vatablus, and a host of other scholars, Jewish and Christian. Pool, in his Synopsis, says: “Our theologians, for the most part, understand by it, ejection from the Church.” (“Theologi nostri ut plurimum intelligunt ejectionem ex ecclesiâ.”)

Dr. Addison Alexander, commenting on these words, “Every soul which will not hear that Prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people,” Acts iii. 23, observes: “The phrase with which the quoted passage closes, ‘I will require it of him,’ is a pregnant one, and means far more than strikes the eye at once. To express this latent meaning, the Septuagint version, ‘I will take vengeance,’ is by no means too strong. In the verse before us, the apostle brings it out still more emphatically, by employing the customary legal formula for the highest theocratic punishment, that of excision from the Church or chosen people.” The renowned Gillespie thus corrects an error, which is still current in our day. “It is but a poor argument whereby

Bishop Bilson would prove the 'cutting off' not to be meant of excommunication, because it is applied even to capital offences, such as the law elsewhere appointeth men to be put to death for; as if it were any absurdity to say, that one and the same offence is to be punished *sub formalitate scandali* with excommunication, and *sub formalitate criminis* with capital punishment; and who knoweth not that a capital crime is a cause of excommunication, which is also sometimes the sole punishment, the magistrate neglecting his duty? If he had proved that all the causes of cutting off in the law were capital crimes, he had said much; but that will never be proved." The following conclusive exposition of these words, "that soul shall be destroyed from among the people," by Dr. Jno. M. Mason, deserves a careful consideration: "Who were the *people*? Not the *nation* of the Jews. For, having committed the crime, they themselves fell under the penalty. Their nation was to be destroyed; whereas, according to the prediction of Moses, it was not the *people* that were to perish, but the disobedient who were to be destroyed from *among* the people; which implies the continuance of that people in the divine protection. It is a people, therefore, which was to survive the rejection of the Jews, and be placed in such circumstances of favor, as to render destruction from among them a great and terrible judgment. Not the people whom God 'hath chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy.' For God never 'cast away his people whom he foreknew.' They who committed the crime before us, never belonged to this people, and so could not be destroyed from among them, and they whom God had thus chosen did not commit the crime. 'As many as were ordained to eternal life, believed.' Who, then, are 'the people' from among whom the sinners were to be destroyed? If not the Jewish people, if not the elected people of God, it can be no other than that people whom he owns as his, and who are called by the collective name of his Church. And what was the 'destruction?' Not temporal death, for God never ordained this punishment for the sin of unbelief on his Son. Not an exclusion from the communion of the Jewish nation; for unbelief in Christ was to them a

recommendation instead of a disparagement, and to be severed from them entirely, was at least as likely to prove a blessing as a curse. In what then did the destruction consist? Undoubtedly, in having their name and place exterminated from among the people of God; in being cast out of his Church, and exposed to that perdition which shall be the fate of all whom he disowns. This must be the interpretation of the threatening, because no other will comport with either sense or fact." (Works, vol. ii. p. 364.)

Here then is the New Testament Church's Canon of Discipline. The disobedient among the baptized—those who will not, after all due nurture and admonition given, but given in vain, honor the ordinance of Christ—are to be cast out. And what is excommunication? It is not anathema, the devoting of a soul to eternal destruction; but it is a means of grace, painful, it is true, and only used when all others have proved ineffectual, designed for correction and recovery from wickedness. If, viewed in one light, it is a punishment, viewed in another light, it is a blessing. Contrasted with that of which it deprives us, it is a punishment. Contrasted with that eternal ruin which it foreshadows, and which, by so doing, it is designed to prevent, it is a blessing. It is a desperate remedy provided for a desperate case. Stier well observes: "The exclusion of the incorrigible, in virtue of which they are accounted as heathen and publicans, as it is requisite on its own account, so, at the same time, it is only the last and strongest expression of that love which seeks their recovery." "It is love to men, not hatred," remarks Dr. David Brown, "that prompts such severity against what will inevitably ruin them." What just objection can there be to this? If the lack of qualification for the duties of church-membership be a *sin*, can it be an *excuse*? Is it not more likely that the binding the obligation to be qualified on the conscience of the baptized child, even whilst sensible of his unfitness and sinful inability for duty, will be blessed to his conversion, rather than the non-recognition of his obligations? Is not the former mode precisely analogous to the operations of the Spirit of God on the sinner's soul? Whilst convincing him of his inability to keep the command-

ments, still, at the same time, binding the obligation to do so, on his conscience, until led to the Spirit himself to obtain the qualification he is bound to have? Is not the probability of conversion increased, when the sense of obligation is fortified by a clear and deep conviction of the terrible doom to which the unregenerate are exposed? And so, too, is not the probability of the conversion of the rebellious who are cast out of the Church, greater than the probability of the conversion of the rebellious who are suffered to remain within the Church, slighting her ordinances, and trampling under foot their obligations?

The objection we are considering, is virtually an objection to the law and the practice of the Old Testament Church. The Jewish Church was a body distinct from the Jewish State, and had a government distinct from the government of the State. The Jewish child, at the age of twelve years, became "a son of the commandment," *i. e.*, one bound to perform all the duties of church-membership. He was expected to be morally, as well as legally clean; to be circumcised in heart, as well as circumcised in the flesh. And he was required at this age to observe the ordinance of the passover; and to be qualified, spiritually, for its observance. But for this he was certainly dependent upon the sovereign grace of the Spirit. And yet, if he refused to observe the passover, he was, by God's command, excommunicated from Israel. Now then, why not object against this practice of the Old Testament, that "recognising the sovereignty of divine grace, both as to the time and manner of its bestowal, she had no right to limit the probation of her circumcised youth; and say, at any one moment, *now* this matter of your conversion is to be taken into your own hands, and *now* the exhausted patience of the Church refuses any longer to indulge your procrastination?"

But Dr. Palmer affirms that "the Jewish Church was under a carnal dispensation. Those who conformed to the letter of the Mosaic law, had a right to its immunities, converted or not." This is indeed a strange assertion! If the Jewish dispensation were of the earth, earthy; if it contemplated nothing more than what was evident to the senses, the visible and the material; if

its priests, and altars, and victims, and blood, and washings, and festivals, constituted simply an impressive pageant; if its design and end were merely external privileges and earthly rewards,—then might it properly be termed a “carnal dispensation.” But this was not the case. The entire dispensation represented Christ. He was the head and the soul of the whole economy. The visible pointed to the invisible, the material to the spiritual. The dispensation was spiritual; though not in equal degree to that which succeeded it. Its “elements” were the elements of spiritual truth—which imparted to it all its value. Under it, the decalogue, that summary of the moral law, was given. Under it, the saving influences of the Spirit were communicated to a vast multitude, which now compose the Church of the first-born in heaven. It began with the illustrious “father of the faithful.” And it ended with the illustrious “messenger of the covenant:” Of them that are born of women, none under the old economy hath risen greater than he. Its nature, its end, its results, its qualifications, its privileges, its ordinances, its sacraments, its precepts, its sanctions, and its discipline, were spiritual. “Those who conformed to the letter of the Mosaic law had a right to the immunities of the Jewish Church,” of course, for the “letter” “required truth in the inward parts.” “And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, to keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, and his statutes which I command thee this day for thy good? Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord thy God’s, the earth also with all that therein is. Only the Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you, above all people, as it is this day. Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiff-necked. For the Lord your God is God of gods, a great God, mighty and terrible, who regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward.” Deut. x. Conformity to the letter of the Mosaic law would therefore certainly give a just right to all the ordinances of the Jewish Church. What more could be required of us? And what

better qualification could we have for the ordinances of the Christian Church, than strict conformity to the letter of the law? In both cases, conformity implies conversion, and conversion implies the regenerating influences of the Spirit. And therefore, the obligations resting upon Israel required internal qualification, as well as external obedience. Why, even Jews, in modern times, insist upon it, that purity of the heart was the design of all their institutions. Philo, speaking of the sprinkling of the garments of Aaron and his sons, and the altar, etc., remarks: "Moses did this, wishing they should be holy, not only externally and visibly, but internally." (*De Vita Mosis.*) And the great Maimonides devotes a chapter in his "*More Nevochim,*" to proving "that the prohibition of external uncleanness and impurity by the law, is instrumental of and subservient to the purification of the heart." He remarks: "Cleanliness of dress, washing of the body, and the removal of all dirt and squalidness, is certainly the intention of the law; but subordinate to the purification of the conduct and the heart from depraved opinions and corrupt morals. For, to think that exterior purity, by ablutions of the body and the dress can be sufficient, though in other respects a man indulges himself in gluttony and drunkenness, *is the extremest madness.*"

"It is very certain," says Calvin, "that the principal promises of the covenant which God made with the Israelites under the Old Testament, were spiritual, and had reference to eternal life; and that they were also understood by the fathers, as they ought to be, in a spiritual sense, and inspired them with confident hopes of the life to come, towards which they aspired with all the powers of their souls." That terrestrial benefits were also embraced in their covenant is true; but it is also true of us, that "godliness is profitable for the life that now is, as well as for that which is to come." The observations of Dr. Graves on this subject, merit attention: "It is frequently charged on the Jewish scheme, and I believe too generally and incautiously admitted, that it represents the Divinity as requiring from his worshippers, outward rites, rather than internal, heart-felt piety; thus leading men to substitute the shadow for the substance, and

attend more to unimportant circumstances, and superstitious observances, than to the great principles of judgment, justice, and truth. That the Jews, in the decline of their religion, did so pervert and corrupt their law, by adopting such sentiments, is true; but most certain it is, they could find nothing in their original law to justify such sentiments or practices. No; they could have found no sanction for mere external and superstitious worship, except in those traditions by which they obscured and perverted the original scheme of their religion. Nothing is more cautiously guarded against in the Mosaic code, than resting in mere outward observances; nothing was more expressly and forcibly required, than internal devotion and practical piety. The Jew was called on 'to love his God with all his heart, and all his soul, and all his might.' 'The words which I command thee this day,' says the legislator, 'shall be *in thine heart*: and thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children, and talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.' Could anything be more remote from mere outward observance, than that heart-felt and habitual reverence for the divine commands here required? How opposite to mere ceremonious obedience, is that which is enjoined in such precepts as these: 'Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.' 'If ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.' "

The striking remarks of that famous old Puritan, Thomas Shepard—who has been characterised as "an Augustine in disputation, a Chrysostom in the pulpit, and a Timothy in his family and in the Church"—should be well pondered: "God was as holy, and as exactly requiring holiness from the Jewish Church, as well as from Christian churches: now, do you think that the covenant which then wrapped up the Jews' children into church-membership was a highway of profaneness and unholiness in the members thereof, and of defiling and polluting God's Church? Or was it a way and means of holiness, and to

keep them from being profane? To affirm the first, is something blasphemous, and very false, for it is expressly said (Jer. xiii. 11) that 'as the girdle cleaveth to the loins of a man, so he caused the whole house of Israel (not grown men only) to cleave to him, that they might be to him a people; (which was by covenant,) and for a name, for a praise, and for a glory.' God's name, glory, praise, was the end, and the covenant was the means hereunto; and therefore it was no way or means of unholiness in that Church; but if you say it was a means of holiness, why then should we fear the polluting of churches by the same covenant, which, we have proved, wraps in our seed also? Indeed, they did prove universally profane in the Jewish Church; *so they may in ours*; but shall man's wickedness in abusing God's grace, and forsaking his covenant, tie the hands or heart of God's free grace from taking such into covenant? What though some did not believe? Shall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid." (Shepard's Works, Vol. iii.)

So much for the spiritual character of the Jewish dispensation in general, even in regard to those peculiarities which were designed to be temporary, and which have long since passed away. But we make a stronger case as regards the subject before us, which relates to church-government and discipline. Is it not admitted that the New Testament church is based upon the Old Testament synagogue? If the foundation be "carnal," must not the superstructure be so too? Nay, what is the Presbyterian church, but the Presbyterian synagogue, baptized into the name of Christ; its machinery of government and discipline continuing as before, as Archbishop Whately admits? The censure of excommunication pertained to the Presbyterian session of the Jewish Church. And it was inflicted by Christ's command (the Head of that Church,) upon the covenant-breaking children of that Church. And the apostle tells us, as we have seen, that the same sentence is to be inflicted upon the covenant-breaking children of the New Testament Church. The covenant was broken formerly, by the wilful neglect of the passover, (Num. ix. 13,) and is broken now, by the wilful neglect of the

Lord's supper. Spiritual qualifications were required for the proper observance of the former, equally with the latter. Calvin remarks: "The passover, which has now been succeeded by the Lord's supper, did not admit guests of all descriptions promiscuously; but was rightly eaten only by those who were of sufficient age to be able to inquire into its signification." "Lest the passover should be a lifeless ceremony, God, in this place, enjoins that it shall not be mute; for in these words, 'When your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service?' Moses does not mean that they are to wait until their children make inquiry of their accord, and anticipate the zeal of their parents; but he only indicates the age when they are capable of being taught. Yet, at the same time, he indirectly exhorts the children to teachableness, when their age admits of their understanding what the passover signifies, and enjoins them diligently to inquire into the use of the ceremony; that thus religion may be handed down, and may ever flourish among the people." "Moses excludes all strangers who were unclean through their uncircumcision; and then he adds two exceptions, viz., that servants bought with money should be circumcised, (which was a necessary requirement;) and that free and independent persons, if they chose to embrace the same alternative, should also be received to the passover. Hence it appears that this rite was not only peculiar to God's people, but that it was a sign of the future redemption. For strangers could not testify that they were sharers in that redemption which had been promised to the race of Abraham alone; and therefore the ceremony of the sacred feast would have been vain and useless to them. Nor does Moses refer only to that mixed multitude which had followed the Israelites out of Egypt; but prescribes a law respecting all strangers, who for many succeeding ages should come on business into the land. No doubt but that in celebrating the passover, they would have expected another redemption; since that which was already vouchsafed to the children of Abraham had not extended to them. For although they might be reckoned among the people, yet did no portion of the land, in consequence, fall to their lot, nor was their

condition improved as to temporal rights; but it was only that they might become members of the Church."

Gillespie's remarks also deserve consideration: "The passover did seal the same covenant of grace, for substance, which is now sealed by the Lord's supper." "Examination of the conscience, repentance, and confession, were required in those that did eat the passover." "What was the meaning of the bitter herbs, with which the passover was commanded to be eaten? Were not the people of God thereby taught the necessity of repentance in that very action? Finally, read we not of the people's preparing of their heart to seek God at the passover, (2 Chron. xxx. 19,) which, as it could not be without repentance and examination of their consciences, so Hezekiah mentioneth it as that without which the people's eating of the passover could not have been in any wise accepted." (Works, Vol. 2.)

Thus, we see that the passover was deeply significant. It looked forward to the future, as well as backward to the past. It embraced both redemptions, the Jewish and the Christian. And Gentiles, (who were qualified,) as well as Jews, received this sacrament, and were both sealed, as Christians, by the same seal of the covenant of grace; acknowledging thus Christ, their Passover, a sacrifice for them, and themselves sacrifices upon his altar. If Christ and his redemption were not thus signed and sealed by the passover, how could the passover be said to be "*fulfilled*" in the Lord's supper? Jewish children were instructed diligently as to the significance of the sacrament; and when they had reached years of discretion, and were able to discern the Lord's body, (which their numerous sacrifices, together with the passover, constantly held up to them,) and they professed the qualifications required by the law, then were they recognised as in full communion with the Church, by admission to its last sealing ordinance. So constantly and diligently were they instructed, in obedience to the divine command—"And thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children, and talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up"

—that, by the divine blessing upon the faithful use of the means, Jewish children at the age of twelve, professed their allegiance to the angel of the covenant, assumed their obligations, were recognised as in full membership, and so were denominated “sons of the commandment.” [If diligent instruction of the children of the Church, by *Christian* parents, “in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion,” be taken as the test of piety and religious consistency, how would the Christian Church compare with the Jewish? And how high, or how low, would the standard of the former, as to practice, be esteemed?]

That the confirmation of Jewish children at the age of twelve, was not such a “custom”* as originated with men, but was authorised by God, is evident from the fact that Christ was taken at this age by his parents to the passover at Jerusalem. “And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast.” Why record the fact that he was twelve years old when he first went up to the passover? If this were only an unauthorised custom, would the Head of the Church, acting in his official character, being now “*about his Father’s business,*” have observed it, and sanctioned “for doctrines, the commandments of men?” Did not the same reason take him, at that age, to the passover, that subsequently took him to his baptism? “*It became him to fulfil all righteousness.*” He was now a “son of the law,” and, as such, went to the temple, (not into the sanctuary, where priests only, not doctors, could enter, but into the synagogue in the temple,) and sat with the doctors, the authorised teachers of the people, “hearing them, and asking them questions,” which they permitted to him, as now “a son of the law.” Neander observes:

* “And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the *custom* of the feast.” Luke ii. 42. “They kept also the feast of tabernacles, as it is written, and offered the daily burnt-offerings by number, according to the *custom*, as the duty of every day required.” Ezra iii. 4. “When the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the *custom* of the law.” Luke ii. 27. “Shall change the *customs* Moses delivered us.” Acts vi. 14. These “customs” were all divine institutions.

“Jesus had attained his twelfth year, a period which was regarded among the Jews as the dividing line between childhood and youth, and at which regular religious instruction and the study of the law, were generally entered upon. For that reason, his parents, who were accustomed to visit Jerusalem together annually, at the time of the passover, took him with them then for the first time.” So too, Alford: “At the age of twelve, a boy was called, by the Jews, ‘son of the law,’ and first incurred legal obligation. At that time, then, commences the *second step* of the life of the Lord—the time when the *τὰ πρέποντα* for him began—his course of blameless legal obedience, in his own person and by his own will.”

The Jewish child was, at an early age, made acquainted with his position in Israel, and its accompanying obligations; was instructed as to the entire significance of the passover, and the spiritual qualifications demanded for that ordinance, which the law of the Church required him to possess, in order to the due observance of it at the age of twelve; and which, if he failed to keep, he forfeited his ecclesiastical status, and was “cut off from among his people.” And doubtless, this fact being ever present to his mind, viz., that he was liable to excommunication, if he did not at that age personally assume all his covenant-obligations, would have a powerful influence in determining him early to seek from God that state of mind and heart which would qualify him for admission to the last sealing ordinance of his Church.

In like manner, the maintenance now of this ancient law of the Church, which has never been repealed, would impress upon the minds of our baptized youth, if early, and diligently, and fully instructed by the Church, such a sense of the claims of Christ, that the great majority of them would be led betimes to yield their hearts to the Saviour, and their lives to his service. It would present a powerful check to that proud spirit of independence which leads multitudes of them now to despise the bonds of religion, and to pursue without restraint their downward career of heedlessness and rebellion to their eternal perdition.

Once more. The objection we are considering, if valid, might also be urged with force against the excommunication of any wicked and contumacious communicant. He is, indeed, bound to repent. But repentance, apart from the sovereign grace of God, is impossible. Then why not remonstrate against his excision, after his refusal to obey the second citation, and urge an indefinite postponement of all decisive action, on the ground that "the Church, recognising the sovereignty of divine grace, both as to the time and manner of its bestowal, dare not limit the Holy Ghost to any given period within which his influences must be imparted; nor say to the individual at any one moment, *now* this matter of your *repentance* is to be taken into your own hands, and *now* the exhausted patience of the Church refuses any longer to indulge your procrastination?"

But, in both cases, of the apostate communicant and non-communicant, the influences of the Spirit are more likely to be given, if given at all, when the Church *obeys orders*, and places both without her pale, but still pleads for them at the throne of grace; for the Church is still bound to pray *for* them, though she cannot now have *fellowship with* them in prayer. "Those whom the Church rejects from the company of the faithful, are delivered to Satan, but only 'for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord;' and hence, Paul would not have them counted as enemies, but admonished as brethren. 2 Thess. iii. 15." Calvin. "The consideration that he hath been a brother heretofore, and that we have not *finally* cast him off from that relation, but that we are still hoping, and using means for his recovery, obliges us to concern ourselves more for the good of his soul than for those with whom we never had any such connexion; and so to pray for him, and to take pains by admonishing him." President Edwards.

7. It has been objected, that the course we advocate would "fill the Church with hypocrites"; that "it is this which has filled the Church of Scotland with moderatism, and other churches with formalists." The assertion touching the Church of Scotland cannot be sustained by proof. The history of that

Church shews that the reign of moderatism is due to the anti-scriptural subjection of the Church to the State, out of which the patronage system arose, by which a minister is fastened upon a people without their consent and against their will.* Moderatism, therefore, is found in the Established Church of Scotland, and not in the Free Church. The tendency of the course, it is said, would be to "fill the Church with hypocrites." This implies that the fear of excommunication is such, on the part of apostates, as to overcome their sense of common honesty, and lead them to make false professions. This we do not believe. Such will be more apt to reason thus: "As this act of the Church does not affect my social position, and as I have no love to Christ and his service, and therefore cannot espouse his cause, and will not play the hypocrite, therefore I consent to forfeit, like Esau, a birth-right I do not value, and to have my connexion with the Church dissolved. And as excommunication does no more than this, and only places me, by an ecclesiastical act, in that position where I had previously placed myself by my own voluntary act, therefore the Church may excommunicate me, if it pleases." Such is more likely to be the reasoning of that smaller class, who are not won to Christ by all the faithful nurture of the Church, upon whom all her fostering care is lost, for whom she has labored in vain, and spent her strength for nought. The tendency, then, of the course we urge, is *not* to "fill the Church with hypocrites"—albeit some such may, indeed, enter it—even as it is the case now. If the course we advocate be a *scriptural* one, it is manifestly impossible that it should be followed by consequences injurious to the Church. To say that it would, is to say that Christ's Church would suffer from the observance of Christ's rules. But even supposing that many hypocrites would thus be found in full communion with the Church ostensibly, is this so much worse than many rebels and covenant-breakers in half-communication with the Church, as is the case now?—when too, the former are under the discipline of

* See Hetherington's History of Church of Scotland.

the Church, whilst the latter are not? Hypocrisy is bad enough, but open impiety, and, as is sometimes the case, scoffing infidelity, are much worse. Dr. Mason well observes: "We hold it to be a maxim almost self-evident, that abounding and impudent wickedness will bring more wrath, and therefore more misery upon a land, than wickedness shut up in the bosom, or driven by the commanding aspect of truth into secret corners." "Could you unmask the hypocrite, and throw him at once out of your fellowship and confidence, all the motives and influence which serve to curb his lusts and limit their mischief would cease to operate; and that fountain of iniquity which is now shut up in darkness, would break out into open day, and pour its poisonous streams in every direction. It is impossible to conjecture how far the law of God's house and liberal intercourse with his people frustrate the worst designs of hell, by *shackling* the depravity of its servants. Some, perhaps, may contend that it were better to see every bad man in his own colors, that we might completely 'purge out the old leaven.' Their zeal is not according to knowledge. They inadvertently reproach the wisdom of God, who does not permit such a discovery to be made. And what would they have? Would it be better that an enemy to God should give scope to his enmity, and spread infection and death all around him, than that the repression of it should tie up his hands, and render him comparatively harmless? Would it be better that he should blaspheme the name of God, than that he should treat it with external reverence?—better to set before his children or companions an example of hideous profligacy, than an example of decorum?—to teach them to swear, steal, lie, profane the Sabbath, deride their Bible, mock the ordinances of religion, than to inculcate upon them lessons of truth, of probity, of respect to the name, the day, the word, and the worship of God? Go a step further, and say that it would be better to lay aside all the control of civil government, and let loose the myriads of rogues and traitors whom the community unwittingly cherishes in her bosom, than to keep them under the salutary awe of the tribunals of justice, of the dungeons and halter!"

8. It is objected, that many of these baptized persons have virtually ceased to be members, and therefore all church-action against them is unnecessary and useless. But to whom does it belong to terminate the connexion? There is no *withdrawal* from the Church. The Church cannot release any from covenant obligations; nor wink at this virtual termination of membership by their own act. God has already decided the matter in his word. He declares that *he* cuts off all covenant-breakers. In the case of all who are evidently such, the Church is bound by covenant to cut them off. If she does not, she herself is partaker in the sin of covenant-breaking. If unbelief be such a sin that it can cast a soul into hell, can it not cast out of the Church? Is the Church merely a moral institute? Can she condemn nothing but what the world, or natural conscience, condemns? Are the imperfect views of her own members even, to regulate her conduct, instead of the decisions of the word of God? Is not unbelief immorality in the sight of God, and the parent of all sins? Did not Christ pronounce Capernaum more guilty than Sodom? Is it no invasion of the prerogative of her divine Head, for the Church to open a door of egress which he has not opened? Has she the right to dismiss, any more than to admit, in a way not authorised? Were not the Jews the natural branches, both adults and youths, "broken off" (not dropped off) for their unbelief?

9. It is objected, that the course proposed is contrary to the practice of the Church. If by this be meant the *present* practice of our Church, this every one knows. But the present practice is, as we have shewn, a departure, and, we believe, a sinful departure from the former and better practice of the Church of God in all lands. It is the revisionists, and all who think with them, and not we, who are in a minority on this point. The Old Testament Church is with us; the Apostolic Church is with us; the Primitive Church is with us; the Reformed Church is with us; the Churches of Scotland, Switzerland, France, Germany, and others, are with us. Our own Church is, in *theory*, as yet with us. And if she should be led, at this late day, to abandon her ancient doctrine, nevertheless

the time will come, sooner or later, when the Head of the Church will lead her back again into "the old paths," and cause her to restore both doctrine and practice. But the objection proves too much, even for the objector. Our standards teach that the children of the Church are members of the Church, and yet it is notorious that the "practice" of the Church is to treat them as *not* members.

Dr. Miller, considering this charge of inconsistency made against Pædobaptists, remarks: "This objection is a most serious and weighty one." The General Assembly has given a similar testimony: "Churches as well as parents have a solemn account to render to God for the manner in which the children, sealed with the seal of the covenant, have been treated. They are reaping the fruits of their negligence in the carelessness and profaneness of multitudes of their youth. On whom then must the blame chiefly descend? *We shudder at the truth.*" (Digest, p. 188.) This testimony has been repeated over and over. And every one knows that it is true to this day. Here then, we have the Assembly's testimony to the "practice" of the Church. The "practice of the Church" would of itself prove that the children of professors are not members of the Church. No wonder then, that it proves that they are not subject to the *discipline* of the Church! So much for this argument, based upon "the practice of the Church." It proves too much, and therefore nothing.

And now it is proposed, not to conform our practice to our doctrine, but to conform our doctrine to our practice. And this new theory of the irresponsibility of the youth of the Church to discipline, is to be incorporated into the constitution of the Church; to become a permanent canon of non-discipline; and thus, so far as in us lies, prevent all future attempts to elevate our standard of practice, by lowering our standard of doctrine: so that it will be impossible hereafter, except by an alteration of the constitution, to lay the hand of Christ, in the way of needful discipline, upon our rebellious, apostate youth, to save them from the ruin that they court. Their blood will be upon us. And Christ's hand in discipline, will then fall upon our Church. Let the

Church be on her guard, and remember the maxim, "*Obsta principiis.*"

10. It is objected, That this course would not be sustained by the sympathies of the fathers and mothers in the Church, nor by the sentiment of society. As to the fathers and mothers in the Church, it is not to be expected that they can sympathise with *any* course of action, in regard to which they have been so little instructed, as in the subject before us. But are the sympathies of the fathers and mothers always a criterion of the righteousness or unrighteousness of a practice? Does it not sometimes happen that the sympathies of the fathers and mothers are *with* the guilty communicant who has been justly excommunicated, and *against* the session? But we answer the objection, directly, by saying that if the sympathies of the fathers and mothers are under the control of the Spirit's influences, they will be given to every course of action sanctioned by his word. There are many fathers and mothers in the Church, aye, and ministers too, who do not sympathise even with every portion of God's word—for example, what are called the "imprecatory Psalms"—and shrink from reading them, and dare to impute to them an "unchristian spirit," and to charge them with being "opposed to the gentle spirit of the religion of Jesus." As if *all* Scripture were not given by inspiration of God; inspired by the spirit of Christ; and as if *all* Scripture were not what the apostle affirms it to be, "*profitable?*" Thus do such objectors prove themselves to be not in full harmony with the mind and will of God. How many objectors too are there, in the Church, to the doctrine of the divine sovereignty, and the other doctrines of grace! And are there not fathers and mothers who rebel against the dispensations of God's providence in removing their children from earth, even though they have satisfactory evidence that they have been removed to heaven? Was not this, ancient law of the Church, of which we treat, sustained by the sympathies of the true fathers and mothers in the Old Testament Israel? And will it not be sustained by the sympathies of the true fathers and mothers in the New Testament Israel? Are the latter less godly, less on the side of God, than the former?

And with regard to the sentiment of society not sustaining this course:—Is society to influence the Church, or the Church to influence society? It is the office of the Church to create, direct, and control the sentiment of society, on all subjects connected with the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. What though in order to this, she be called to encounter opposition, endure reproach and persecution: is she not the spouse of a crucified Husband? Must she too not give up her life for the life of the world? And thus secure her true life, and that of the world? Sacrifice is power. The cross has moulded society, and controls the providence of God. The practicability of a duty is properly judged of, not by the appearance it presents to the judgment of men, but by the command of Christ. Whatever difficulties, dangers, or seeming impossibilities, attend the performance of his command, are not really difficulties, dangers, or impossibilities, but only tests of faith. The path of duty is, after all, the path of ease and safety. Let the Church contend earnestly for the crown-rights of her exalted King. Let her enforce both by doctrine and discipline, the claims of Christ to the service of all her youth who are in covenant with him through his visible Church.

And first by doctrine. Let it be distinctly understood that we are the advocates of no rash or precipitate measures. The first call of the Church evidently is a call to discharge her whole duty, as to training, towards her children—a call to a constant, mild, judicious, affectionate, parental training. To this end, besides the usual teachings of the Sunday-school, let there be in every Church a special service for them, *frequently occurring*, when, assembled with their parents, the pastor shall instruct both touching their mutual relations to the covenant, and their respective obligations growing out of it. Let the fact, *that they are already members of the Church*, be frequently impressed upon the minds of the children. Let their precious privileges be discovered to them. Let the claims of Christ to their love and service be pressed upon them. Let them be urged to seek from the Spirit the qualifications they need for the fulfilment of all obligations, and the performance of all duties. And let them be

admonished that the Church, as the representative of Christ, *expects* them sincerely to profess faith in him, and obedience to his commands. Let this service be regarded with a lively, affectionate interest by the whole Church. Let it be accompanied with the fervent prayers of the people of God. And let the children of the Church be *frequently* remembered in the prayers of the Church. Let those who have been constituted by the Holy Ghost, shepherds and bishops of souls, be careful to exercise a constant, strict, and yet tender watch over the lambs of Christ's flock. This is their bounden duty. To this they are called. And they have the right, and should exercise it, to superintend *parents* as well as children, and require of them the faithful observance of their vows. The idea that this would be the assumption of unwarranted authority, is absurd. The children of the Church are God's. "Ye have borne them unto me," says he. The parent has no claims, no rights, apart from Christ's. So far is this superintendence from being an invasion of his rights, that, on the contrary, Christ has made it his right to expect and require this official inspection of his conduct, as an incentive to the discharge of an all-important duty. He, as well as the Church, is concerned to have the authority of Christ over him and his made good. For his interests, and the interests of his child, are inseparable from Christ's rights. The former are promoted only when the latter are enforced. For the parent to deny ecclesiastical rulers the right of supervision, is just to deny Christ and break covenant with God. To represent such oversight as "an invasion of nature's rights," is just to babble in the dialect of infidels, who always oppose "*nature*" to nature's *God*. Such a parent, the session has the right to admonish, rebuke, suspend, or excommunicate, as his case may require. Every right-minded parent will welcome such coöperation as a valuable aid in performing a difficult and responsible work, and in securing a glorious end, the salvation of his children. If a youth prove refractory, and parental admonition have no effect, then let an elder of the Church be sent for, who, by faithful counsel and admonition, accompanied with prayer, shall endeavor to reclaim the offending youth. Should he be unsuccessful, let him

take with him another elder, and let them conjointly use the proper means, and in a proper spirit, for the recovery of the erring youth. Should their efforts prove unavailing, let the pastor's counsels, admonitions, and prayers, be added to theirs. Then, if no suitable effect follow, let the offender be brought before the session, and there rebuked in love, and reminded of the ultimate consequence of impenitence—exclusion from the kingdom of God, on earth and in heaven—and his case be tenderly and solemnly commended to God in prayer. Let the censure so administered, be suited to the age, the character, the feelings, the understanding, the state of the youth; everything like unnecessary severity or harshness being carefully avoided. Let the mind of the youth be impressed with the truth, that this censure is a *religious ordinance*, administered in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; so that it carries with it the authority, not of men, but of God. Let all their proceedings be marked with such solemnity, affectionate tenderness, as to show that they are acting under a deep sense of their responsibility to the Head of the Church. And let all that is done, whether by parent, pastor, or session, be done *in faith*, without which no service can find acceptance with God. Let such a course be faithfully pursued, and, in the great majority of instances, it will be crowned with success. The Church would have the blessed satisfaction of seeing the greater number of her wayward, offending, rebellious youth, recovered, by this judicious procedure, from the error of their ways, and repaying, in after years, her vigilant supervision, and faithful, loving care, by lives of Christian consistency, stability, usefulness, and devotion to the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. But, if in the case of any of her youth, her oversight has proved in vain, and all the means used to lead them to comply with covenant-obligations have utterly failed, and these obligations are *deliberately, wantonly, wilfully*, disowned; then is she called of Christ to disown them, and terminate their church-membership by excommunication. Let her not shrink from that duty, painful though it be, to which God himself has called her. Let no thought of man—his fear or his favor—intrude, when in the path of duty. It is enough for her to know that she is sustained

by the favor of her divine head, and by the sentiment of that society that surrounds the throne. Let those who bear rule in Christ's house, realise the solemn responsibilities of their position. They are called, not to represent the opinions, the prejudices, the wishes, the unbelief, the worldly-mindedness either of society or of professors of religion; they are called to represent the rights of Zion's King. Let them do this, and they will not be left without the cheering tokens of his presence and his power. His Spirit and his providence will vindicate their course before the world, and crown their fidelity with success. The opposition they encounter will finally be overcome, and the sentiment of society being now regenerated, and baptized by the Holy Ghost, will pronounce its verdict of approval, in accordance with the dictates of sound reason, and the Scriptures of eternal truth. But if, on the other hand, they shrink from the discharge of their duty, through unbelief, timidity, the fear or favor of man, love of ease, love of reputation, love of popularity, and so deny Christ, then, by no doubtful proofs will it appear that Christ has, even here, also denied them. Faith is loyalty, honor, and power. Unbelief is treachery, cowardice, weakness, disgrace, and death. The sentiment of Calvin is just: "Whoever desire either the abolition of all discipline, or obstruct its restoration, whether they act from design or inadvertency, *they certainly promote the dissolution of the Church.*" And the remark of Owen is as true as it is solemn, and deserves to be most seriously pondered: "If any Church be fallen into that state and condition, wherein the discipline appointed by Christ cannot be effectual unto its proper ends, CHRIST HATH FORSAKEN THAT CHURCH."

ARTICLE V.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT MEMPHIS.

This Assembly was the fullest representation of our Church which has yet been held. There were present fifty-four ministers and forty-three ruling elders; in all, ninety-seven members. Only two of our forty-five Presbyteries, namely Georgia and Potomac, (now Rappahannock,) failed of being represented at all; and all but eleven were represented in full. Considering the troubles of the times and the great scarcity of money, this is a noteworthy and very encouraging item. One of the commissioners present was our missionary brother Copeland, from Indian Presbytery. The Assembly was largely made up of men past middle age. It was a most laborious Assembly, as the number and importance, the extent and the difficulty of the various matters of business taken up, patiently examined, maturely considered, and harmoniously determined, must make manifest. The sessions continued through eleven days of the closest and most industrious application. There was no disposition to speak for mere show. Great directness and brevity of utterance characterised all the debates. Several of the most useful members were ruling elders who manifested great zeal for the welfare of the Church, and a lively interest in all the affairs of the body. A most delightful spirit pervaded all the proceedings. We believe not a word was spoken that gave pain to any member. It was manifest that every man had confidence in every other man upon the floor. One new arrangement of the devotional exercises was adopted with very happy effect. Instead of the customary half-hour of worship at the beginning of business, there was only the usual opening prayer by the Moderator. But the last half-hour of the morning session was always occupied in prayer and praise. As Dr. William Brown well expressed it, from whose Synod (Virginia) the idea of this new arrangement was taken: "We take a precious old hymn and a

precious old tune, and when the whole Assembly join in, it makes a grand swell of praise that does the heart good." Yes! it was better music than "Jubal, the father of all such as handle the harp and organ," ever made. And the prayers were so refreshing after the toil of our work was done; for there is no more exhausting labor that we ever knew, than that of sitting for hours together, earnestly taking part in all that an earnest body of church-representatives are saying and doing. And then, ordinarily, all the Assembly were present, and so also the congregation was full. No man who was in the Memphis Assembly, and may happen to be at Nashville next fall, will be apt to favor a return to the old order for the daily devotions.

VISITORS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

We were gratified with the presence and conversation of several well-known and beloved brethren, not commissioners, as Dr. Waddel, of the Synod of Memphis, Dr. Lyon, of the Synod of Mississippi, Dr. Ross, of the Synod of Nashville, and Dr. B. M. Smith, of the Synod of Virginia. And we had the satisfaction of meeting again our good friend, Dr. Anderson, of St. Louis; and also that "mighty man of valor" in our former ecclesiastical ranks; that earnest and able defender of the Church's freedom of the State; that eloquent and edifying expounder of the redemption revealed "at sundry times and in divers manners;" that large-hearted and open-handed dispenser of needful relief to so many of our suffering ministers and people all over this famine-stricken region, STUART ROBINSON, whose name shines and must ever shine brightly without any title. It has been said that "his enemies find him a hard man to kill." He has gone through labors and conflicts for six years past enough to wear out any ordinary constitution. But his noble physical frame, fit tenement of his great intellect and his big heart, shows no signs of exhaustion. God bless our honored and beloved brother, and spare his invaluable life for long years to come!

PEOPLE AND PASTORS OF MEMPHIS.

The good people of Memphis gave our Assembly a royal reception. Their hospitality seemed to know no bounds. What a thriving and growing city it is! Our brethren Stedman, Witherspoon, and Sample, have a field of labor whose importance can not be overstated.

OPENING SERMON.

In the first Presbyterian Church, Memphis, on the 15th of November, 1866, our sixth General Assembly was opened with a sermon by the Rev. George Howe, D. D., from Zechariah iv. 6, 7, 10: "This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts. Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain: and he shall bring forth the headstone thereof with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace unto it. For who hath despised the day of small things? for they shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel with those seven: they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth." The discourse was not only very appropriate to the occasion, but very instructive and comforting. The points considered were, first, Jehovah's love to his people, which in no circumstances we are permitted to doubt; secondly, the all-wise and almighty providence of God which is pledged to sustain the Church he has founded upon the earth; and thirdly, the power of the Spirit which works in the kingdom of nature, but exerts itself peculiarly in the kingdom of grace. It was a most affecting parallel the preacher drew betwixt the Hebrew captives returned to Jerusalem and called on to rise and rebuild, and our desolated land, our impoverished people, our dwellings burned with fire, our Rachels weeping for their sons slain in battle, our destitute widows and orphans in hundreds and thousands, our church edifices in ruins, and our public charitable endowments scattered to the winds; and yet we, called also to educate our youth, to train a ministry, to replant and reëstablish the Church amongst our people without distinction of race, and at the same time to

bear some humble part in propagating the blessed gospel abroad. Blessed is the privilege of being co-workers with God, great the responsibility of it; but cheerful is the hope and unfailing the trust with which we may and must rise and address ourselves to the work before us. Not despising the day of small things; not appalled by the great mountain of difficulties that rises before our Zerubbabels, high and broad and rugged; not ceasing to build because we feel poor and weak; but hoping in God and trusting in his Spirit's power, he shall in his good time by his blessing bring forth the headstone with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace, unto it.

ORGANISATION.

Dr. Howe took the Moderator's chair, with the Rev. Drs. Joseph R. Wilson and William Brown, the Stated and the Permanent Clerks of the body, one on each side of him. Nominations for the new Moderator being called, Dr. John B. Adger, of the Presbytery of South Carolina, and Dr. A. H. Kerr, of the Presbytery of Memphis, were named. The former begged to decline the nomination, and moved that the vote for Dr. Kerr be taken by acclamation, which was carried. In like manner, the Rev. William Flinn, of the Presbytery of Hopewell, and the Rev. J. R. Graham, of the Presbytery of Winchester, were nominated for Temporary Clerk; but the name of the latter was withdrawn, and the former was elected by acclamation. And so was the Assembly very speedily and very happily provided with its new officers. We have never attended an Assembly more favored in its Moderator than the one at Memphis. Dr. Kerr presided with ability, impartiality, diligence, and dignity. He must have endeared himself to every member of the body, and when immediately upon the dissolution of the Assembly, and before many of the members had left the city, he was suddenly called to see an only and beloved boy lie down on the bed of death, there was not one heart, we know well, amongst all his brethren that was not melted in sorrow sympathetic with his own.

REPORTS OF THE DEBATES.

The reports made of the discussions in the Memphis Assembly were extremely unsatisfactory. We have read none in any of the religious papers that constitute any considerable improvement upon the representations of the secular papers on the spot; although we are willing to acknowledge that they do leave out all their ridiculous, if not all their erroneous statements. At the close of the sessions, on motion of Dr. Adger, it was

“*Resolved*, That it be referred to the next Assembly to consider the propriety of appointing a Reporter with a salary of \$—, whose duty it shall be to attend all the meetings of the body and report its proceedings.”

We consider this a practical measure of great importance.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON REVISION.

The Chairman presented, first, the revised Rules of Parliamentary Order; next, the revised Canons of Discipline; and lastly, the revised Form of Government. They were taken up in this order, and, after emendations, adopted, and sent down to the Presbyteries, each part as a separate overture for their adoption, the Committee being allowed first to make verbal changes in it. The Executive Committee of Publication was directed to publish an edition as early as practicable for the use of the churches, and to send a copy to the stated clerk of each Presbytery. The thanks of the Assembly were tendered to the Committee for their fidelity and ability. As we understand the case, the Presbyteries can only vote to accept or to reject each of these documents. At the same time, where a Presbytery is favorable to either of them generally, and desires to accept it with emendations, it appears to us desirable that such Presbytery should overture the next General Assembly to send down the book again, *so amended*, to the Presbyteries for another consideration. It likewise seems to us that instead of ordering the publication of these documents by the Committee at Richmond, and their sale to all who will take the trouble to be at the expense of sending for them, it would have been a wiser, more economical,

and more successful arrangement, had the Assembly requested the publication of these books by our different church papers. Not one of them would have declined; and in this way the Report would have gained access, not only to every minister, but to every ruling elder. As it is, we fear many of both classes will neglect to send for and make themselves acquainted with these documents in time to vote intelligently concerning them at the autumn meetings of Presbytery.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE REPORT.

The history of this revision, as reported by the chairman, is as follows: Just ten years ago, namely, at the Assembly which met at Lexington, Kentucky, the Book of Discipline was committed to a committee of which Dr. Thornwell was chairman, and much labor employed upon it by several of the ablest men in the undivided Church. At our own Assembly in Augusta, a committee was appointed to revise both the Form of Government and Book of Discipline. It consisted of J. H. Thornwell, R. L. Dabney, B. M. Smith, J. B. Adger, E. T. Baird, ministers; W. P. Webb, T. C. Perrin, W. L. Mitchell, Job Johnstone, and J. G. Shepherd, ruling elders. Death having made sad inroads upon their number, the Committee was reorganised at the Assembly of 1863, and made to stand as follows: Jno. B. Adger, R. L. Dabney, B. M. Smith, E. T. Baird, T. E. Peck, B. M. Palmer, ministers; and W. P. Webb, T. C. Perrin, W. L. Mitchell, J. G. Shepherd, and W. P. Finley, ruling elders. The Committee met at Charlotte, N. C., and first revised the General Rules of Order, classifying them under heads for convenience of reference by moderators and by members of the courts. Afterwards they took up the Book of Discipline, as it came to them from the hand of the lamented Thornwell. They introduced into it a chapter of the discipline of the baptized non-communicating members, and they stated more fully and completely the doctrine of censure in its various forms of admonition, suspension, excommunication, and deposition. After this, they began to work upon the Form of Government, agreed upon the character of the whole work, blocked out several of the chapters, and

then committed the writing of it to Dr. Baird. He wrought upon it with his accustomed energy, industry, and ability; wrote and rewrote it five several times; and when the Committee met at Union Theological Seminary, in the summer of 1866, the MS. was there with its author, and formed the groundwork of the Committee's Revised Form. Drs. Dabney and Smith, Dr. Baird, Professor Peck, with the chairman, and also, by invitation, the Rev. Dr. Atkinson, President of Hampden Sidney College, were present. They went *de novo* and with great care and labor over the whole ground previously traversed. In every case, their conclusions were unanimous. They adjourned to meet at Memphis. There they took pains to induce all who felt any interest in their work to meet at the Committee's room for the purpose of suggesting improvements. This effort was much facilitated by the printed copies of the report as agreed on at Prince Edward, which had been furnished to every member of the Assembly. Many brethren availed themselves of this opportunity of assisting the Committee in perfecting their report upon the Form of Government before it should be finally submitted to the Assembly. Many precious hours of the Assembly's time were thus saved, because it was easier and better to discuss difficulties with brethren privately than publicly. Generally the result of these private conferences was either that the Committee adopted the suggestion of their visitor, or convinced him that they ought not to adopt it. Constant and assiduous labor was thus devoted to the work at every interval of the Assembly's meetings. Not less than five hundred emendations, counting them all, great and small, were made at Memphis, but nearly all in this private way. The result was that in the Assembly, there was comparatively no debate upon the report. And thus perhaps not less than twenty brethren, from first to last, made substantive contributions to the preparation of this report, as finally presented to the Assembly.

We think it was a feature in the proceedings of the Memphis Assembly very much to its credit, that the body was so faithful in the examination of this report. Not one murmur of impatience ever broke, so far as we know, from the lips of any

member. Day after day, when the business came up in its turn, every minister and every ruling elder drew out his copy of the report as printed; listened carefully to every word read by the chairman; considered with attention the reasons offered for any changes made; followed him with the keenest eyes and the sharpest ears as he proceeded from page to page; the rustling leaves of their numerous copies seeming to warn him, as he went along, how many close observers were taking note of every turn he might make; until at length the immense labor was completed to the satisfaction of all, and the work adopted with almost complete unanimity.

THE PROPOSED FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Taking up this part of the report, to examine it a little in detail, we notice that the whole of chapter i. of present Form is omitted. Dr. Baird said well, the reason of this omission was that the chapter was nothing but "an apology for our being Presbyterians." Moreover, whoever will look carefully and candidly at this chapter must discover that it smacks in sundry places very disagreeably of Congregationalism, and also that the principles of value which it does hold forth, are all contained in the other parts of the Form.

The first chapter of the proposed Form presents us with a statement of the *doctrine* of church government, under five heads, which appears to exhaust the whole of it. The various paragraphs of this chapter give precise definitions of each of these five heads, viz.: 1. The Church; 2. Its members; 3. Its officers; 4. Its courts; 5. Its orders.

The second chapter gives us, in four sections, our Presbyterian doctrine in full respecting the first of these heads. From the Westminster Form is borrowed that sublime scriptural statement of the kingship and headship of Christ. The *jus divinum presbyterii* is distinctly declared. The Church, considered in the threefold aspect of universal, denominational, and particular, is defined. Church power is set forth according to its nature and limitations as presented in the Scriptures. And the congrega-

tion (as the proposed Form uniformly styles a particular church, for the sake of distinctness,) is fully set forth.

The third chapter, we think, will strongly commend itself to the Church generally, for the manner in which it deals with the little ones of the flock.

The fourth chapter treats in full of teaching elders or ministers of the word, whose office is the first in the Church, both for dignity and usefulness; of ruling elders, who are (as well as ministers) true scriptural presbyters; and of deacons, whose jurisdiction is not over persons, but only over things, who are not charged with the government of the church, or the care of souls, but of ecclesiastical goods and tables, viz., the table of the Lord, of the minister, and of the poor. It is a common impression with those not well acquainted with these subjects, that to serve the communicants with the bread and the wine is the business only of the elders. In fact, many suppose that is the chiefest part of their service. On the contrary, it is no part whatever of the elder's office, *as such*. To the minister alone belongs the administration of the sacraments. Any hand may pass the bread or the wine after they are delivered to the communicants by the minister. In the Church of Scotland, elders and deacons both assist at the table, as Pardovan tells us, Book I., Title viii; Book II., Title iv.

We do not understand the proposed Form as exclusively affixing this service to the office of the deacon. We should oppose any such view of the diaconate. But we believe that deacons may serve the Lord's table as well as the other two tables named. And we like any measure that will help to set before the Church her teaching elders and her ruling elders in their true positions—the former charged with that highest of all offices—*preaching* both in the word and in the sacraments; and the latter charged with ruling the Church, and not with serving tables any more than the other class of presbyters.

The appointment by the sessions of godly women to the diaconal functions, is allowed under the proposed Form. We rejoice at it. Protestants greatly need such an institution. The Scriptures, we believe, call for it.

The fifth chapter treats of the courts of the Church. The proposed Form defines the quorum so as that the presence of both classes of elders is necessary in every court. We believe this is right. It accords with the genius and spirit of our whole system. At the same time, let it be observed that no one could maintain that the proceedings of any court would necessarily be invalidated in any case where the ruling elders might all be absent. The definition of the quorum is designed merely to set forth what is needful to constitute a *regular* Church court, but irregularity and invalidity are not the same thing.

The proposed Form adopts very fully the idea of ecclesiastical commissions, with certain wise and wholesome limitations. We believe our Church is prepared to adopt very cordially this feature of the proposed Form.

There are sundry minor regulations proposed in this chapter differing from the arrangements of the present Form, which will commend themselves to our brethren.

The same may be said of chapter six, which relates to orders. We have observed nothing in this chapter which we suppose can rouse any opposition, except the imposition of hands by the session in the ordination of ruling elders. But the proposed Form sets forth ordination in its true scriptural light as the act of a church court, and it also sets forth the church court in its true scriptural right as composed always of presbyters of two classes. All the rest is just a matter of logic. We feel confident that the necessary conclusion will be admitted generally, and the Church will agree that the ordination of ruling elders ought to be by the session. Even deacons were ordained with imposition of hands by the apostles; and why should this ceremony be omitted in the case of elders? Moreover our doctrine on this subject is not that of Rome. We do not make orders in any sense a sacrament. It does not belong to ministers *as such*. It always is an act of *government* by the *rulers* of the Church.

The proposed Form closes with such provision for changes in the constitution of the Church as we must say appears to us wise and reasonable and safe.

THE CANONS OF DISCIPLINE.

There are only three points in this document, so far as we have observed, to which the attention of the Church has not been already sufficiently directed. One of these is the exclusion altogether of common fame as an accuser. Dr. Baird said well: "This book is the constitution of God's kingdom." There are two parties in every trial: the injured party and the offender. Who is the injured party? Always the kingdom of God, the Church. She is therefore always the accuser, and every indictment must be in her name. The prosecutor may be a voluntary or an appointed one, but he always represents the Church. He never pursues the accused as having injured himself; for personal offences do not come before the Church in any private or personal aspect, but only and always as sins against God, and as offences against the peace of the Church and the honor and majesty of her king. Besides, as Dr. Baird expressed it, "Common fame is a fiction;" and he might have added she deals very much in fictions. But the Church is a reality, and can do and ought to do her own accusing just as the State always does. Whenever the occasion arises, if there be no voluntary prosecutor, the court, moved by injurious reports affecting the Christian character of any one subject to their authority, must appoint a prosecutor. Here all is substantial and all is plain. "Common fame," said Dr. Baird, "has always been a hindrance to the Church and a disgrace. I believe there was no man on the Committee who was not desirous of getting it out of the book."

A second point is the provision for *involuntary* demission of the ministry, eldership, or deaconship. It is carefully distinguished from the voluntary demission which is also provided for in certain cases.

The third point is that while the new Canon prescribes that the members of inferior courts, when a case goes up to the court above, shall not lose their right of voting, yet either of the original parties may challenge any member of the inferior court. The question arising thus, is to be determined by the vote of all

those members of the superior court who are not members of the inferior. It is an excellent rule and commends itself.

RULES OF PARLIAMENTARY ORDER.

The new book classifies these rules. This is a great improvement. It also abolishes "*the previous question*," and gives us instead "*the question*;" which is perhaps another improvement.

We have endeavored to direct the reader's attention to the main points of supposed improvement in these documents. If he be only a member of the Church, but still more if he be an office bearer, let him procure and study the book for himself. How can any minister or elder who may be at the autumn meeting of Presbytery and be required to vote, neglect so sacred an obligation? But apart from this, and in whatsoever way the question is then to be decided, let the transmission of this overture from our highest court, become the occasion to every minister, elder, deacon, and member of our Church for a fresh investigation of the principles of Presbyterian Church Government as must be presented clearly before him by a careful study and comparison of the present Book with the one proposed for adoption.

DOMESTIC MISSIONS.

The Report from the Executive Committee, presented by the Rev. Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, is a document that must live in our Church's history. Dr. William Brown says of it: "Happening to look over the Assembly, I saw the tears flowing down the cheeks of many of our dear brethren, ministers and elders and others in the congregation, as the trials our brethren and people are called to pass through were recounted." But the pathos of the report was not its sole power. It was instinct with humble faith and lively hope. There was wisdom and courage and zeal in every paragraph. The work assigned to the Committee had been three-fold: to support the pastors in our impoverished churches; to repair or rebuild houses of wor-

ship; to send the gospel to destitute sections. The first was the most urgent; for many of our churches were completely prostrate and their ministers in extreme destitution. The Synod of Virginia was altogether the greatest sufferer at that time; South Carolina, or perhaps Georgia, stood second; North Carolina was fourth on the roll of destitution. Alabama suffered little from the direct effects of the war, but had its full share of the poverty resulting from the general prostration. The Synods of Mississippi, Memphis, Nashville, and Arkansas, were greatly distressed in the early periods of the war, but were restored to comparative comfort and strength before its close. Texas suffered least of all; but its churches had always been feeble—most of them mission churches.

But by the blessing of God, through the oblations of our own people, and the unsolicited but most generous aid of kind friends in Kentucky and Baltimore, every known case of pressing want amongst our brethren had been so far relieved as to enable them to stand at their posts. The sums of money furnished were from \$50 to \$300, and the whole amount thus employed was upwards of \$23,000.

The Committee next addressed themselves to aiding to repair or rebuild churches. Between ninety and one hundred church edifices had been either seriously injured or entirely destroyed—about one half of them in Virginia. Sixteen of these Virginia churches, three in South Carolina, six in Georgia, and one in each of the Synods of North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Memphis, and Arkansas—in all thirty—had been aided by appropriations varying from \$100 to \$1100, and amounting in all to about \$8000. Every application for aid had been granted, except the two latest; and in all but one case, to the full amount asked. Many of the congregations had rebuilt their own houses, or got aid from sympathising friends at the North. Many more, however, have yet to commence the work of rebuilding. At least \$6,000 is needed in Virginia, and at least \$12,000 for the whole of our territory.

In the third department of their work, the Committee found themselves unable to proceed more than a very few steps for the

want of funds. In the Synods of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, are many vacant and feeble churches that must be supplied with the word. The Committee, through Dr. Wilson, presented a doleful picture of the consequences of drought and other causes upon many sections of our territory. It was a dark future that spread itself before us. Impoverished and depressed churches and starving ministers presented themselves to view all over our land. What was to be done?

1. The most rigid economy and the most self-denying labors must be practised by our ministers, and they must resort for the present emergency to every kind of lawful and suitable "tent-making." And our congregations must all make sacrifices for the common good. And our ruling elders must do in and for our vacant churches what the Book prescribes. And Sunday-schools both for whites and blacks, and other measures of like character, must be employed to alleviate as far as possible the general religious destitution.

2. Proper efforts must be made to raise the requisite funds. We need \$50,000 to sustain feeble churches, and erect houses of worship. Poor as we are, we can raise this amount. A very small sum from each church-member would suffice. Let us have collections every Lord's day in every Church. Let us have a special annual collection in all the churches. There is no ground for despondency. Our Master's resources are boundless. If we are but true to ourselves and to our Head, the same Providence will bring us out of these straits which brought us into them. Our afflictions are only tokens of our Father's love.

The report of the Standing Committee on Domestic Missions, presented by Dr. W. M. Cunningham, was altogether responsive to these earnest and cheering views.

DR. J. LEIGHTON WILSON'S MEMORIAL.

The object of this memorial was to have a central Sustentation and Advisory Committee substituted by the Assembly for its Executive Committee of Domestic Missions.

Dr. Wilson urged, 1. That the present Committee had no definite and fixed character in the apprehension of the Church.

Some looked upon it as merely a financial agency for aiding the weak from the contributions of the strong Presbyteries; others regarded it as having both ecclesiastical and financial functions. 2. That no Committee of the Assembly could carry on the whole Domestic Missionary work in our wide bounds. 3. That the Assembly really had no field for such a Committee regarded as an aggressive evangelistic agency, for the whole ground of our domestic territory is covered by the Presbyteries. 4. That for the present at least, our great work is rather to sustain our present churches than to establish new ones.

The functions of the Committee which he proposed, were to be strictly financial and advisory. To the Presbyteries must be reserved the entire absolute control of all missionary operations within their bounds. There would be upon this plan but one treasury, to be used under the direction of the Presbyteries for the good of the whole Church. The object is to unite the whole body in one close compact brotherhood. The Presbyteries must appoint and direct the missionaries, and to the Presbyteries alone must these missionaries be responsible. But the Committee must decide what amount can be appropriated for each Presbytery out of the common fund. It would be expected, of course, that the older and stronger Presbyteries would always contribute more than they could draw out. The chairman of the respective Presbyterial Domestic Missionary Committees must be a connecting link between the Presbyteries and the central Committee. He must be a corresponding member of that central agency. That Committee must have a code of by-laws, to be altered or amended from year to year by the Assembly whenever necessary.

Such is the plan proposed by the Memorial. Its author urged it upon the Assembly by various considerations. It was committed to the Standing Committee. Dr. Rice, from that Committee, presented its report. It represented the Presbyteries as having complete original control of their own bounds, but the Assembly as the common bond of union and life betwixt them all. This function demanded some executive agency. It recommended the substitution asked for by the memorialist, and

provided for the new Committee a constitution agreeable to the principles he had set forth.

Objection was made to some of the grounds upon which the respected and beloved Secretary had urged the adoption of his plan. It was also insisted that our present machinery was good enough—the deficiency amongst us being simply of *life*. It was admitted that the rights of Presbyteries were fully acknowledged in the constitution prescribed, but that a central agency to whom all Domestic Missionary contributions in our Church must be made, would provoke objections, and divide us without any necessity. We ought to act together. There was no need of rousing the opposition of the Presbyteries, some of which would insist on doing their own work entirely. Having got rid of the incumbrance of the old Boards, and being furnished with that simple executive agency which we all agree in, what we have to do is just to *objectify* Domestic Missions as we have done Foreign Missions, and set clearly before the Church's eye this part of her duty, and she will come up to the work.

Subsequently, Dr. Rice introduced an amendment to the effect that the Assembly would not enjoin upon the unwilling Presbyteries to send all their funds to the central Committee, but only to take up in each church a collection for that Committee, and also to report their doings to the Assembly through the Sustentation Committee, with a view to an exhibition at once of what the whole Church is accomplishing. Thus amended, the Standing Committee's Report was adopted.

We believe the Master's blessing is crowning the efforts of his servants. There seems to be a general determination all over the Church to *sustain* the Sustentation Committee. It has thus far been enabled to do all that has appeared to be necessary. What with the contributions of our own churches and the generous help bestowed on us from our good brethren outside, our treasury has been adequate thus far to every reasonable demand. We believe the tone of principle and of feeling upon this subject never has been so high in our Church at large as at the present time. As a specimen of the prevailing sentiment, let us state that one Presbytery in the Synod of South Carolina, *which is now*

very poor, has resolved that it will still prosecute the cultivation of its own field and not ask aid from the central Committee, but that to realise the communion of saints, it will henceforth of its poverty send *one-tenth* of all its Domestic Missionary collections to the Sustentation Committee; while another taking the same general ground, resolves to send to the central treasury *one-fifth* of all its receipts for this object. Both these appropriations are to be in lieu of the collection in every church for the central Committee. And the large majority of the Presbyteries—more than four-fifths of them—have cordially and fully adopted the Assembly's plan.

EDUCATION.

Dr. Baird presented the Fifth Annual Report on this subject. The Committee had been much embarrassed by the doubts which successive Assemblies had thrown around the question of continuing this as one of the permanent agencies of the Church for systematic evangelisation. He went into some detail exhibiting the causes, which, in connexion with the course of the Assembly, had operated to hinder the Committee from accomplishing what they had hoped and desired. He pointed out sundry evils which must result from our continuing to have no central agency to act for the whole Church and harmonise its educational efforts. And disclaiming for the Committee any purpose of urging on the Assembly their own continuance as an agency, he surrendered on their behalf the trust committed to them into the hands whence it had been received. His report was referred without discussion to the Standing Committee on Education.

To the same Committee was also referred a report on Beneficiary Education from a Committee which the Assembly meeting in Columbia, 1863, had appointed, with some resolutions thereto appended. Of that Committee, the Rev. Dr. Joseph R. Wilson was the chairman, and he presented the report. The same Committee had reported through the Chairman to the Assembly at Charlotte in 1864, upon the general subject, favoring the continuance of the Executive Committee on Education, and insisting that the Church is bound to educate her candidates,

not as a charity to them, but a matter of justice to all concerned. The Charlotte Assembly had adopted the report, and "earnestly recommended that it be published by the Committee of Publication for general circulation, and as one of their permanent tracts;" and continued the Committee with instructions to consider the question whether the support of candidates ought to be provided by the Assembly or by Presbyteries, or in what other way. In 1865, at Macon, this Committee reported; but their report after discussion was recommitted, with instructions to report to the next Assembly. The reason for recommitting appears to have been that the report favored the *Presbyterial* scheme in preference to the present one.

The report presented to the Assembly of Memphis pointed out four objections to continuing the Executive Committee: 1. The expense. 2. The responsibility which its constitution might be so interpreted as to throw upon a body having no ecclesiastical power. 3. Its liability to deception by unworthy candidates. 4. The history of the Board of Education in our former church connexion. These and other objections might seem to prove that it is best for the Presbyteries to manage the whole business of educating candidates. And this was the plan which our Church in its early history sanctioned. Experience, however, seems to have made manifest that it does not develop the full resources of the Church. And thus it came about that our fathers resorted to the expedient of the Board of Education. The great, the solemn, the binding duty of recommending and of watching over candidates for the ministry, must be kept in the hands of Presbyteries. To the Executive Committee, however, may be intrusted with advantage the simple charge of the Church's funds for education, that it may equalize in a measure the weak and the strong Presbyteries. Accordingly, the resolutions offered were designed to continue the Executive Committee, and to provide for it a constitution which empowers it simply to act as a disbursing agent, the whole power of recommending candidates, and directing and controlling them, being retained for the Presbyteries. It was also provided in these resolutions, that, if any Presbytery should insist upon

managing its own Education funds, it should be enjoined nevertheless to take collections in all its churches for the central Committee, and also to report to the Assembly its doings in full. The resolutions, after considerable discussion, were adopted with almost entire unanimity.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

The Executive Committee's report lamented the fact that their work is still so contracted in its reach and dimensions. Receipts from all sources had been only \$9,732. 99, of which \$100 was from an aged minister and his wife in New Jersey, and \$350 from the Rev. Stuart Robinson's church in Louisville. Only one-eighth of our churches had contributed anything at all. It is questionable if they had ever had the opportunity presented to them. If this be the fact, pastors and sessions have assumed a responsibility they will not be able to bear. Our funds have not been sufficient to meet our Indian Missions; and our brethren have prosecuted their work under great pecuniary embarrassment. They are, the Rev. Dr. Kingsbury, now eighty years old, the founder of the Mission, and the Rev. Messrs. Hotchkin, Copeland, Reid, Wright, and Fisk, the last two being native Choctaws. These six constitute the Choctaw Mission. The Rev. Henry Balentine is our missionary to the Chickasaws; and the Rev. Stephen Foreman, our missionary to the Cherokees. The Rev. Cyrus Byington, who labored among the Choctaws for more than forty years, has been compelled to retire from active labors. He will devote the remainder of his life to completing the Choctaw Bible. The Rev. Mr. Stark, who labored for nearly twenty years in that field, has removed to Texas. There are therefore eight missionaries still representing our Church amongst these tribes. They call earnestly for two new missionaries to take up the work of Father Byington and Mr. Stark, and for more men to reinforce the aged and worn laborers that still cultivate that field. Who amongst our younger ministers will freely consecrate themselves to this service?

The Rev. Elias B. Inslee, of the Presbytery of Mississippi, for many years resident in China, has been appointed our mission-

ary there. He was formerly in the service of the New York Board, but had some misunderstanding with them. He arrived in this country just before the meeting of the Assembly. He will shortly return to China.*

The Committee recommended, 1. United prayer all over the Church on the first Sabbath of every month, and that collections be then taken up. 2. That it be enjoined upon Sabbath-school superintendents to endeavor to interest the children in this work. 3. That Presbyteries be enjoined to appoint some one of their members to represent this cause in their bounds.

The Standing Committee's report, presented by the Rev. Henry C. Alexander, was an earnest response to this document.

With reference to an overture from the Synod of South Carolina touching a mission to Brazil, the Standing Committee reported that any action in that direction would be at this time premature.

We have a very few observations to offer upon this subject. In the first place, it seems very strange that it should be found necessary for the Executive Committee to recommend the Assembly to enjoin upon Presbyteries that they appoint some one of their number to *represent the cause* in their own bounds. Shall we never rise to the position where every minister will feel personally responsible for his share of duty to the heathen world, and when every session will be alive to the idea that their particular church is a society for missions? Alas! alas! How far off we are now from any such conception of our high calling. Blessed be the Master's gracious name that our Church is not denied some little share in the sublime enterprise of Foreign Missions! It is unspeakably encouraging and comforting in the midst of our trials that we are permitted to bear a humble part in this work, both among our Indians, and now in distant China, and in Italy.

And in the next place, we are of those who firmly believe that it is all-important for the prosperity of our Church that she rise up now in the very midst of all her distress and weakness,

* Mr. Inslee sailed for China June 11.

and attempt great things for her Lord. If one half of all the young brethren in both our theological schools were to offer themselves for the Foreign Missionary work, we should not only wish the Committee to undertake to support them, but we should hail it as the brightest sign that our Lord is with us of a truth. No little measures, no narrow spirit, no weak faith, no ordinary zeal, will answer for a Church situated like ours. Our *life* is in high though humble heart and hope. Expecting great things, and attempting great things, we shall with God's blessing effect them, but in no other way and by no other course of policy. We are in many respects situated just like those of whom the prophet said, "But the people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits." If our King and Head shew us favor, we shall rise and be valiant for him.

PUBLICATION.

The report on this subject was very cheering. Dr. Baird had, with the consent of the Committee, assumed the duty and labor of Publishing Agent, (for which his former life well qualified him,) as well as those of Secretary of Publication and Editor, devolved on him by the Assembly. The *Children's Friend* has an issue of 10,500 copies for every number. A large supply of the tracts, tract volumes, and hymns, issued during the war, and supposed to have been consumed when Richmond fell, have been recovered. Three cases of Bibles, imported from England during the war, which did not reach Richmond previous to the surrender, have also been found. A debt due to the British and Foreign Bible Society of \$2,500 in gold, had through their liberality been cancelled. A claim of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, nominally against the Rev. W. J. Keith, of Georgia, but really against this Committee, had been adjusted finally and satisfactorily.

"It was manifest," says the report, "that our first duty was to make a selection of works suitable for our wants from existing sources. The plan adopted was to obtain the use of existing stereotype plates and to have our editions struck from them. One hundred different works have been issued in this way, the

stereotyping and cuts of which publications would have cost not less than \$20,000. Of the various publications the aggregate issue has been 62,200 copies." There are several original works by our brethren in course of preparation for the Committee's use.

On the subject of Branch Depositories, the Committee recommend that each Presbytery induce some bookseller within reach of its bounds to keep our books on hand, for the convenience of the churches. Make it the interest of booksellers to circulate these publications, and there will be no difficulty on the subject.

Books and tracts suitable for our unlettered freed people are a pressing necessity. "Of all that has been done [for Sabbath-schools] nearly the half has been for the benefit of schools organised among our former servants. Our constant regret has been that we have not had the means of doing more for them. It behoves us as a Church to be awake to this question, to make special exertions to reach them, and to publish books for their special good."

The Treasurer's report shows that, for all purposes, the receipts were \$18,171.15, and the balance on hand, Nov. 1, 1866, \$2,296.79.

The Standing Committee's resolutions were such as might have been looked for concerning so encouraging a report, and were unanimously adopted. The cheapness and beauty of the publications, as well as the judgment evinced in the selection of the books, were especially commended; the publication was urged of works designed expressly for the freedmen; and the remarkable success vouchsafed to this Committee made the special subject of thanks to God.

THE REVISION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS.

Majority and minority reports were presented. In accordance with the recommendation of the special Committee on the subject, which reported through its chairman, Prof. Woodrow, the minority report and other papers were referred to the Committee on Revision, and they were directed to incorporate in the Book of

Psalms not less than fifty from the version used in the Scottish churches. They were empowered to add or omit particular psalms or hymns, and make changes of phraseology at their discretion; the psalms or hymns to be added might be one hundred or more, provided that the whole number published should not be made greater than in the present Book. And the Committee of Revision were directed to send forth the work as early as possible.

The Rev. C. S. Dod, author of the minority report, but not a member of the Assembly, was, on motion, allowed to speak. He had bestowed three or four hours daily for a long time upon the collection he presented. He thought we needed a book larger and not smaller than the present. Only one hundred and ten hymns have been added from the rich stores in existence, while many more than that number had been left out.

Dr. Howe moved to strike out the hymn beginning "Oh thou that driest the mourner's tear," being the production of a very licentious man, Tom Moore.

Dr. Palmer would regret very much parting with this hymn, even if the devil wrote it. It is a favorite hymn in his church.

Dr. Howe's motion was lost.

Dr. Hutchison (ruling elder) moved that the whole of the Psalms (Scottish version) be incorporated. It might be the means of bringing about a union we all desired to see of two great Presbyterian families.

Professor Woodrow sang those songs in his boyhood; he loved them; but he thought fifty of them would be sufficient for the purposes of our Church. The motion was lost.

We confess to a strong sympathy with Dr. Howe in his wish that Tom Moore should have no hand in guiding the devotions of the sanctuary of God amongst us, and to some surprise at the sentiment uttered by Dr. Palmer. It must be felt to be shocking by every Christian heart, that Satan or any of his servants should be accepted by us as the ministers of our worship. Unfortunately we have churches where the service of song is managed and controlled by wicked men and ungodly women. But this is generally acknowledged to be a lamentable abuse. Yet here a

licentious poet is declared by the Assembly's vote to be an altogether acceptable leader of God's praise in our churches, and the idea is expressed from favorite lips that if he were many time more wicked and ungodly, even if he were as much so as the arch-fiend himself, that circumstance would constitute no objection to the production in question. And this, whilst there are hundreds of hymns, the utterances of truly devout hearts, and admitted by all to be every way desirable additions to our book, that cannot be introduced for want of room.

SYSTEMATIC BENEVOLENCE.

This subject came up in two ways: the first, in a resolution offered by the Rev. D. E. Jordan; and secondly, in the report of the Standing Committee. The resolution was as follows: "*Resolved*, That our Presbyteries be directed to make it a standing rule to inquire at their spring meetings of all their ministers and congregations if they have had contributions taken up within a year for all our stated objects of benevolence, and to take such measures as will secure such contributions." This resolution was adopted.

The Standing Committee, through their chairman, Dr. Woodrow, complained that only one Presbytery had obeyed the injunction of a former Assembly requiring from them all a report on this subject. That Presbytery so distinguished was Lexington. Every year since 1861, a similar complaint had been made. There was good reason to fear that a very large majority of our churches had made no contributions to any one of the four leading objects. The cause sometimes assigned, viz., *impoverishment*, is not the real one, because the churches which suffered most from the ravages of war are in many cases the most in advance. The true cause is the negligence of ministers and sessions. A few of our churches contributed very liberally—a single church (Augusta, Ga.,) had given one-twelfth of our whole receipts for Domestic Missions and Sustentation; another (Government street, Mobile,) nearly one-fourth of the whole for Publication. If all would contribute, the treasury would be

filled. It was recommended that the Assembly enjoin annual collections in all our churches upon the following plan:

For Sustentation: On the first Sabbath in January.

For Publication: On the first Sabbath in March.

For Foreign Missions: On the first Sabbath in May.

For Education: On the first Sabbath in November.

In case these days should prove inconvenient, then the collection must be had as soon as possible thereafter; and weekly collections must be also taken up according to the apostolic plan.

Accordingly, all this the Assembly by adopting the report did enjoin upon the churches. And how many of them will ever hear anything about the injunction from either minister or elders, or do anything concerning the matter?

There is no more crying evil in the Presbyterian Church than this. Can nothing be done to bring it to an end? Continually are our superior courts, Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, enjoining and directing, and the enjoined and directed treating it all with perfect indifference. Can any body wonder that so many of our church-movements prove to be miserable failures. Whose is the fault? It lies in various quarters; but one of them, and a leading one of them, is that quarter where the *jus divinum* is denied. One potent remedy for all this negligence and sin, would be the general conviction that church courts are really clothed with authority by Christ; that their decisions, *whenever accordant with his word and Spirit*, are binding; that these courts by *such* decisions can and do bind heaven and earth; that every *such* resolution and every *such* act of theirs is invested with the sanction of the Master himself; and that none can disobey but at his peril. What we need is more life, spiritual life; and one way in which this is to be manifested and exercised is by acknowledging Christ as the ever present King and Head of his Church, acting in, and by, and through these courts which he has himself ordained for the government of his spiritual kingdom.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

The Standing Committee's report, presented by its chairman, Dr. Baird, brought to the attention of the Assembly sundry items of interest upon this subject.

Union Seminary was attended by twenty-four students the preceding year; its professorships were full; the professors had, through the liberality of friends, received payment of their salaries; and the permanent funds, worth about \$98,000, had been increased by some \$50,000. Of this sum, \$30,000 was from C. H. McCormick, Esq., of Chicago, and \$10,000 from a Christian lady of Baltimore.

Columbia Seminary was attended by five students; had two professorships vacant; its professors had been nominally paid chiefly in unavailable coupons; its endowment of \$262,000 had been reduced by the war to about \$95,000. But unsolicited donations had been made by three friends, not connected with our Church, to the amount of \$13,000.

The Assembly expressed their sense of the goodness of God towards our seminaries in the midst of their difficulties and privations, and returned thanks to the friends who had manifested so much liberality. It changed the name of a professorship in Columbia Seminary, so as to make it the professorship of "Pastoral and Evangelistic Theology and Sacred Rhetoric." And it resolved to fill at this meeting both the vacant chairs in that institution. This resolution was subsequently reconsidered, and only a professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology elected. The professor elect, the Rev. Dr. William S. Plumer, accepted the position without delay, and entered immediately upon its duties with all his characteristic energy and zeal. It is believed that he will, by God's blessing, accomplish a great work for our Church in this chair. He brings to its duties a large and very successful experience in another similar institution, and also a reputation as wide as this broad land for piety, learning, and eloquence.

On the subject of the transfer of the Columbia Seminary, the papers furnish the following sketch of the debate, which is perhaps substantially correct:

The order of the day having now arrived, the Rev. Dr. Rice moved that the Assembly appoint a committee to make arrangements for the removal of the Theological Seminary at Columbia to some point west of the dividing line between Georgia and Alabama.

Col. Estes moved to amend by substituting Memphis or some neighboring point for the locality of the Seminary.

The Rev. Dr. Baird said if it be the sense of the Assembly that it ought to be removed, a committee should be appointed to obtain the consent of the Synods that own the property. Then they should see what propositions will be made by those who want it located near them, and where it can be located with the smallest loss. If it be moved, he would have it moved as far west as practicable.

Col. Estes thought probably his motion to amend was precipitate, and asked leave to withdraw it, which was granted. He thought the committee proposed should report before we took any action.

Dr. Rice thought we did not need another seminary for our Church, but the brethren of five or six States would not be willing to have both seminaries away over towards the Atlantic seaboard. The interests of the southwestern Church required a theological seminary in this southwestern country. The alternative then would be either the removal of that seminary, or the establishment of another—a third seminary.

Dr. Howe said that he would be glad to hear all the arguments the brethren have to offer in favor of the removal.

Dr. Rice assigned the following as reasons why the removal of the seminary was desirable: He believed in the unity of the Church, which required a harmonious development of every part. The Church, he said, is a full, rounded orb, radiantly lighted from every part. But *our* Church is like a comet with its head away in the east, and a thin, nebulous tail stretching out to the southwest, giving us very little light or warmth.

There are in the eastern part of the Church both of the theological seminaries, all four of its executive committees, its quarterly review, four out of five of its papers, and if we

count the *Children's Friend*, five out of its six papers, while one solitary paper is the only institution in this great region. The existence of these agencies there makes its influence felt there and felt here. Our committees know a great deal more about the wants of the field in South Carolina than they do of this great southwestern field. When he heard the Secretary of Publication read his report, he knew from the very air and tones he came from Richmond, though he was but a very little while ago among us. Yet, Dr. Rice added, the Virginia way is a very good way. But, he continued, this region is not like Virginia or South Carolina—but a conglomeration. A large proportion of its population are emigrants from the east. They have not yet been with us long enough to have a home feeling with us; and the want of this home feeling is one of the great obstacles we have to contend with. And as our young men go away over there to the seminaries, if they are men of mark, they are very likely to have persuasive hands laid upon them, and they are induced to remain there. This was the state of things at Princeton, when that was the great seminary of the Church. The acquaintance of the professors with the fields within their bounds was such that they introduced their best students to the fields there. Now, we have to contend not only with this tendency, which always exists, but it is more formidable because of the want of a home feeling sufficiently strong to bring our young men back to us. Then, again, the existence of opportunities for education near at hand is one of the means God uses for turning the hearts of young men to the ministry. Were it not for the danger of unduly multiplying institutions, he would urge the establishment of a new and third seminary. But the two now existing are sufficient for the wants of our Church. Columbia Seminary has, as it were, to be rebuilt anew. He was, therefore, anxious for its removal.

The Rev. Dr. Howe remarked that the subject of a removal is a new, fresh one to the minds of the professors of the Seminary at Columbia; they have not fully considered it. He would offer an argument from a Carolina standpoint, and the Assembly could compare it with the argument for removal. He would

speak of the strong attachment to that institution on the part especially of the Synod of South Carolina and that of Georgia. The Presbytery of South Carolina conceived of it, but, finding it too great an undertaking for itself alone, yielded its control into the hands of the Synod of South Carolina. At that time the churches of Alabama were in connexion with that Synod. Subsequently, the Synods of Georgia and Alabama became associated with it in the management of the Seminary, and Mississippi had an interest in it by virtue of the princely endowment of Judge Perkins. It was his judgment that, if we take away this munificent donation, two-thirds of the funds of the institution have been raised by the Synod of South Carolina. Those Synods had tenderly nurtured it, until, at the beginning of the war, it was in a flourishing condition, and had sixty-two students. During the war, it had, necessarily, a very small number of students. They were in the army, and some of them laid down their lives in the service of their country. When these Synods gave it to the Assembly, it was designed to give it with a pecuniary foundation on which it could live and flourish without being a burden on the Church. Besides the buildings and a very fine library of eighteen thousand volumes, it had a fund of about \$262,000, or, according to the Treasurer's report, \$270,000. Two reservations were made in transferring it to the Assembly: first, that the funds of the Seminary should not be commingled with those of the Assembly; and second, the location should not be changed.

Columbia is a healthy town, and in that respect a desirable location. A large portion of the endowment has been lost, but the buildings remain, and are admirably fitted for the purpose, and they are there. And there remains of the funds of the institution, according to their present value, about ninety-five thousand dollars. Yet these investments are not now yielding income. In addition, the Seminary has received thirteen thousand dollars recently; so we have over a hundred, perhaps over a hundred and twenty thousand dollars; as much, perhaps, as we had in all ten or fifteen years ago. So we do not commence anew, as has been alleged.

Now, what is a good location for a seminary? It should be in an intelligent community, and where there are literary advantages. Columbia is rebuilding more handsomely than before; the State University is there; the Legislature and Supreme Court meet there. The University has a costly and a valuable library of twenty-five thousand volumes, accessible to the professors. He knew, therefore, of no place where there are so many literary advantages.

Columbia is in the line of the stream of emigration to the southwest, and with this stream of emigration goes a stream of ministers. A statement of the present residence of its alumni shows that they generally move off towards the south and west. The location of the Seminary does not prevent it from furnishing the southwest now with very many ministers. It is not true that the students from the southwest settle in the vicinity of the Seminary. He had inquired, and knew of two only, one of whom was a member of this Assembly, and was prevented by the war from reaching his home in the far west. There were, when we last examined into this matter, thirty-eight of the alumni laboring in Georgia; twenty-eight in Alabama; twenty-eight in Mississippi; eight in Tennessee; and six in Arkansas. Besides Dr. Palmer, he counted three others, only one of whom was from the southwest, in the single city of New Orleans. We have given to this region of country many more than we have received from it.

The Doctor further inquired if the number of students would not be diminished by the removal. It is a mistake to suppose that the mere presence of a seminary in any place or quarter increases the number of students from thence. There had never come from the church of Columbia more than two ministers of the gospel, while more than twenty had entered the Presbyterian ministry from one congregation in Liberty county, Georgia. The older churches and regions, and perhaps the less prosperous and wealthy, are those from which our ministers mostly spring. It was a question worthy of thought why one church furnished ministers of the gospel more than another. He asked, Is it important with our present modes of travel that a seminary

should be central in its location? So far as the student is concerned, there is no great difficulty in his going hundreds of miles. Princeton Seminary is on the very Atlantic edge of the Church, yet it has more students than any other Old School seminary. So too, Andover, which supplies New England and the northwest with ministers, is in an obscure town on the edge, not in the centre of New England. Again, rolling stones gather no moss. Institutions, to be useful, should be stationary and not roving about. These considerations will no doubt influence our brethren in South Carolina.

Col. G. J. S. Walker thought we should act with the most unwise precipitation if we were to take steps *now* to remove the Seminary. He was not prepared to say we ought to do it. He thought so many affections cluster around that old institution that it would be sustained where it is. And, if need be, let the wealth of this community endow another institution.

The Rev. Dr. Cunningham was not prepared to vote either for or against the removal. The one might result in the breaking down the institution. The other might seem like indifference to the interests of the people in this vast region. He wanted a committee to consider the subject and to report to the Assembly next year.

The Rev. Mr. Flinn proposed that a committee be appointed to represent all the rest of the Church, and confer with the Synods having the Seminary under their immediate care, and report to the next Assembly.

The Rev. Dr. Rice thought we in the southwest ought to decide speedily whether we will help to reëndow Columbia Seminary, or set to work and build up a new seminary here. But he did not wish to precipitate action.

The Rev. Dr. Adger was ready to acquiesce in whatever decision might be reached. He saw arguments on both sides, but he was apprehensive great injury might be done to the Seminary by the agitation of the question; those who entertained benevolent intentions might be deterred from putting them into execution. He would have the arguments in favor of the removal brought forward now. But he questioned very much

whether they were ready in the southwest to take hold of this matter. Dr. Adger further stated that it was not the policy of the Church to locate its committees in the east. One of them was located at first in New Orleans, and another in Memphis, but the contingencies of the war rendered their temporary transfer necessary.

The Rev. H. H. Banks said the great call for ministers would be from the west and southwest rather than the east. But in view of the poverty of the west, the people of this section had better depend for the present upon the ministers who come there from the east, than to endeavor at this time to move the Seminary from Columbia.

Mr. Israel Spencer, of Mississippi. The founders of that institution, whose money built and endowed it, ought to be consulted before we take any steps about changing its location.

The Rev. George Hall rose as a southwestern man to say that he thought we ought not now to act, and moved the indefinite postponement of the whole matter.

The motion prevailed, and the subject was indefinitely postponed.

NARRATIVE OF THE STATE OF RELIGION.

Revivals of religion were reported in some churches of almost every Presbytery, but the work was very special in North Mississippi, Montgomery, Flint River, Cherokee, South Carolina, Concord, Fayetteville, Winchester, and Lexington Presbyteries. More than two thousand souls were added to our communion. In Flint River Presbytery, a number of young men are looking forward to the ministry.

Sabbath-schools are generally sustained, but it does not appear that the Shorter Catechism is taught as diligently as by our fathers of old.

There is great neglect of family worship, and much parental unfaithfulness in general. Instead of the excuse that secular matters are now urgent, necessities, sufferings, and providences, ought to impel us all to reverse the language of the Jew in the

days of Haggai, and exclaim with one voice, "The time that the Lord's house should be built *is come.*"

From many Presbyteries, no reports; from four, unfavorable; and from fifteen, very favorable and exceedingly gratifying ones, have come relative to the religious instruction of the blacks. They are coming back to the old folds from which they strayed.

Much wordliness prevails in the Church. Many ministers receive no adequate support.

It is recorded amongst the most encouraging evidences of God's presence in some Presbyteries that the ruling elder has been roused to a clearer sense of his duty.

The elements of a great working Church exist amongst us, if they can only be properly combined. If the people have a mind to work, our desolations can soon, with God's blessing, be repaired.

JUDICIAL COMMITTEE.

Dr. John H. Rice, the chairman of this Committee, reported that no case had come into their hands;—evidence, it was to be hoped, either that the Church has had great internal peace, or else the lower courts great success in disposing of cases coming to them for trial.

CHARTER OF THE TRUSTEES.

Ruling elder B. M. Estes presented the report of the Committee on the Charter, recommending that the terms prescribed by the laws of North Carolina be submitted to, and the charter granted under the same be accepted. The report was adopted.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

The Rev. Dr. Charles A. Davis, from the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and the Rev. H. L. Murphy, of the Associate Reformed Church, were present and addressed the Assembly. The former intimated his belief that an extensive and growing desire prevailed for a union of the two bodies; and the latter also expressed his conviction that many in his connexion were ready for a similar consummation. The subject thereupon was

referred to the Committee on Foreign Correspondence, B. M. Palmer and J. M. P. Atkinson, ministers, and George J. S. Walker, ruling elder, being added to the same. The Committee subsequently reported, and the Assembly adopted the report, that we are quite ready for a union with the Associate Reformed, and that we invite the Cumberland Presbyterian Church to consider the subject of a union by their adopting the time-honored standards to which we adhere. The report urged the desirableness of uniting in one homogeneous body all those different branches of the Presbyterian family who feel called "to reassert Christ's royal supremacy in and over his spiritual kingdom, the Church." The scattered testimony of separate and individual witnesses would deepen in intensity if gathered into one volume "against those who would place the crown of Jesus upon the head of Cæsar." The Rev. Dr. Lyon (with the Rev. J. N. Carothers as his alternate,) was appointed delegate to the Associate Reformed Synod, and the Rev. T. D. Witherspoon (Rev. D. H. Cummins his alternate,) delegate to the Cumberland Presbyterian General Assembly. And it was further resolved, that a committee of five be appointed to confer with any similar committee on the part of the Cumberland Church to ascertain how far the way is prepared for union on the basis of the Westminster standards. This committee consists of the Rev. J. O. Stedman, D. D., Rev. T. D. Witherspoon, Rev. J. N. Waddel, D. D., Rev. James A. Lyon, D. D., Rev. John H. Gray, D. D., and the Moderator, Rev. A. H. Kerr, D. D.

There was also appointed, in the spirit which prompted our first Assembly at Augusta to express its desire to hold fellowship, so far as practicable, with the true disciples of our common Lord in all the world, a deputation to bear our salutations to such Christian Churches and societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and on the continent of Europe, as Providence may designate, to explain to them the character, condition, work, and prospects of our beloved Zion, and to receive such contributions as may be voluntarily offered in aid of our general schemes of evangelisation. Drs. Hoge, Palmer, and Girardeau, were appointed to this service.

UNION WITH THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED IN ALABAMA.

The Alabama Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, regretting and disapproving the action of their Synod in suspending negotiations for union with our Church, proposed a union of the two Presbyteries to our Presbytery of South Alabama. The proposition was joyfully accepted, and the Assembly was overtured to authorise the union. The Assembly replied that the uniting of Presbyteries is committed to Synods in our constitution. But it proceeded to authorise the Synod of Alabama to receive into union with itself the Alabama Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Church, provided it should adopt our standards wherein they might differ from their own; and to ordain that this Presbytery should be received as coördinate with the Presbytery of South Alabama; and that the Synod should then dissolve both and form a new Presbytery out of their elements. The Assembly also recognised the right of our members to use Rouse's version of the Psalms. And it ordered the same method of procedure to be observed in the reception of organised Presbyteries of the Associate Reformed Church within their bounds, if need so require, without further action of the Assembly.

We consider this very good *unconstitutional* action, under our present Form. Under the new Form, if adopted by the Presbyteries, the Assembly will be invested with the power to do such a good thing as this undoubtedly was.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.

Dr. Baird, chairman of the Committee appointed on this subject in 1864, reported that no action was now required, inasmuch as the Assembly had adopted the new Form, which declares that the Church, in its organised capacity, with its officers and courts, is the sole agency which Christ hath ordained for its own edification and government, and for the propagation of the faith. The Church, therefore, is God's Bible and Missionary Society.

With reference to the American Bible Society, the Committee holds that it ought to be composed of representatives of the

different churches appointed through their constitutional forms. Yet as there is nothing in its constitution to prevent the free action of every Church in carrying forward the work, and it is simply an organisation to print and circulate the Scriptures, the Committee recommend that the Assembly encourage all our ministers and churches to give to it their confidence and support. Adopted.

RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

In addition to the reiterated testimony respecting the entire mutual independence of these two jurisdictions given by the Assembly in its action relative to foreign correspondence, there was a separate deliverance uttered in reply to an overture from the Presbytery of East Alabama. This deliverance was read by Dr. Howe, chairman of the Committee on Bills and Overtures.

The particular point referred to the Assembly was the duty of observing days of fasting, etc., designated by the civil magistrate. The Assembly affirms again the perfect independence of both Church and State, the one of the other. But the Church of Christ, as it is visible in any country, is divided among many denominations. And when upon occasions of national calamity, the civil power, which alone can reach them all, invites to acts of national humiliation, "it is right for those who bear rule in the visible Church to consider whether Christ their Head, who as Mediatorial King rules over the nations of the earth as well as over his Church, does not himself invite them to these acts of worship. He is their Lord. And to their own Master they stand or fall. The act of the civil power does but secure that concert of prayer, praise, and worship, that would be wanting without it. And we cannot condemn the civil magistrate who thus furnishes the opportunity of united religious acts, so consonant to the hearts of a Christian people and to the religion they profess."

"We do not enjoin the observance of such days in all cases, nor would we dissuade from such observance, but remit the determination of the question in each case to our church sessions."

Yet again, the Assembly adopted the following resolution offered by Dr. Palmer:

“In view of the great controversy now pending in this country upon the spirituality and independence of the Church as the visible kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the earth; and in view of the fact that the Assembly did, at the time of its organisation in 1861, plant itself firmly upon the ground that the Church is a spiritual commonwealth distinct from and independent of the State: Be it therefore

“*Resolved*, That the Rev. Messrs. T. E. Peck, A. W. Miller, and George Howe, D. D., be appointed a committee to prepare, and report to the next General Assembly, a paper defining and limiting this whole subject, for the instruction of our people, and suitable to be adopted by the Assembly as a full and public testimony against the alarming defection manifested in so many branches of the Protestant Church in this country.”

TIME AND PLACE OF THE NEXT MEETING.

A memorial was offered by Drs. Rice and Adger, requesting the Assembly to fix the time of meeting in the month of May in each and every year. The Committee on Bills and Overtures recommended that the Assembly concur in this request, and fix the time for the third Thursday in May in each year. This was adopted. Subsequently the matter was reconsidered, and the third Thursday in November was fixed for the next meeting, with the proviso, that, should any emergency in the meanwhile render such a step necessary, the Moderator might call a meeting in May. The first Presbyterian Church in the city of Nashville was chosen as the place.

RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO FREEDMEN.

The order of the day having now arrived, viz., that of hearing the report of the Committee on the Relation of the Church to the Freedmen, the Rev. Mr. Alexander, a member of the Committee, said the last General Assembly had appointed Rev. Messrs. J. L. Girardeau, D. Wills, J. Leighton Wilson, Alexander Martin, C. A. Stillman, John N. Waddel, and himself, a committee to take into consideration this subject. Of this committee, there

had been present at this Assembly only Drs. Wilson, Waddel, and himself, and they were thus left without a quorum. The Committee had also been unable to meet during the year, and they had not therefore been permitted to prepare a report upon the subject under their consideration. Though unable to meet, however, he (the speaker) was acquainted with the views of the Committee as made known by correspondence, and he had in his possession the draft of an elaborate report, blocked out by the chairman of the Committee, and also a series of resolutions drawn up, in connexion with the same.

The Rev. Dr. Rice moved that the document in the possession of the speaker be received as the report of the Committee.

Mr. Alexander replied, that as a majority of the Committee could not and did not endorse the grounds taken and the views set forth in the paper drawn up as a report by the Rev. J. L. Girardeau, he would submit as the report of the Committee the resolutions which were appended thereto. He also read an interesting letter from Mr. Girardeau, touching the subject considered in the report, after which he further stated that the Committee do not feel called upon to adopt any particular scheme, but rather to leave the whole matter with the Presbyteries. He paid a high compliment to Mr. Girardeau for the interest he had taken and the labor he had performed on the subject; and yet he added that the members of the Committee regretted their inability to agree with him in his policy. The Committee were only willing to send the matter down to the Presbyteries without instructions.

The report of the Committee, an elaborate document of about thirty pages of closely-written paper, was then read to the Assembly by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, the Stated Clerk, together with the resolutions appended thereto.*

The Rev. Dr. Atkinson moved that the report of the Committee be received, and the resolutions passed upon *seriatim*, which was carried. The first resolution being read and put to a vote,

* The reader will find these resolutions on pp. 15-17 of the present volume of our Review.—EDS. S. P. R.

was adopted. The second resolution was read, when the Rev. Dr. Atkinson moved to amend by striking out the words "as heretofore," and stated that his reason for so doing was based upon the conviction that though efforts had been put forth by the Church in the past, they had not been sufficient, and it might occur to the minds of some that it was not the intention of the Church to advance.

Dr. Adger suggested that there are many who doubt that any thing has been done in the past.

Dr. Atkinson continued that there might arise an apprehension that the Church is satisfied with what she has done, whereas he did not believe such to be the case.

Mr. Alexander remarked that the amendment proposed by Dr. Atkinson was tantamount to a confession that nothing had been done. He would suggest as a substitute for the amendment the insertion of the words, "and even more abundantly."

The Rev. Mr. Sherrill said that he was forced to regard Dr. Atkinson's amendment as at least a confession that the gospel had never been furnished to freedmen. He was further of the opinion that the whole value of the article rested upon the clause which it was proposed to strike out.

The Rev. Dr. Baird offered as a substitute for the amendment the insertion of the words, "continue to give;" which upon being put to a vote, was carried, and the resolution, as amended, passed.

The third resolution was read.

The Rev. Mr. Sherrill said that his judgment and feelings were both against a separate organisation, and he could not but regard such a course as calculated to be productive of evil.

Dr. Baird desired an explanation of the purport of the resolution. He would inquire if it was equivalent to bidding the freedmen farewell.

Mr. Alexander replied that it was the intention of the Committee to be non-committal upon the subject, leaving it entirely with the courts below.

Mr. Sherrill objected to the last clause of the resolution; he could not see that any good could be accomplished by it, and he would therefore move to strike it out.

The motion to strike out being put to a vote, was carried, and the resolution as amended passed.

The fourth resolution was read.

The Rev. Mr. Miller thought that the passage of the resolution would fail to secure uniformity, which is so desirable in the Church, and he would therefore move to erase the whole article, or at least that portion after the word "leaving."

Mr. Bartlett remarked that the Presbyteries were looking for some expression from the Assembly upon this subject.

Dr. Baird said that from what he had heard of the foregoing debate, he was convinced that the Assembly were not prepared for action, and he would, therefore, move to refer back the whole matter to a special committee, of which Mr. Alexander should be made the chairman.

Mr. Alexander opposed the motion upon the grounds that the matter had already been in the hands of the committee for over a year, and now it was desirable that it should be sent down to the Presbyteries.

The Rev. Mr. Grasty said: Moderator—I yield to no man North or South, in my desire for the elevation and salvation of the colored race. Many of the tenderest associations of my early days are connected with this people. They nursed and cared for me in infancy and boyhood, and many happy hours have been spent in their humble cabins. Every sentiment of magnanimity and gratitude therefore would rebel, were I to utter one word of disparagement of my colored friends. But, sir, no man on this floor is to be guided by personal considerations. Our sole aim now should be the Church of God, its welfare and unity. The question before us is a very large one. We ought therefore to regard with peculiar care the time-honored maxim, "*Festina lente.*" Can we not, without great injury to any interest, wait at least one year? In this time, every Presbytery could discuss the matter, and give us its maturest thoughts. It certainly is the desire of every member of this body to do right. But at present some brethren are perplexed. A few months of conscientious investigation might bring us all to the same conclusions, and then the *unanimous* voice of a venerable court like

this would strike the world's ear with incalculably more power.

But it may be asked, in what consists the difficulty. Why, Moderator, society in this land is at present in a state of excitement and every thing seems to be unsettled. We cannot yet, for very bewilderment, measure to its fulness the significance of that storm which for six years has been sweeping over us. But the same God who works in "unfathomable mines" will by-and-by make "darkness light and crooked things straight." And when the divine purpose in regard to the black man is fully revealed, no person is worthy to be a member of this body who refuses to acquiesce and coöperate. In the unsettled condition of many minds that are nevertheless anxious to do right, let us remand this whole subject back to the Presbyteries in the hope that discussion in these lower courts and in congregations and communities shall direct us to such final action, at no distant day, as to ensure "unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace."

But it may be asked, Moderator, if we are prepared to ordain the colored man to the full work of the gospel ministry. My reply is this: About the abstract principle there is no dispute. No man on the floor of this Assembly has even so much as hinted there is anything in our standards or in the word of God that prohibits the introduction into the gospel ministry of *qualified* persons of any race. The whole debate in the present instance turns upon the word qualification. Before *any man*, black or white, can be inducted into the sacred office, the church courts must inquire into his fitness; and this fitness extends not simply to color or race, but to the man in all his relations and capabilities. When an individual presents himself for ordination, the question should be asked, Can this candidate edify the body of Christ? If the Presbytery lay their hands on this applicant, whether negro, Chinaman, or Anglo-Saxon, will the influence he is likely to exert be hurtful?

Moderator, all things may be lawful, but all things are not expedient. It is sometimes better even for the righteous claimant to adjourn his claims for a season than to insist, at every hazard, upon an immediate adjustment. No wise man writes

homilies upon injured minors because their interests are placed for a period in the hands of governors and guardians. When the Assembly makes the admission that there is nothing in our standards or the word of God to prohibit the introduction of a person of any race into the gospel ministry, it assuredly is no hardship for a candidate of *any color* to wait for a reasonable period for the concurrent voice of Presbyteries, to settle upon uniformity of qualifications which shall be acceptable to the great body of the believers. No friend of the colored man need dread such an appeal. For the church courts will advance just as fast as congregations and communities are prepared. No good can possibly result, either to the freedman or Church of God, by adopting force where *love* should be the only law. It is true, Moderator, that we are all one in Christ Jesus. But in what does this oneness consist. Not surely in the doctrine that every *white* person, even, can be a minister of the gospel. If so, who shall exclude woman from the pulpit? For is it not also said that in Christ Jesus there is neither *male nor female*. This oneness, therefore, must consist in our relations, as redeemed fallen creatures, to Jesus Christ, the great Redeemer. The New Testament does not step aside, to break down violently all social relations. It touches the things of Cæsar very lightly. Even Paul, when writing to one whom he might have been bold to enjoin in such matters, simply uses the words of entreaty.

Moderator, we have been told that it is competent for legislatures to decide upon the qualification of their own members, lest by the introduction of unsuitable persons, constituencies should be injured; but how much clearer is the law, and how much deeper the obligation, when the person is a candidate for the highest position this side of heaven, and the tribunal to decide is a court of Jesus Christ, and the interests involved, the peace of the Church and the eternal destiny of souls.

Once more, Moderator, the question of social equality and intermingling of races has perplexed the minds, it may be, of certain weak brethren. But if any are strong at this point, let them disseminate their strength. For it does appear difficult to a practical common sense mind to draw a distinction between

ecclesiastical and social equality. Every man who sits in a court of Jesus Christ, according to Presbyterianism, sits as a peer. No one has a right *ecclesiastically*, that does not pertain to every other member. When Presbytery, composed of black and white, meet in any community, they are an assembly of peers; and whatever of courtesy, entertainment, or immunity, is conferred upon one member of this court, as such, cannot, without inconsistency, be withheld from another. The black man comes up as an ecclesiastic, and in this capacity is entitled to all the benefits which accrue to the white Presbyter. Upon what principle can you entertain one peer in the parlor and the other in the kitchen? How can you separate between the man and the church officer? To do so in this case would be to stultify your constitutional declarations. But if you entertain, on terms of social equality, the ecclesiastic, then the colored man must be thrown in to the bargain. Now, some men may have ample acuteness to see a legitimate line of distinction between social and ecclesiastical equality; but it does not follow, therefore, Moderator, that communities can exercise such discrimination. Let me introduce a colored brother into my house as only an ecclesiastical equal, and is it not probable that persons in the family, younger and less given to distinctions than myself, will in a short time inaugurate other equalities, which may be very fruitful in their consequences.

But, Moderator, to all this it may be replied that we ought to take the truth in all its length and breadth. Prejudice has too long held its sway over Southern minds. This Assembly should arise at once to the height of this great argument and utter a decision which would electrify with joy the hearts of all good men. Let the following, therefore, be adopted as a fundamental deliverance of the Presbyterian Church in the United States:

Resolved, That nothing in our standards or in the word of God prohibits the introduction into the gospel ministry of any qualified persons of any race, and neither do the said word nor the said standards interdict or discourage the intermarriage of persons of African descent with individuals, male or female, of an opposite color.

Surely if we should make haste to adopt and inaugurate one of these propositions, aside from expediency, simply because nothing in the word of God forbids, your speaker cannot see why the same line of argument will not at once precipitate us into miscegenation. If the argument that we are all one in Christ Jesus, all of one blood, etc., proves that we ought, at once, and without regard to expediency and "offence," to ordain colored men to the full work of the gospel ministry, it also proves that we should give him his peerage in the social circle and in the family as well. How can expediency and "the categorical imperative" be deduced from one and the same root?

Now, Moderator, without dealing in censure or praise, I would respectfully ask, if the Assembly is ready to make a deliverance on this perplexing subject that shall satisfy the consciences of the lower courts and the congregations they represent? Let it be granted that the rights of freedmen are very large, (and the speaker would not abridge them one iota, intentionally,) are there not others whose rights are also to be respected? If Paul could adjourn a distinct privilege, for a whole lifetime, lest the exercise of it should offend or destroy a brother, who shall deny to a church court the liberty of making haste slowly in a matter where hurry might seriously impair her peace and unity? The colored man's abstract and prospective rights may be scriptural and indisputable, but does it not become him to await with meekness the developments of providence? Whatever of truth underlies his claims, will be victorious in the end. About this he need not have the shadow of doubt. But would the introduction of a few colored persons at present into the ministry, and the good they would be likely to accomplish, at all compensate for those heart-burnings which are almost inevitable?

And this course, Moderator, commends itself to all parties, for the reason that time *must* elapse before colored men can be qualified according to the requirements of our book. The intervening period can be employed by both parties in thoughtful prayer for the guidance of the great Head of the Church. In the meantime also, our congregations and communities will travel

onward to some settled position, and thereby the Church of God, in this Southern land, be saved from schisms and convulsions.

I would close, Moderator, as I began, by an expression of my deepest solicitude for the welfare of our former servants. In this sentiment, the entire Assembly, as I verily believe, most heartily concurs. A Macedonian appeal comes up from this impoverished and unfortunate race. In their present situation, for which we at least are not responsible, they are rapidly perishing from the earth. The heart of every good man feels for them; and I am persuaded, Moderator, that there is no class of men in this "wide, wide world," who would go farther, or venture more, to serve and save the colored people than the honored members of this Assembly and the communities which they represent.

The Rev. Mr. Flinn suggested that if the Assembly would adopt the fifth resolution there would be no necessity for erasing the fourth as was proposed. No separate church could be formed for the freedmen without a disruption for the organic laws.

The Rev. Dr. Atkinson addressed the Assembly at great length upon the subject under discussion. He said that there are dangers overhanging the Church if they proceed too hastily in this matter. All that he could ask was that with as little prejudice and as much humility as possible, the Assembly proceed to the consideration of the subject. It was not for the sake of the white members of the Church, but for the sake of the freed people, that immediate action should be taken by the Church. It was for the sake of saving souls. The Church had already seen evidences of the danger of the freedmen relapsing into heathenism. Before the war, and the changes that were wrought by its results, it was possible for the master to require his servants to attend divine worship, and it can now be said, to the credit of many of them, that they exercised this authority for good. Now the condition of things is different. We are no longer permitted to require it, and it becomes the duty of the Church to induce, by every possible means, the freed people to the performance of religious duties. He ignored the idea that the sons of Ham were intellectually an inferior race and incapable of filling the offices of

the Church. He also dissented from the view that the descendants of Ham are incapable of rising; in proof of which he cited the instance of Roberts and others who had distinguished themselves for their literary attainments and erudition. The present difference and social distinction between the races is not greater than that which in the days of our Saviour existed between the Jews and Gentiles. We have but one appeal, and that is to God's word—and here we find no discrimination. He was as much opposed to the abolition of social distinctions as any one, only when such distinctions stood in the way of the gospel. The relations between the Southern Church and the freedmen were of a peculiar character. They were associated with a thousand recollections of the past, and it behoves the Church not to forget them now.

Dr. Palmer felt that it is far more important that we should arrive at a wise decision than that we should come to an immediate conclusion. He therefore suggested (but did not move) an addition to the resolution under discussion, that the whole subject should be remitted to the Presbyteries, with instructions to them to send up their opinions to the next General Assembly.

Dr. Baird said the objection he had to this suggestion and to the resolution, is, that they do nothing. The Presbyteries have been waiting a whole year to hear from us; it is now proposed to wait and hear what they say. The consequence will be, that during the coming year nothing will be done, as the Church will await the action of the next Assembly. Meanwhile, there are four millions of perishing souls in the midst of us that will practically be uncared for by us as a Church; and, so far as we are concerned, left to perish. The subject has already been postponed one whole year. Shall we postpone it till the next? Of all the important questions which come before this Assembly, this is one of the most important. He had no special plan to propose on the subject; but he thought almost any plan was better than no plan; and, undoubtedly, extraordinary measures must be adopted to reach the case. We stand much in the same position that the Reformers occupied; who did not hesitate to adopt temporary expedients in the circumstances by which

they were surrounded. Dr. B. agreed with Dr. Atkinson that there was neither Jew nor Greek in the Church of Christ—that we are all one in Christ Jesus. But so also the apostle declares there is neither male nor female, nor bond nor free. Hence the emancipation of this people does not affect their relation to the Church; but the question is left still, What is it to be one in Christ Jesus? The difficulty we have to confront, however, is not that they were *once slaves*, nor that they are *colored* people; but that they are *ignorant* people; destitute of the requisite knowledge and learning, and who, from their previous condition of bondage, are not capable of *self-control*, and who do not possess *the independence of character* required of those who should bear the heavy responsibilities of ordained officers in the Church. These difficulties undoubtedly confront us; but he hoped the Assembly would address itself to their consideration, and that the subject would not be postponed.

The Rev. A. W. Miller moved that the further consideration of this subject be made the order of the day for ten o'clock tomorrow. Adopted.

On the next day, Dr. Baird took the floor, and addressed the Assembly at much length. He said he considered the question of reaching our destitutions, white and colored, as one; and in his mind, the subject was not capable of separation. That is, whatever provision is made for reaching the religious destitution prevailing among the whites, the same provision ought to be made to reach the blacks. So far as we are concerned, they are just so many immortal souls, looking to us for the bread of life, multitudes of whom will perish unless we carry the gospel to them. There are about five millions of whites; there are about four millions of blacks; and among both classes the destitution is wide-spread and appalling.

The preaching of the gospel is an ordinance of God; but it is not the only ordinance which he has established in his Church. The lack of ministers of the gospel among us renders it impossible to send the living teacher. But we have too much neglected other ordinances, and have allowed our destitute congregations to neglect the assembling of themselves together, under the

guidance of their eldership, for the worship of God. This duty, enjoined in the Scriptures and in our standards, ought to be impressed on our elders; and, in like manner, they ought to assemble the colored people of their respective congregations for religious instruction and social worship. Moreover, evangelists, in the proper scriptural idea of that office, ought to be appointed to take the pastoral oversight of the vacant congregations, and to carry the gospel to the ignorant and perishing of all colors. Where this is impracticable, presbyteries might accomplish much by dividing out the vacant churches among their members, so that all parts of the field should be regularly and statedly cared for.

Dr. B. said our duties to the colored people are exactly the same as to the destitute whites—no more, no less. We must increase our efforts to instruct them in Sabbath-schools; we must preach to them to the extent of our ability, and ought to bring into exercise the gifts of our eldership in the work of their evangelization. Wherever they can be persuaded to do so, we ought to urge them to continue to worship with the white congregation.

As to conferring office upon them, there were great obstacles in the way: 1. Introducing them into our courts would present a show of equality, but none would exist. Our colored brethren would not feel at home among us, but would feel very much out of place. 2. Besides the fact that they are ignorant, almost universally, their previous condition of bondage has unfitted them for the independent exercise of official functions. 3. There is a doctrinal difficulty arising from the nature of a call to bear office in the Church. Days of miracles are passed; and now, God calls men by his Spirit through his Church. But in the present providential structure of society, it is not possible to see how any colored man can bring a call from the Church. A call from a congregation, technically so called, is the final evidence of the divine vocation of a candidate; but independent of that, the presbytery must have evidence of the general acceptability, and a prospect of the wide usefulness of the candidate in the Church at large. It is impossible to see how, in the present

condition of things, any colored man can produce such credentials as these. All that it is necessary for us to do at this time, however, is to make temporary provision to meet the present exigency. It is possible to find colored men, in various parts of the Church, who might be useful by exercising the gift of exhortation. This is the common duty of all Christians, under the law of charity; and the Church ought to organise and bring it into exercise. Hence, our presbyteries and church-sessions should seek out colored men possessed of suitable gifts, and license them to exhort among their colored brethren. He was not sure we might not go farther; and after the example of John Knox, license local preachers, with authority, under the guidance and direction of the superior courts, or of an evangelist, to administer sealing ordinances. Dr. B. was not sure it would be wise to allow this right, but he was not very certain of the contrary.

So far as Dr. B. was able to learn the wishes of our colored brethren, what they wanted was a separate, subordinate organisation of themselves into congregations in connexion with the whites. They did not want officers of their own color to be ordained over them; but they preferred that the power of jurisdiction should be lodged in the hands of the white officers, where it now resides. In some cases, they are not wholly satisfied with the session as it now is; but desire the right of choosing a board of white elders from contiguous congregations to exercise authority over them. If we make some such arrangement as this, and then authorise the appointment of boards of superintendents from among themselves, who shall take charge of the general interests of these congregations, and act as the organs of communication between the colored people and the church-session, Dr. B. believed we would have done every thing the colored people desired, and that they would be entirely satisfied with our action.

The great thing to be done is to develop the energies and resources of the Church; to draw out the gifts of our elders; to encourage our discouraged brethren, who, for the sake of bread, are turning aside to secular pursuits, to enter with renewed zeal

on their sacred calling. Dr. Baird, in closing, offered a minute embodying the views he had presented in the course of his remarks.

Elder Marye suggested that we were in danger of being drawn off by this *series* of propositions from the consideration of the subject that is the order of the day. He therefore proposed that this paper be docketed. Lost.

The Rev. Dr. Atkinson was very glad the Assembly seemed determined to do something, and that Dr. Baird had presented these suggestions, though he thought their adoption would lead us into error. The plan of having the ruling elders conduct religious services for the blacks he considered impracticable.

The experiment had been tried. The Synod of Virginia urged its elders to preach to them, but their labors were inoperative. The great difficulty is, not to get the ministers, but to get the congregations. After Northern ministers obtained access to them, congregations and Sunday-schools that were large before the war were broken up. Dr. A. adduced instances of it. The Assembly must consider how the negroes are to be gotten together. If they will not come to hear the ministers who are ordained to preach to the whites, will they come to hear ruling elders talk to them?

As to Dr. Baird's second proposition, he would go just as far as the Bible allows, no farther. In this resolution he saw the germ of Episcopacy. It creates the bishop, priest, and deacon of the Episcopal Church.

Dr. Baird explained that he had said his mind was not clear as to these licentiate administrators of the sacraments.

Dr. Atkinson continued:

These colored preachers would be very nearly the Episcopal deacon. The licentiate, under our standards, is a probationer, soon to be admitted to the full exercise of ministerial work, if he develops the proper qualifications. But these licentiates are designed to be permanently such. Even if John Knox proposed it, he replied that among the early reformers there were most hazy notions as to church government. After illustrating this fact by historical references, he argued: This is a dangerous

plan, as experience had shown. It may be urged that evil consequences would not result, as it is proposed that only negroes shall be thus licensed: but he considered it dangerous. We know not to what irregularities it would lead. The plan, too, of having a session performing the duties of a session among the blacks, under another session of whites, is unpresbyterian, and not as attractive to the colored race as the plan in use among the Baptists, which places them more nearly on an equality with the white man.

Dr. B. had referred to the constitutional objection—he could not be ordained because unacceptable. Why, the test of incompatibility was the judgment of the congregation that gave him the call. He must be such a minister as a church is willing to call. And now he would impress upon the Assembly the transcendent importance of prompt action that will be acceptable. The powerful appeals that have been made to alienate them from us had been only partially successful. He was utterly opposed to advancing them to a position of social equality, but he wanted us to take such steps as would attach them to us. The speaker then presented a series of resolutions embodying the ideas set forth in his remarks.

He thought if we were ever to obtain a stronghold upon them it must be by coming to these positions.

The Rev. Dr. Adger hoped that Dr. Baird's paper would be adopted, but not as a substitute for the Committee's paper, which he would amend and also adopt. He could not accept Dr. B.'s construction of the *acceptability* of a minister. He favored the establishment of day-schools for the blacks; but he saw no reason why the Church, as such, should establish schools for their secular education any more than for the secular education of the whites. He liked, too, the assertion of the principle that there is nothing in the Scriptures or our book that prevents a man becoming a servant or minister of Christ because he is a black. But he would have this principle presented in and limited by the fifth resolution reported by the Committee. The standard of qualifications ought not to be lowered because the skin of the applicant is black. Again, his difficulty was not

from any inconveniences to arise from admitting them on the floor of the presbytery, but it was that they have not any men even as well qualified to become ruling elders as to become mere preachers. Many of them can talk well who are not competent to rule the Church. If they could produce the men having the gifts and graces requisite, all his difficulties would vanish.

It is no argument that an experiment has been tried, and failed. There may be local causes which prevent even learned ministers from holding the congregations of the blacks. Dr. B. calls for pastoral superintendency over this home missionary field. What is this more than the work of the evangelist? We can authorise a man to ordain in China with his sole hands as he could not do here; but this is not Episcopacy. Nor could he see any confusion of principles or departure from our principles, if we license preachers with permission to administer or not to administer the sacraments. We can license them, and then their license can afterwards be taken away, or their office may continue, as may be expedient.

The Rev. H. C. Alexander said this debate had satisfied him that it was impossible for us to take action now that would be generally acceptable to the Presbyteries. He called attention to the apparent inconsistencies in Dr. Atkinson's resolutions. But his object in rising was to urge that this subject be referred to a committee to suggest a paper which would harmonise the views of the Assembly. A motion was therefore made to recommit the whole subject to the Committee, to which Dr. Baird, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Palmer, and Elder Marye were added.

On the same evening, Elder Marye, on behalf of the special committee to which was referred the papers upon the "Relation of the Church to the Freedmen," submitted as their report the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That this Assembly entertains for the freed people the sincerest sentiments of good will and affection; that it earnestly desires and prays for their salvation, and would encourage the employment of every legitimate means for the promotion of their spiritual good; that this Assembly believes the present condition of the colored race in this country to be one of alarming spiritual jeopardy, and that it is binding on us,

as Christians, to do all that lies in our power to save them from the calamities by which they are threatened, and to confer on them the rich blessings of the gospel.

2. That it be recommended to all our ministers and churches to exert themselves to the utmost of their ability to continue to give the gospel to these people; to church sessions to urge upon parents among them the duty of presenting their children for baptism, and of bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and especially to pastors, evangelists, and missionaries, to devote a portion of their labors to the promotion of the salvation of the freed people.

3. That in the judgment of the Assembly, it is highly inexpedient that there should be an ecclesiastical separation of the white and colored races; that such a measure would threaten evil to both races, and especially to the colored, and that therefore it is desirable that every warrantable effort be made affectionately to dissuade the freed people from severing their connexion with our churches, and to retain them with us as of old. Should they decline this fellowship of ordinances, and desire a separate organisation, then our sessions are authorised to organise them into branch congregations. In such cases, the Assembly recommends that such congregations shall be allowed, under the sanction of the sessions, to elect from among themselves, every year, such number of superintendents or watchmen as the session may advise, who shall be charged with the oversight of such congregations. These superintendents shall report to the sessions, for their action, all matters relating to the welfare of said congregations.

4. Whenever Presbyteries may find it necessary to organise separate colored congregations, they shall appoint a commission of elders who shall discharge the functions committed to the sessions in the preceding resolution.

5. That whilst nothing in our standards or in the word of God prohibits the introduction into the gospel ministry of duly qualified persons of any race, yet difficulties arise in the general structure of society, and from providential causes, which may and should restrain the application in the Church of this abstract principle. Holding this in view, the Assembly recommends that wherever a session or Presbytery shall find a colored person who possesses suitable qualifications, they be authorised to license him to labor as an exhorter among the colored people, under the supervision of the body appointing him.

6. That the Assembly recommends that, wherever it is practicable, Sabbath-schools for the benefit of the freed people,

especially the young, be established in connexion with our churches, and that the sessions of the churches take these schools into their charge, and provide suitable teachers for them.

7. That the heads of families are exhorted to encourage the freed people in their households to attend upon family and public worship, and that they provide for them, as far as possible, catechetical instruction in the doctrines and duties of the gospel.

8. That the General Assembly earnestly desires the intellectual and moral improvement of the colored race, and hereby tenders to all persons suitably qualified, who may labor in this work, its hearty encouragement and support.

The above resolutions were adopted *seriatim* without debate.

The Rev. Mr. Alexander moved that the elaborate document relative to the freedmen, presented by the Rev. Mr. Girardeau, be published in the appendix to the proceedings of the General Assembly.

Prof. Woodrow moved, as a substitute for the motion offered by Mr. Alexander, that the document be published in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. Adopted.

We have been at some pains to present as full and correct a report as possible of this discussion, not so much because of the uncharitable criticisms of the Assembly which some Northern religious journals have indulged in, as because of the interest which belongs to the subject. Dr. Baird's, Mr. Grasty's, and Dr. Adger's remarks, are corrected by themselves. We wish it had been in our power to obtain those of Dr. Atkinson and others thus corrected.

The Assembly has been charged with voting "that no black man shall be allowed to become a minister or a ruling elder within the limits or under the jurisdiction of the branch of the Church which they represent;" and also with having "effectually shut the door against the organisation of a single church among the four millions of emancipated blacks or even among those who were free and intelligent before." And the editor who ventured thus to traduce our Church as represented at Memphis, undertook to pronounce "the verdict of the Christian world" against us for this deliverance.

It would be very easy to turn upon such critics, and demand what their Presbyteries and their Church are doing for the colored

man amongst themselves. We do not see black men and women in their churches and congregations; nor Sunday-schools for black children collected in their houses of worship, nor intelligent ladies and gentlemen giving their time and labor to instruct such children. These things have long been common all over the South, but we doubt if there are presented in either New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, or Chicago, or any where else at the North, many such spectacles. There are thousands and thousands of that race at the North, but the Old School Church appears to have given them over to the other denominations or their own organisations. Some insignificant doings, and some mean and dishonorable doings, are chronicled of them amongst our freedmen; some suspicions and jealousies respecting their white brethren have been stirred up amongst these poor people, and some foolish pride, and office-seeking, and carnal ambition, been excited in their minds; some disaffected Southern ministers, (of whom we wish the Northern Church much joy,) have been enticed away from us; but if we ask what is done for the negro at home in the North by those who have been so shocked at our utterances, it is very certain our critics would rather be excused from replying.

But it is neither the *argumentum ad hominem* nor the *argumentum ad invidiam* which our feelings prompt us to employ. We are perfectly satisfied that the Assembly acted in the fear of God and up to its light. We doubt not, that we see some things now more clearly than we could see them then. We were then, as we still are, in the midst of a great revolution. It was, and it is still, a transition period with us. The Assembly undoubtedly fell into the error of deciding a great and difficult question *in thesi*. But that it decided against any race of men that they could not have churches amongst them, or become office-bearers in the Church, is not true. There are expressions in the resolutions adopted by the Assembly which we could amend. There are some such in the report which appears in this number of the Review, and which was written by that eminent minister and that humble Christian and that earnest and zealous lover of the black man, the Rev. Dr. John L. Girardeau, of Charleston.

But the editors of our Northern religious journals would look very pretty in giving themselves out as better friends of the negro race than this man of God who has given them so many of the best years of his life, and who still regards himself as their servant. They do look very pretty in carping at and finding fault with arrangements proposed by the Assembly, and carried into actual practice in various parts of the South, *always, so far as we know, (having good opportunity of knowing,) to the entire satisfaction of our colored membership themselves.* It is simply preposterous for these gentlemen to set themselves up as our judges, or as our teachers in this matter. It is not their wisdom that can guide the Southern Church through the difficulties of this subject. That she will be guided, we do not doubt; for we feel sure, that, whatever may be true of others, her ministers feel their own ignorance, and look up humbly for the Master's direction and guidance. Nor have we any doubt that she has a great work to do amongst these people. We do love the black people. We cannot forget our early associations, nor the kindly relations of the days of slavery. The present generation of Southern Christian people cannot be made enemies of their former slaves, let foreign emissaries, religious as well as political, sow ever so much dissension betwixt the races. And our hope is that before the coming generation shall take our places, all this present fever of hate, which outsiders are so much exercised with, may have cooled down, and the Southern Church be left, aided by good men outside of her borders, to do the great work which her Master sets before her; which by his grace she feebly and imperfectly endeavored to do under the former dispensation, but which she must now take upon her with a new zeal, and a wisdom answerable to the great lessons of that fiery discipline under which she has been passing.

SUPPLY OF DESTITUTIONS.

The following minute was introduced by Dr. Baird on the day following the discussion respecting the freedmen. It formed part of the paper which he offered to the Assembly during that discussion, and it was adopted as an *addendum* to the action

taken on that point. The recommendations it contains are vital to the prosperity of our Church.

Resolved, 1. By the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, that every Presbytery under the jurisdiction of this body be enjoined to seek out and set apart a minister to the work of the evangelist for its bounds, to take the superintendence of its vacant congregations wherever practicable. These evangelists shall be authorised to act as moderators of the sessions of the vacant congregations; to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments to them at stated intervals; to counsel the sessions in holding social worship in the absence of ministers; to encourage the organisation of Sabbath-schools and Bible classes, and the making of oblations for systematic benevolence; and, in general, to take the pastoral supervision of the vacant congregations, both white and colored. But when a suitable evangelist cannot be obtained, then the Presbytery is enjoined to apportion such congregations among its ministerial members for the same object, so that every congregation and all our freed people shall enjoy the pastoral oversight of some minister in their assemblies.

2. That every Presbytery be enjoined to require the sessions of the vacant congregations to come up to the discharge of the duties devolved on them in the twenty-first chapter of the "Form of Government," in the assembling of their respective congregations for the worship of God, to which it may be proper to add exhortation. And in order that this duty may be performed to the greater acceptance of the worshippers, it is further required that the Presbyteries do seek out those elders who have the best gifts, and do especially appoint them to the performance of these duties.

3. That our ministers who are not now engaged in their sacred calling be exhorted to come up to our help. If they do not find fields of labor in their present localities, they are exhorted to seek other places of abode and fields of labor where they may be useful in their appropriate work. And that the Presbyteries be enjoined to examine their rolls and require all ministers who are not thus employed to give an account of themselves, and to proceed against those who are found to be habitual neglecters of their vows of ordination.

4. That every Presbytery be enjoined to take this whole minute into consideration, and act upon it at first meeting after the rising of this General Assembly; that the Synods inquire into the fidelity of the Presbyteries; and that both Presbyteries and Synods give a report of what they have done or failed to do, in the premises, to the next General Assembly.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Poetical Books of the Holy Scriptures. With a Critical and Explanatory Commentary. By the Rev. A. R. FAUSSET, A. M., Rector, St. Cuthbert's, York, England, and Rev. B. M. SMITH, D. D., Professor of Oriental Literature and Biblical Instruction in Union Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: James S. Claxton: 1867. Pp. 256, 16 mo.

The first of these writers is known to us only by the English Translation of Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament, edited and in part translated by him, which was published from the year 1857 to 1860. He has been connected in an official capacity with Trinity College, Dublin, and has published editions of Terence, the Iliad of Homer, and Livy. His notes illustrative of Bengel, and the sketch of the life of that distinguished scholar prefixed to the fifth volume of the translation, are interesting and valuable; and he may have been engaged in other literary labors which have escaped our notice. What portion he has contributed to this commentary, for how much of the work we are indebted to the English rector, and for how much to the American professor, is not yet revealed to us. We are at a loss therefore what proportion of the credit due to the joint production belongs to our Southern authorship, and what to old England.

We have read the introductions to the volume and the several books of Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, with great pleasure. The General Introduction is a fine specimen of a concise, well written essay on Hebrew Poetry and the Poetical Books; embracing all which the narrow limits of a brief and running commentary of this character would admit. Of those portions of the commentary which we have examined, we can speak with approbation, as affording a ready aid to one

whose time or means will not allow him to consult the many voluminous and elaborate expositions which the labors of scholars have produced.

We are therefore thankful for the annotations thus furnished to our hands, in so brief a compass, and by authors so competent to do justice to the sacred text.

We perceive by the paging of the volume, that it is the continuation of what are intended to be consecutive *scholia* upon the entire Scriptures. Though we have not the volumes at hand to compare them, we have imagined that Jamieson on the Pentateuch and on the historical books of the Old Testament, and possibly Brown on the New Testament, are of the same series. They come from the same publishing house, are in the same type, in the same double columns with the commentary, and introduced in the same way between the pages of the English version.

For our own comfort, and that of the majority of readers, we object altogether to the style of typography. This small type, *nonpareil*, *emerald*, *ruby*, *diamond*, *brilliant*, or by whatever other technical name it may be called, and thinly spaced as it is, is a nuisance which ought to be abated. The short examination we have made of the book has almost given us an attack of ophthalmia. From the crowded nature of the page, it is difficult to recur from the verse in the text to the comment which corresponds with it, and, where different interpretations are referred to, to distinguish one sufficiently from the others. Aged persons and those of weak eyes, will be obliged to forego all the advantages which they might otherwise derive from this volume.

The brief space allowed to the writer in a work of this kind causes every expression to be curt, and would seem to demand that only the interpretation adopted should be mentioned, and that it should be carried directly and consistently through; since, if other and opposite interpretations are referred to, there is no room to do them justice, and they confuse rather than edify the reader.

We think the work worthy of a better dress, and that in a

larger type, and with a fairer and more open page, the same matter would appear to far greater advantage, and do greater justice to the learning and taste of the authors. The *errata* of the abbreviations on the second page could not have occurred, if the proof-sheets had fallen under their eyes: errors of the same description are rare in other portions of the volume.

Classic Baptism. An Inquiry into the Meaning of the Word BAPTIZΩ, as determined by the usage of Classical Greek Writers. By JAMES W. DALE, Pastor of the Media Presbyterian Church, Delaware County, Pa. White & Howard, Richmond, Va., 1867. Pp. 354, 8 vo.

This remarkable book has attracted much attention among American scholars, and has been with justice highly commended by many of them. It is beautifully printed, upon paper of the best quality, and contains but few of those ugly things known to agonized authors and nervous readers as "errata."

As to the contents of this attractive volume, it is difficult to present them in a clear view to our readers. They are unique. They constitute a body of suggestive and most luminous *hints*, rather than a regular exhaustive discussion; but hints which every one at all conversant with the "Baptist controversy," can easily pursue to the overwhelming conclusion to which they point. With this controversy, we confess, indeed, that we have not much patience; and the less, because we doubt whether our immersionist friends are now willing to be convinced (even if they thought this to be *possible*) of the utter worthlessness of their pretensions, seeing that these must now stand more upon prejudice than upon reason. And against a prejudice, especially one that has become strengthened and magnified by long and sharp debates with opposing foes, there is no contending with any hope of success. It is, in truth, amazing that so many thousands of Christians, most of them very good people, many of them distinguished for scholarship, and all of them, it is to be presumed, longing for that unity of believers which the Saviour has enjoined,—it is passing strange that they should continue to entrench themselves in a separate camp under the doubtful

leadership of a single Greek word, whose claim to this high office has been a thousand times overthrown, or, if not overthrown, rendered so feeble as to amount almost to the same thing! And what makes this the more unaccountable is the fact that the word in question has no reference whatsoever to any great cardinal *doctrine* of Christianity, but pertains exclusively to one of its *forms* of service. It is surely too small a foundation to stand upon, when entire and arrogant separation from all other Christians would seek its justification. But even this foundation, narrow and precarious as it is, Dr. Dale, in the book before us, utterly demolishes, leaving behind scarcely a vestige of standing ground for the extremest advocate of exclusive immersion to occupy, unless he may continue to stay where he is in happy ignorance of said demolition, having closed his eyes in wilful blindness, and feeling secure because others around him do.

Our author's design, with its apology, we will present in his own words:

“Three centuries have witnessed the continued discussion of the meaning of the word βαπτίζω, and the proper manner of administering the rite of Christian Baptism.

“One hundredth part of this time would seem to have been sufficient to gather together all the materials involved in such discussion, and to have issued a judgment, based upon them, from which there could have been no hopeful appeal. And if this has not been done most exhaustively, the fact is marvellous; but if it has been done, it is no less marvellous that the judgment reached has not compelled universal acceptance.

“The mind is not at liberty to accept or to reject the truth when presented distinctly before it, with its evidences; it must accept it.

“In examining this subject, with exclusive reference to personal instruction, it has appeared to me that the investigation has not been, adequately, carried out in certain directions. This has arisen, doubtless, from the little promise which seemed to be held out of valuable results from such inquiry. Sometimes, however, our anticipations receive favorable disappointment. It may be so in this case. And I submit the results gathered up, not only along the main route of inquiry, but in some of its less fully explored collateral branches, in the hope of assisting to a final and generally acceptable judgment. If I shall fail to make

the best use of the materials furnished, more skilful hands may take them up and find their labors crowned with greater success."

He then proceeds, in the same modest strain, to express the opinion that the work before him is not one of supererogation, as those Baptist scholars would declare it to be who have persuaded themselves and their followers that *they* have already fully and conclusively examined the meaning of the disputed word βαπτίζω. The results to which these boasting scholars have come, are then stated in the four fundamental postulates for which they demand a universal acceptance. They are these :

"I. Βαπτίζω, throughout the entire course of Greek literature, has but one meaning, which is definite, clear, precise, and easy of translation."

"II. Βαπτίζω and βάπτω have precisely the same meaning, dyeing excepted; in all other respects, whether as to form, or force, or effect, they differ neither more nor less."

"III. Βαπτίζω expresses an act, a definite act; mode, and nothing but mode; TO DIP. Βάπτω (primary) expresses an act, a definite act; mode, and nothing but mode; TO DIP."

"IV. Βαπτίζω has the same meaning in figurative as in literal use, always referring to the act of dipping."

After briefly showing, in a masterly manner, that these propositions are not such as can "reasonably be expected" to demand acceptance on their mere annunciation, but, on the contrary, are such as, from the very nature of human language, are open to the gravest objections, Dr. Dale proceeds to set over against them four counter propositions, which it is his principal object to prove. They are as follows :

"I. Βάπτω, in primary use, expresses a definite act characterised by limitations—TO DIP.

"II. In secondary use, "Dip" expresses a limited mental force, and a limited effect.

"III. Βαπτίζω, in primary use, expresses condition characterised by complete intusposition, without expressing, and with absolute indifference to the form of the act by which such intusposition may be effected, as, also, without other limitations—TO MERSE.

"IV. In secondary use it expresses condition the result of complete influence effected by any possible means and in any conceivable way."

As preliminary to the direct investigation of these propositions, our astute author proceeds to institute a most damaging examination of the leading Baptist writings, "to see how far they illuminate and sustain their favorite postulates." "If they do, squarely and harmoniously, maintain them not only *in thesi*, but do unfalteringly bear them, challenging criticism, 'through all Greek literature,' then they will, at least, win the not ignoble reward of consistency and courage; but if on the other hand, it shall be found that between postulates and writings there is no harmony; that between writer and writer there is as little harmony; that the pages of the same writer compared with each other perpetuate this disharmony; that there never has been an attempt by any one writer, through these three hundred years, to carry these postulates 'through all Greek literature;' that the burden which they would bind upon others, they utterly refuse to bear themselves: then we may hope that such facts will be deemed a fair apology for declining the Baptist postulation, and a sufficient justification for a direct inquiry after that great desideratum—a meaning of βαπτίζω which may be carried, without fear and without reproach, through all Greek literature."

He then overhauls Baptist writings, from the year 1644 down to the present day, (giving greatest attention to those of Dr. Conant, whose scholarly labors are most deserving of praise,) and demonstrates their entire failure to make good "a moiety of their unqualified assertions." With an air of justifiable triumph he demands: "Where is that one, clear, precise, and definite meaning? Where is the evidence that βάπτω and βαπτίζω have precisely the same meaning, force, and effect? Not, assuredly, in Baptist writings. Where is the evidence that βαπτίζω expresses an act, a definite act, mode, and nothing but mode, to dip? Not a particle is to be found in Baptist writings. Where is the evidence that βαπτίζω expresses, in secondary use, the act (dipping) which is attributed to it in primary use? Baptist writers have not furnished it. Where is that English word, the daguerreotype of the Greek word, which was to flash forth the one, clear, and definite meaning, so that 'a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein?' There is not a Baptist

writer, during three hundred years, who has offered such a word with the attempt to carry it through Greek usage. **** If 'im-merse' is used in the sense to dip, to plunge, it does most essentially fail to reflect the Greek word; if it is not used in that sense, then away with the definition 'dip, plunge;' or away with the 'one meaning through all Greek literature.' "

As Dr. Dale has exposed the inconsistencies of Baptist writings in their attempts to fasten their favorite meaning upon the word in question, so he exposes their inconsistencies in the further attempt to reduce this theoretical meaning to concrete practice in the actual administration of the rite of baptism: and then remarks, "With such results of *Baptist* research standing out upon the face of their writings, it would seem to be neither a moral delinquency, nor even a work of supererogation, to institute an independent investigation of this subject, inquiring—'What is truth?'"

This remark brings us to the hundred and third page of this singularly able work. The remaining two hundred and fifty-one pages are occupied in the prosecution of an inquiry upon independent grounds, which is carried forward in a manner the most convincing, and covers all the ground that Greek, and Latin, and English literature have furnished for throwing light upon this investigation. We cannot attempt to follow our author through this portion of his book. Let us be content with stating some of the conclusions which have been reached. By an elaborate appeal to *usage*, the accepted arbiter, it is reported as teaching:

"(1.) Βάπτω, TINGO, and DIP, are words, which, in their respective languages, represent, for the most part, the same identical ideas.

"(2.) Βαπτίζω, MERGO, and MERSE, are words, which, in their respective languages, represent, for the most part, the same identical ideas.

"(3.) These two classes of words differ from each other essentially. They are not interchanged, nor interchangeable ordinarily, much less identical.

"(4.) Βάπτω and βαπτίζω exhibit a perfect parallelism in their development.

1. Βάπτω; Το DIP.

1. βαπτίζω; To MERSE.
2. βάπτω; To dip into any coloring liquid for the sake of the effect; To DYE.
2. βαπτίζω; To merse into any liquid for the sake of its influence; To DROWN.
3. βάπτω; To affect by the peculiar influence of coloring matter (without the act of dipping); e. g., to sprinkle blood; to squeeze a berry; to bruise by blows.
3. βαπτίζω; To affect by any controlling influence (without the condition of mersion); e. g., to sprinkle poppy-juice; to pour water on hot iron; to drink intoxicating liquor.

“The perfect parallelism of development thus exhibited, in these two words, goes far to show that the true interpretation of each has been secured.

“(5.) Baptism is a myriad-sided word, adjusting itself to the most diverse cases.

“Agamemnon was baptized; Bacchus was baptized; Cupid was baptized; Cleinias was baptized; Alexander was baptized; Panthia was baptized; Otho was baptized; Charicles was baptized; and a host of others were baptized, each differing from the other in the nature or the mode of their baptism, or both.

“A blind man could more readily select any demanded color from the spectrum, or a child could more readily thread the Cretan labyrinth, than could ‘the seven wise men of Greece’ declare the nature, or mode, of any given baptism by the naked help of βαπτίζω.

“(6.) The master-key to the interpretation of βαπτίζω is CONDITION,—condition characterised by COMPLETENESS, with or without physical envelopment.”

Over against the Baptist postulate, therefore, that “baptizing is dipping and dipping is baptizing,” and every form of this poor assumption, our author places his demonstrated proposition, that “WHATEVER IS CAPABLE OF THOROUGHLY CHANGING THE CHARACTER, STATE, OR CONDITION OF ANY OBJECT, IS CAPABLE OF BAPTIZING THAT OBJECT; AND BY SUCH CHANGE OF CHARACTER, STATE, OR CONDITION, DOES, IN FACT, BAPTIZE IT.”

Thus have we, in as few words as possible, given to our readers some insight into this remarkable production. They must, however, read and study it for themselves, in order to derive any adequate conception of its great value as a controversial

work that stands far above any we are acquainted with in the whole range of English literature upon this subject. It is old, and it is new. It is trite, and it is original. It is plain, and it is scholarly. It is short, and it is thorough. It is moderate, and it is conclusive.

When it shall have been followed by its companion works, (which are promised,) upon "Judaic Baptism" and "Johannic Baptism," the series will leave, we think, but little to desire for enabling all lovers of truth to reach satisfactory conclusions upon the matters of which they treat.

The Life of Daniel Dana, D. D. BY MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY.

With a Sketch of his Character. By W. B. SPRAGUE, D. D.

Boston: J. E. Tilton & Company: 1866. Pp. 279: 12 mo.

This is an extremely interesting book. It is a tribute of filial affection at once delicate and earnest. The initials W. C. D., appended to the short preface which states than one hand wrote "most of these pages," proclaim sufficiently the author of this biography. It is a great honor to any man to be the son of such a man and such a minister as Dr. Dana. He was learned, able, wise, good, faithful, and useful, all in a very high degree. He lived at an eventful period of the Church's history. He acted a wise and yet an honest part, and ever secured the general respect and esteem. He was quite prominent in the origination of Andover Seminary, and the building up of Dartmouth College; was at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1810, 1812, and 1814; and was always an earnest opponent of the New School Theology in all its forms. In private life Dr. Dana seems to have been as lovely as his public character was admirable. He lived beyond the age of eighty-eight years, sixty-six of which he spent in the ministry of the gospel. All but six years of this long service were devoted to the people of Newburyport, Massachusetts. On many great public questions he stood up against the prevailing sentiments of that region. In his dying chamber, the Presbytery of Londonderry, nineteen in number, (including corresponding members,) visited him with congratulations on his cheerful tranquility, and to join with him in praise

to God; reminding one of the visit to the dying Genevese Reformer of his colleagues and brethren.

Upon the monument of this man "greatly beloved," is found this beautiful epitaph:

"How good, how kind, how upright and honorable, how firm in loyalty to truth, how guileless, how saintly, let those say from whose hearts the dear remembrance of the Christian pastor, the sympathising friend, the affectionate father, can never fade away."

Hunting a Home in Brazil. The Agricultural Resources and other Characteristics of the Country. Also the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants. By J. McF. GASTON, M. D., Columbia, S. C., late Surgeon Confederate Army. Philadelphia: King & Baird, Printers, No. 607 Samson street: 1867. Pp. 383, 12 mo.

Dr. Gaston is a physician of eminence long resident in Columbia, S. C., where he is well-known and highly respected. Among other claims to high consideration which he possesses, is the fact that he is a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church there. He was a very ardent patriot, and gave all his powers to the Confederate cause. "The fruitless martyrdom of my three noble brothers," to say nothing of the loss of property and of home, was a part of the cost to the author of adherence to that cause. Upon its overthrow, with all his characteristic energy he repaired immediately to Brazil to seek a new country and dwelling place for his family, his friends, and his compatriots. He was between four and five months in Brazil. The results of his observations he gives in this volume.

The work makes no pretensions to literary excellence. It is the plain, unvarnished story of what the author saw and experienced in Brazil. He was an earnest Confederate and an honest man hunting a home in Brazil, and he publishes his daily journal for the benefit of our people, just as he wrote it, with no expectation of making money and no eye to fame.

Dr. Gaston's judgment is that the officials of Brazil are anxiously disposed to encourage immigration by the people of

the South. Private parties, however, holders of land, stand in the way of it by the high prices they demand for their acres. Pp. 61, 67.

Coffee planting is a topic upon which the book contains some interesting details. Amongst others it is mentioned that trees thirty-four years old are cut off eighteen inches above the ground and sprout up again and bear fruit well; and that in this way a crop is procured in one-half the time in which it can be obtained from the new plant. P. 105.

In like manner they cut off the stalk of the cotton plant, and procure from the old stump a larger crop than that of the first year. There appears to be a perennial growth of the plant in Brazil. Pp. 106, 107. Dr. Gaston saw a considerable field of cotton of American seed thus continuously produced. Pp. 328-9. There is a terrible enemy to the American cotton plant, however, in two species of ants which prevail in immense numbers and destroy all vegetation, cotton particularly. But while so inhospitable to the American cotton, they do not attack that produced from Brazilian seed, (p. 57,) which is, however, of inferior quality.

The goitre, that terrible disease which enlarges the glands of the neck, is very prevalent in parts of Brazil. Pp. 289, 290, 301, 302.

The most prodigious accounts are giving of the fertility of some portions of the country. The hoe is the only culture employed, in general; and yet fifty bushels of corn frequently reward this primitive kind of labor. The soil is said, in one region, to be thirteen feet deep, and it (Botocatu) is pronounced (upon the authority of a Major Meriwether) to exceed "the fine stock-growing portions of Kentucky and Tennessee." Pp. 296, 297.

Of the territory "lying between the Ribeira do Ignape and Cananea, and extending towards Parana," (p. 372,) Dr. Gaston presents a most favorable view in a great variety of respects. Of it particularly, he says, speaking about his Southern compatriots, "I have sought and found them a HOME;" and with these glowing and triumphant words he closes his book. But it is a very serious responsibility which Dr. Gaston has taken in advising our people to remove to any part of Brazil. He proves his own sincerity by having actually removed his family to that

country since the appearance of his book. For ourselves we find statements all through the volume, which go to confirm our impressions that Brazil is no country for us to make our own. With all that is at present adverse here, we are satisfied that this is a far better home. How a Protestant husband and father, how a Presbyterian ruling elder, could consent to go and plant himself and his family in Roman Catholic soil, unless distinctly with a view to the propagation there of the true faith, we cannot comprehend. The passages which we quote will set forth adequately what we mean to say:

“One of my greatest difficulties in proposing to locate with my friends in this country, is the conviction that we cannot so entirely set aside the recognised religion of the government as to worship God according to our own faith. It will, however, be an essential stipulation, that we shall exercise entire freedom of conscience, without any interference in our religious worship by the official authorities, while our policy will be to detach ourselves as far as possible from all associations with the papal element of the population.”

Now, of what avail does Dr. Gaston think will be all the “stipulations” he can make with the Brazilian authorities? Does he know nothing of the genius of Popery?

The other passage is this: “While the people here profess to be tolerant of other religions, some of the former enactments in regard to seats in the councils of State and in regard to marriage, are calculated to discourage emigration, [immigration;] but it is expected that these things may be changed ere long.” We wonder at the facility with which Dr. G. disposes of this great obstacle in the way of Protestant settlements in Brazil or any part of South America.

We dismiss this topic with the remark that Brazil, like other Roman Catholic countries, knows no keeping of God’s Sabbath-day, and Dr. Gaston confesses repeatedly that he himself kept almost no Sabbath while in that region.

The author makes grateful mention, oftentimes, of the kindness he experienced from the Rev. Mr. Blackford, of Pennsylvania, and his wife, missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America at Sao Paulo. There are two other

missionaries of the same Church in the country, the Rev. Mr. Simonton, at Rio Janeiro, and the Rev. Mr. Schneider, at Rio Clara, and they have considerable success in their work.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature.

Prepared by the Rev. JOHN McCLINTOCK, D. D., and JAMES STRONG, S. T. D. Vol. 1; A, B. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867.

This is the title-page of the first volume of a work which is to be completed in six volumes of about one thousand pages each. It will constitute an addition to our private and public libraries, as a fine monument of American scholarship not only, but as supplying a want almost universally felt. It promises to be far more comprehensive than Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, or than Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, or than Winer's *Biblisches Real-Wörterbuch*, even in the departments of reference to which these great works confine themselves. It will go beyond the *Real-Encyclopædie* of Herzog, and Wetzler und Welte's *Kirchen-Lexikon*, in the fact that these works do not treat of the general church history and of the several Christian denominations, or much of the various branches of Christian art and archæology, or at all of religious biography, in all of which, as well as of theological literature proper, this extensive work is to be very full.

The volume before us is a noble specimen of the art of printing in its most advanced perfection. The type, though small, is clear and eye-attractive; the paper of excellent quality, and the wood cut illustrations (of which there are nine hundred and thirty-two, including many maps,) all that could be desired. The binding (cloth) is also good, but can be had, better and best, in sheep and half-morocco, at a corresponding advance in the cost—the three kinds being furnished respectively at \$5,00, \$6,00, and \$8,00 per volume. Thus it is placed within the reach of many to whom a costlier work is forbidden: the cheaper edition being at the rate of half a cent a page.

We cannot, of course, do much more than present to our readers this very general description of a work, whose ponderous

and varied contents cannot well be discussed in a mere review notice. The parts that we have examined with the greatest care are those which touch upon cardinal doctrines, and, although we do not agree, in all particulars, with the way in which some of the great truths of revelation are set forth, yet on the whole, they seem to be displayed with a sufficient degree of fairness. For example, seven of its closely-printed octavo pages are devoted to the subject of the *atonement*. The discussion of this falls under the three general heads: 1. Its scriptural view; 2. Its history as a doctrine of the Church; and 3. Its literature. Under the second of these heads we have a representation of various views touching the *extent* of the atonement. And we propose, for the satisfaction of our readers, to quote a portion of what is said with reference to this important point.

“One of the most important questions in the modern Church with regard to the atonement, is that of its extent, viz., whether the benefits of Christ’s death were intended by God to extend to the whole human race, or only a part. The former view is called universal or general atonement; the latter, particular or limited. What is called the *strict* school of Calvinists holds the latter doctrine, as stated in the Westminster Confession: ‘As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ; are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any others redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.’ Ch. iii. § 6; ch. viii. §§ 5 and 8. “The so-called moderate (or modern) Calvinists, the Arminians, the Church of England, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, adopt the doctrine of general or universal atonement. The advocates of a *limited* atonement maintain that the atonement cannot properly be considered apart from its actual application, or from the intention of the author in regard to its application; that, in strictness of speech, the death of Christ is not an atonement to any until it be applied; that the sufferings of the Lamb of God are therefore truly vicarious, or, in other words, that Christ, in suffering, became a real substitute for his people, was charged with their sins, and bore the punishment of them, and thus has

made a full and complete satisfaction to divine justice in behalf of all who shall ever believe on him; that this atonement will eventually be applied to all for whom in the divine intention it was made, or to all to whom God in his sovereignty has been pleased to decree its application. But they believe, that although the atonement is to be properly considered as exactly commensurate with its *intended application*, yet that the Lord Jesus Christ did offer a sacrifice sufficient in its intrinsic value to expiate the sins of the whole world, and that if it had been the pleasure of God to apply it to every individual, the whole human race would have been saved by its immeasurable worth. They hold, therefore, that, on the ground of the infinite value of the atonement, the offer of salvation can be consistently and sincerely made to all who hear the gospel, assuring them that if they will believe, they shall be saved; whereas, if they wilfully reject the overtures of mercy, they will increase their guilt and aggravate their damnation. At the same time, as they believe, the Scriptures plainly teach that the will and disposition to comply with this condition depends upon the sovereign gift of God, and that the actual compliance is secured to those only for whom, in the divine counsels, the atonement was specifically intended. The doctrine, on the other hand, that Christ died for all men, so as to make salvation attainable by all men, is maintained first, and chiefly, on scriptural ground, viz., that, according to the whole tenor of Scripture, *the atonement of Christ was made for all men*. The advocates of this view adduce (1.) Passages which *expressly declare* the doctrine: (a.) those which say that Christ died 'for all men,' and speak of his death as an atonement for the sins of the whole world; (b.) those which attribute an equal extent to the death of Christ as to the effects of the fall. (2.) Passages which *necessarily imply* the doctrine, viz., (a.) those which declare that Christ died not only for those that are saved, but for those who do, or may, perish; (b.) those which make it the duty of men to believe the gospel and place them under guilt and the penalty of death for rejecting it; (c.) those in which men's failure to obtain salvation is placed to the account of their own opposing wills, and made wholly their own fault."

Much more to the same effect is set down as the belief of the two parties in this controversy, the writer evidently leaning all the while to the Arminian view. In the above extract, by assigning *Scripture* proof as the ground of the doctrine of a general atonement, and implying that those who favor the doctrine of a

limited atonement rest altogether upon *reason* there is manifest unfairness done to the latter. But, letting this pass, the whole article is instructive, and is eminently worthy of perusal.

Having presented our readers with this specimen, we leave the work to find its way to their libraries by the force of its many intrinsic excellencies on grounds other than doctrinal, and on these, too, with a warning.

New America. By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON, Editor of the "Athenæum," and Author of "The Holy Land," "William Penn," etc. With Illustrations from Original Photographs. Complete in one volume. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867. 8vo. 495 pages.

Few books can furnish a better example than this of Mr. Dixon's of that miscalled "liberal spirit" to which the shallow philosophy of the present day is so prone. It is amazing to see what depths of depravity he is willing to fling the mantle of charity over, and pass by with a *benedicite* kindly uttered to the wretches that grovel below. Nay, he would fain persuade his readers that the sinks of iniquity he has been visiting have their good points too, as well as the level ground on which ordinary humanity moves. Indeed, his confusion of ideas on the plainest questions of moral truth is somewhat startling; and, were it not for the extreme *naivete* of his dogmatism, one could hardly believe that he is serious when he hints so unequivocally that all these widely different views of social duty are simply matters of comparative taste. He assumes, throughout, the air of the disinterested and impartial cosmopolitan, while he adds to the graces which this elegant *dilettante* character gives him, an affectation of learned dignity, by aping the pretentious and supercilious style which the modern sciolist adopts, in the hope of being thought a philosopher. Oracular nothings, strung together with as much pains as if they evolved some grand truth, platitudes heaped up with that frothy effervescence which some men mistake for the impetuous eloquence of true enthusiasm, inconsequential reasoning, vapid sneers, and short sentences intended to epigrammatic, constitute a sort of tail-piece to each

of his chapters. The rest consists of tedious and rambling descriptions of the different communities visited by him in the character of a sort of investigating committee. What manner of men these were, he has told in terms amply sufficient to sicken any sound soul with the mention of them or their belongings. But Mr. Dixon has travelled before, has a strong stomach, and puts great faith in the virtue of modern philanthropy. Accordingly, we find him most amiably excusing many little foibles that men of less exalted freedom from prejudice would judge to be fair inducements to the use of the halter, the jail, and the whipping-post. He thinks these little idiosyncrasies mere temporary ebullitions of the noble spirit of freedom of thought, and that all will work out smooth and straight in the end. Indeed, he builds upon their existence what he considers a strong argument to warrant belief in the future stability of the social organism which contains them. That social fabric, he argues, must be very strong which could last so long a time with so many internal, distracting, and opposing forces: *ergo*, it will survive them all, as they will exhaust their injurious energy, and retain finally only what will benefit the mass. This sort of flimsy logic it would be simply puerile to treat to a set refutation. All the signs of coming ruin, as they gathered thick and fast in the heart of the old Roman Empire, he would doubtless have hailed, had he graced that period, as so many luminous tokens of increasing splendor and ceaseless stability.

He first passes through Kansas and the Prairies, on his way to Utah City; and he wastes a world of words on the poor Indians. The troubles in Kansas anterior to the war of subjugation, he touches upon just enough to show a great deal of Exeter Hall rancor against the South, for which the South is profoundly grateful; since to be praised by a man of Mr. Dixon's stamp would perhaps savour somewhat of infamy. Most of his information in regard to "Bleeding Kansas," not gathered in scraps from newspapers, seems to have been got from his communicative barber friend, Sam, a colored boy who had run away from his master. His visit to the Mormons takes up the largest part of the book; and he descants with great delight on their

peculiar institutions. The worthy Brigham seems to have gulled him to his heart's content; but it is hard to ascertain to what conclusions he finally came in his estimate of Brigham and his flock; for he himself states facts strangely inconsistent with some of the loose but highly charitable generalizations in which he subsequently indulges. He talks with absurd extravagance about the present *status* of this little frontier community. We cite one passage on this point that may serve to show how well this eloquent gentleman understands the figure called by rhetoricians hyperbole:

“This power of growth—a power developed in the midst of persecution—is one of the strangest facts in the story of this strange people. In half the span of our life, they have risen from nothing into a vast and vital church. Islam, preaching the unity of God with fire and sword, swept onward with a slower march than these American Saints; for in little more than thirty years, they have won a nation from the Christian Church; they have occupied a territory larger than Spain; they have built a capital in the desert which is already more populous than Valladolid; they have drilled an army which I have reason to believe is more than twenty thousand strong; they have raised a priesthood, counting in its ranks many hundreds of working prophets, presidents, bishops, councillors, and elders; they have established a law, a theology, a social science of their own, profoundly hostile to all reigning colleges and creeds.”

If Mr. Dixon had called to mind the history of the great Anabaptist war which took place in Lower Germany about the beginning of the sixteenth century, he would not perhaps have expressed so much surprise at the wonders achieved by the Mormons. The fanatics of that early period, whose atrocious principles and practices bore some resemblance to those of the Mormons, and who were in a situation far less favorable for success, performed prodigious exploits in their stubborn resistance before they were finally extirpated. So far, the Mormons have been as a flock of lambs compared with these fiery zealots of the past.

As for the security they have enjoyed, and their consequent accessions from the outcast populations of the world, we have read of such things before. Does Mr. Dixon not remember a certain minute account given by one Sir Walter Scott, in a novel

of his called *The Fortunes of Nigel*, of a sanctuary known as Whitefriars or Alsatia, situated in the very heart of London, to which resorted malefactors of every kind, whose numbers emboldened them to defy the law? Is it strange that far out in the west, in a latitude where Indian marauders seldom meet their due, a so-called Church, that offers not immunity alone, but a premium to vice, should gather the reprobate from all lands speedily into its bosom? But, for a philosopher, Mr. Dixon falls into wonder with astonishing ease. His statements are made, no doubt, with all the sincerity of which a weak head, led astray by a strong propensity to flippancy, is capable. But we should be very loth to take them without the saving grain of salt. Evidently he took his notes under two distinct impulses of vanity. Now he would say to himself, the world shall see how magnanimous, generous, and liberal my judgments can be: I will positively put off all prejudice, and give reins to my enthusiasm. Then again, perhaps in the next page or so, his heart would whisper, let me astonish people a little by my cool, philosophic phlegm, by a touch or so of that impartial scepticism which will rest satisfied only with naked truth. Under these two influences he wrote his book; and it consequently churns out a good deal of syllabub side by side with a good deal of saw-dust.

Our space permits only a passing reference to the rest of the bad company Mr. Dixon kept while he was on this side of the Atlantic. He visits the Shakers at Mt. Lebanon, that people devoted to celibacy, who call themselves the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. Over these half-crazed beings he of course goes into a small ecstasy. From a long and very tiresome sketch of these people, he turns his attention to Spiritualism, which does not seem to please him so well. He is a little fastidious occasionally. From this phase of modern idiocy, he passes to the discussion of Equal Rights, and then describes the Tunkers or Harmless People, who, like the Shakers, encourage celibacy. Next comes a sketch of Eliza Farnham, the advocate of woman's superiority to man. Next we have a description of the Oneida Perfectionists, or, as they call themselves, Bible Communists. We had intended to quote passages

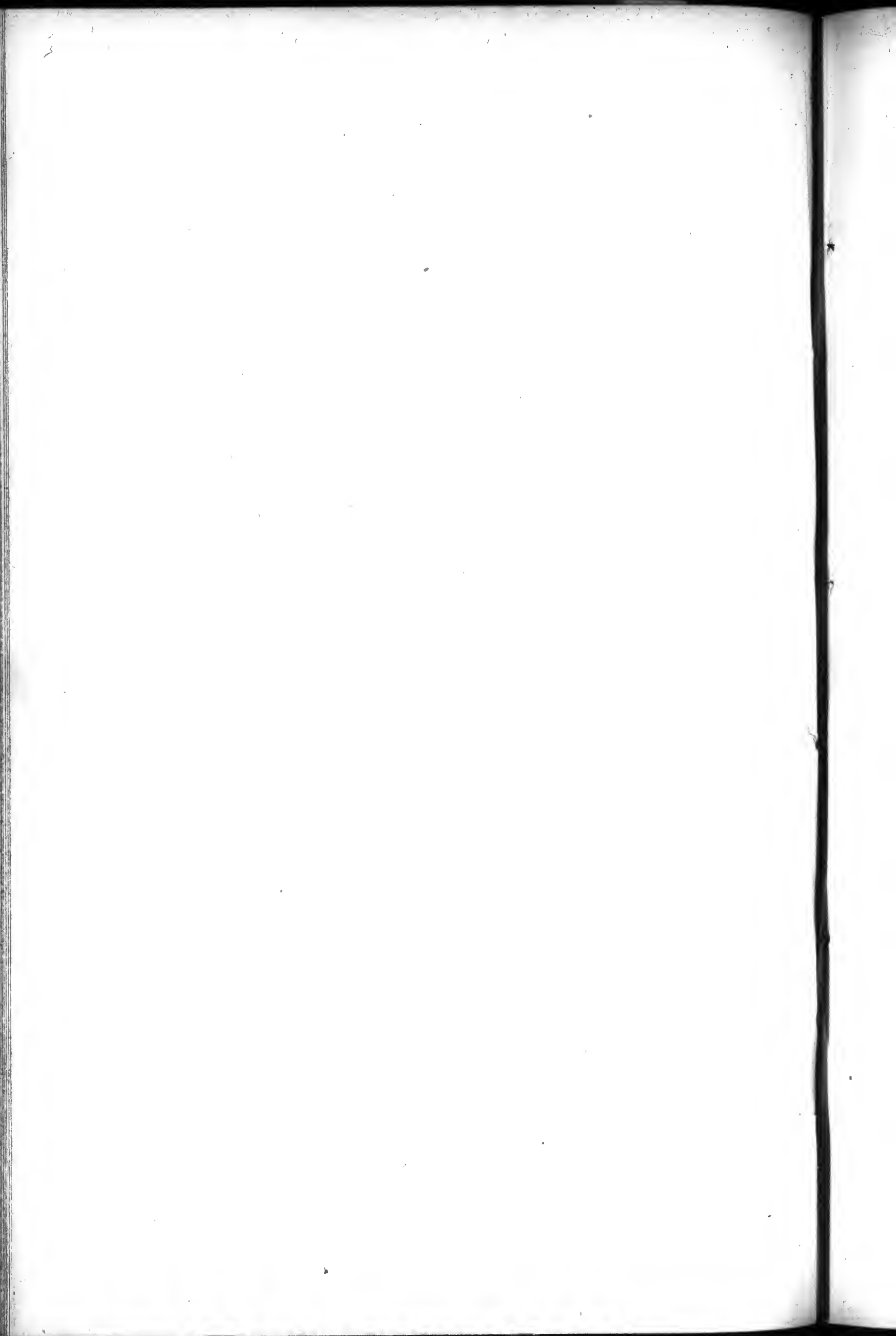
from his chapter on Pantagamy, which deals at large with the worst social feature of this vile community; but, on recurring to the places alluded to, a regard for the decency of these pages bids us refrain. What Mr. Dixon means by talking about "erect moral feeling," "modest manner," and "scientific spirit," in connexion with young men reared in this system of promiscuous intercourse, who give him a private history of lust, (for we dare not profane the sacred word, love, as he does, by using it here,) is certainly more than we can understand. There are some things in Mr. Dixon's philosophy not dreamt of, we are sure, by the mass of mortals.

The next feature of Northern society he touches on, is that most hideous of all heartless excrescences on the social body, the repugnance of married women to burden their lives and destroy their bloom by giving birth to children. This unnatural and unwomanly form of deliberate selfishness is too revolting and repulsive to linger over.

His notions on the merits of the late struggle in this land are what should be expected to emanate from Exeter Hall; and his ideas about Southern life are of course proportionately accurate. The topic of miscegenation comes up next; and, while it evidently meets with some favor from this liberal-minded gentleman, he indulges here, as elsewhere, in that oracular vagueness which rough language calls shuffling. We end by quoting the end of his chapter on Union, which is also the end of his book, and may serve as a final specimen of that sentimental absurdity in composition which hard unbelievers style *bosh*:

"Would that the pious North, noble in its charity as in its valor, would condone the past! The dead are past offending any more, and the pious tongue, in presence of a soldier's dust, should ask no question of state and party, but lay the erring prodigal by his brother's side. Yon sunny Richmond slope, on which the setting sun appears to linger, tipping with pink the fair white stones, should be, for North and South alike, a place of rest,—a sign of the New America; an imperishable proof of their reconciliation, no less than an everlasting record of their strife."

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THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

VOL. XVIII.—NO. 2.

SEPTEMBER, MDCCCLXVII.

ARTICLE I.

The Works of Philip Lindsley, D. D., formerly Vice-President and President-elect of the College of New Jersey, Princeton; and late President of the University of Nashville, Tennessee. Edited by LE ROY J. HALSEY, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Northwest. 3 volumes. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co. 1866.

The beautifully bound and elegantly printed volumes before us, three in number, reach respectively six hundred and forty-eight, seven hundred and twenty, seven hundred and thirty-one pages, and in the aggregate two thousand and ninety-nine: a fact that, in ordinary cases, might be as repulsive to most readers, as the anticipation of a long sermon is to most hearers. But the very style of their getting up, attracts, and invites to their perusal; while the name of the man whose works they are intended to commemorate, ensures from the large class constituting his immediate friends, and the thousands once under his care, many of whom survive him, a cordial reception, and an eager and attentive examination. When, in addition to these advantages, we find on the title-page the name of Le Roy J. Halsey as editor—a name that has already become classic, as

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connected with a series of graceful tributes to the "Attractions," the "Beauties," and the "Life Pictures" of the Bible—we must admit that all preliminary inducements to a favorable prejudgment of the volumes are furnished, and we may sit down to their study, assured beforehand that we shall be amply repaid for time and attention bestowed upon them.

The whole subject of Lindsley's "Life and Works," is appropriately divided and treated in three several departments, a volume being devoted to each, viz.: Vol. I. is devoted to "Educational Discourses;" Vol. II. to "Sermons and Religious Discourses;" and Vol. III. to "Miscellaneous Discourses and Essays;" while immediately preceding each division of his recorded literary labors, we find a sketch of his life and character in their relation to the special field of effort successively described.

It strikes a lover of system and order that the arrangement adopted by the esteemed editor is all that could be asked. The very announcement of the titles of the volumes, as they come successively under review, impresses the reader at once with the fact that the subject of this record bore a threefold character. Accordingly, on opening to the table of contents, and observing that here in Vol. I., are fourteen Addresses, Speeches, and Discourses on Education, rich, elaborate, and learned, at one time in a style that rushes along with an impetuous tide of earnest appeal, at another wielding the bright blade of a caustic satire, and striking trenchant blows of scathing sarcasm against wilful ignorance, bigotry, and contractedness of views; that in Vol. II., we have eighteen sermons full of solemn and awakening truths, affectionate warnings, and tender entreaties to the impenitent; deep and profound discussions of theological doctrine, yet free from sectarianism; sweet and consoling utterances of heavenly messages to God's afflicted saints; and finally, that in Vol. III., are eleven sections devoted to the discussion of almost every conceivable topic of history, morals, politics, church polity, banks, political economy, etc., etc.; there is felt at once such an impression upon us of the amazing versatility of genius displayed, as renders needless any further question as to the real greatness of the man, and we can no longer afford to suffer these two

thousand pages to go unread. If the books were only volumes of sermons, some might be deterred; if only Baccalaureate addresses, we might lay them aside with indifference; were they only essays on various subjects, we might decline to read them on the ground that, however readable once, they had lost their interest. But when, as here, we have before us an educator preëminently successful; a preacher of transcendent eloquence and undoubted piety; an essayist of most profound practical wisdom; this very diversity, this variety in unity, impels to the inquiry into the strange phenomenon, and to the investigation of a character so extraordinary, and to the examination for ourselves of these, the written and recorded products of his unique and noble life and labors. Ordinarily, when we speak of "the works" of an author, in a literary sense, we are understood to refer to the volumes written and published by him, or his friends, comprising the results of all his intellectual toils in the special department to which his life was devoted. But varied and valuable as are the products of Dr. Lindsley's pen set forth in these three large and beautiful volumes, they can be regarded only as the representative outlines,—meagre, and hardly just,—of the great work of his useful life. The fact is that he was, from first to last, in all that he did, said, or thought,—an educator. Behold him as you may, in this biography, whether in his thirteenth year commencing the work of self-culture, and in his eighteenth year closing his pupilage in the College of New Jersey; or educating others in the many posts he filled from the humble position of usher in an academy through all the gradations of tutor, professor, vice-president, president-elect, and actual president of a college; or while preaching the gospel, delivering discourses, which, however "wide the range of subjects," and "however great the diversity in the style and method," in his biographer's words, "all have a bearing more or less directly upon the work of education, the great work to which the author had devoted his life; all related more or less intimately to the instruction, guidance, and salvation of the young; or throwing off fugitive essays on almost all subjects connected with archæology, sociology, literature, art, or science; the grand

image and superscription that is enstamped upon all that ever emanated from his hand, head, or heart, was that of the true practical, philosophical educator. He "magnified his office." He made it ever prominent.

In his great speculations on the subject of the enlargement and extension of his favorite University, he was always ahead of most of his contemporaries. But "this is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation." In his bitter disappointment of his anticipated success, full many a weary, toiling laborer, in later days, in the same wide field, "white to the harvest," has sympathised, and by them his views and character are fully appreciated. But in his determination to *do all he could*, when he found that he could not *do all he would*, there is an elevation of principle, a moral sublimity, which has been to his successors at once a lesson and a consolation. Says his biographer: "Finding after a few years' trial that he could neither depend on State aid, nor secure from individual munificence such an endowment as his scheme demanded, he then set to work manfully to make of his University as good an institution as the limited means at his disposal, and the steadfast coöperation of coadjutors at Nashville would admit." This is the true spirit. This proves that education was his aim; not simply an insane ambition to make for himself a name by a splendid show of success based upon that kind of ephemeral popularity which is "cheaply purchased, and which is never worth the cheapest purchase,"—but an honest and earnest desire, an indomitable determination to do thoroughly whatever he pretended to do. We may therefore imagine, that, relinquishing with a sigh of regret the grand scheme he had so often set forth, and remitting to posterity the work of completing the structure, he addressed himself manfully to the primary labor of the foundation, resolving that it, at least, should be well-laid.

How sad, nevertheless, is the reflection that such heroic toilers are so often, in this laggard world, alone in their great thoughts and plans. "To labor and to wait," is doubtless God's will; and such men must be content to do just what they are permitted to do, and resign hopes and expectations of great schemes of

contemplated good, as their "hour is not yet come." For in this world they are often alone, "and of the people there is none with them." It really seems a necessary concomitant of greatness to be solitary. Let a man rise above his fellow-men, and, in the words of a beautiful modern writer, "he will be conscious of a certain solitariness of spirit gathering around him." He adds that "whilst it is true that the possessor of a great mind may be capable of sympathising with, of entering kindly into the views and feelings, the joys and sorrows of inferior minds, it must at the same time be admitted, that there is a range of thought and feeling into which they cannot enter with him. They may accompany him, so to speak, to a certain height up the mountain; but there is a point at which their feebler powers become exhausted, and if he ascend beyond that, his path must be a solitary one."

Thus it was with Dr. Lindsley; in relation to his great schemes of education, he was very much alone, with few to comprehend them, or to sympathise with him. Yet let it not for a moment be supposed that he lost his labor. Not at all. He elevated the standard of education by his lofty aims; he infused into the people a spirit of education never before known; he imparted to this spirit a vitality and an endurance that will not let it die; he founded at Nashville an institution of learning, which during his official connexion with it, for a quarter of a century, was celebrated for its excellent fruits, which filled the whole land with its alumni eminent in all its departments; and lastly, by his exemplification of energy, perseverance, and ultimate success, he has bequeathed to those of subsequent times a rich legacy of encouragement, while the traces of his toilsome, often thankless, yet finally fruitful pilgrimage have been indeed

"Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again!"

The written works which we have here, embalmed by the loving hands of his devoted pupil, in this permanent form, are but the spontaneous products of a most prolific mind, showing what was

the absorbing topic of his whole being, and furnishing the evidences of what he might have achieved in the way of more elaborate and extended literary labor, had he not been precluded from such labors by the entire absorption of his whole life in the practical business of education.

The individual interested in the question of the best system of education for the country, will find these volumes very valuable in his investigations. He will find them highly suggestive of plans, which, though unsuccessful in the author's day, may yet be carried out in more enlightened and liberal times. They will be found abounding in heart-stirring utterances on the subject, issuing from a soul all on fire with the mighty theme, and thus Dr. L., "being dead, yet speaketh" to his successors, kindling in them a responsive zeal which might have lain dormant. There will be found in this series of works, material for thought to be hereafter developed, it may be, in our own beloved yet now desolate and down-trodden South. We may trust that under the influences of which these books are full, our people, should brighter days ever again dawn on them, will be redeemed from the bondage of a narrow contractedness of spirit, such as swayed them in the days of prosperity and wealth, and which induced them to look with an eye of cold indifference upon the cause so dear to Dr. Lindsley; and they will then know that he was right, and that all of like spirit were right, when they elevated this great cause as supreme in importance above every other earthly interest. These volumes will do to be preserved then, to be resorted to as a rich and exhaustless treasury of practical wisdom on this subject. He was doubtless regarded by some in his day, as a fond enthusiast; as "too fast for the times;" as one like Paul, "beside himself;" as one whom "much learning had made mad." But there will come a time, yea, even now is it heralded by the newly-awakened enthusiasm of the present day in the cause,—when he will be thought "not mad, but speaking forth the words of truth and soberness,"—wise above his fellows, greatly above the most uplifted height attained by any around him in their estimate of the cause. The marvel will then be, that what will, by that time, have become so plain and

palpable to the popular mind, had not been equally plain and palpable to the popular mind of his day. The demonstration of the importance and utility of the higher forms of learning will not be a whit more clear, convincing, and unanswerable in that coming time than it was when, year after year, in Nashville, he vainly but eloquently pleaded the cause before the most enlightened assemblies of the great State of Tennessee. But then the difference will be that by that time men will have had their mental vision cleared; a new medium will have been adopted and established, through which men will have learned to look at the true interests of a country. Then will they not only admire, but appreciate and act out the principle involved in the stirring and noble lines of Sir William Jones, in answer to the question, "What constitutes a State?"

"Not high-raised battlements, or labored mound,
 Thick walls or moated gate;
 Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
 Not bays and broad-armed ports,
 Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride,
 Not starred and spangled courts,
 Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
 No: MEN—high-minded MEN,
 With powers as far above dull brutes endued
 In forest, brake, or den,
 As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
 Men, who their duties know,
 But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,
 Prevent the long-aimed blow,
 And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
 These constitute a State."

And the obvious connexion of these lines with the matter before us, is, that the manly element so indispensable to the constitution of a State, can only be produced by God's blessing upon the most enlarged and liberal system of education in the broadest and most comprehensive sense of the word, including not only scholastic training of the mind, but also the elevating influence of sacred truth;—this, this is the only system of training that will ever make "the men—high-minded men—to constitute a State."

Among the prominent doctrines in Dr. L.'s theory of education, which marks him as a truly philosophical thinker on this subject, was the idea that the surest method of securing an efficient system of common schools, is to establish an institution of the higher learning first. Discussing the policy of the appropriation by the State of a large fund for common school purposes, he uses the following language :

“I would recommend a different course altogether. I would appropriate such a fund exclusively either to the erection of one great central school or university for the gratuitous instruction of whatever youth might choose to attend it, or to the education of a certain number of school-masters in some well-conducted existing seminary. The best and speediest mode of enlightening a community, is to provide accomplished teachers for the children and youth of such a community. One brilliant, blazing SUN in the firmament, will shed around and beneath infinitely more light and heat than a thousand twinkling stars. Plant a noble university in our midst: and from its portals will issue streams of cheering light upon every dark corner of the land. Whereas, if you are content to get up a few scores of old-field schools, that is, of mere farthing candles, or feeble rush-lights at various distant points in the wilderness, you will but render the darkness more visible and repulsive. No country was ever enlightened or elevated by such a process. Show us a thoroughly intelligent population anywhere upon earth, and you shall trace that intelligence to the higher and the highest seats of learning, and never to the lowest. Where are to be found the best common schools in Europe and America? Precisely where the college and university are most honored and cherished. I defy the most captious to furnish a solitary exception. Light flows only from the sun. The moon and the stars do but reflect and diffuse the lustre derived from this original fountain. The university has created, and still nourishes and upholds, all the common schools in the world. Demolish the university, and you not only blot out the sun of science forever, but you extinguish all the humbler and dependent luminaries. Establish the university in New Holland, or Caffraria, and give it full scope and fair play; and the common schools shall grow up spontaneously around it. I speak the words of truth and soberness, because I speak the language and proclaim the results of experience.” Vol. I., pp. 504, 505.

And yet, how few enter into and embrace such views! Only one and another, at wide intervals, have been known to rise to

the "height of this great argument." To add strength to the position, let another great light in the educational firmament be made to give his testimony. In his splendid letter on "Public Instruction in South Carolina," addressed to Gov. Manning, in 1853, Dr. Thornwell says:

"Scholars are the real benefactors of the people; and he does more for popular education who founds a university, than he who institutes a complete and adequate machinery of common schools. The reason is obvious. The most potent element of public opinion is wanting where only a low form of culture obtains. The common schools, having no example of anything higher before them, would soon degenerate, and impart only a mechanical culture—if they did not, which I am inclined to think would be the case, from their want of life,—if they did not permit the people to relapse into barbarism. Colleges, on the other hand, will create the demand for lower culture; and private enterprise, under the stimulus imparted, would not be backward in providing for it. The college will diffuse the education of principles, of maxims, of a tone of thinking and feeling, which are of the last importance, without the schools; the schools could never do it without the college. If we must dispense with one or the other, I have no hesitation in saying that, on the score of public good alone, it were wiser to dispense with the schools. One sun is better than a thousand stars. There never was, therefore, a more grievous error, than that the college is in antagonism to the interests of the people. Precisely the opposite is the truth. And because it is preëminently a public good, operating directly or indirectly to the benefit of every citizen in the State, the Legislature was originally justified in founding, and in still sustaining, this noble Institution. It has made South Carolina what she is—it has made her people what they are—and from her mountains to her sea-board, there is not a nook or corner of the State that has not shared in its healthful influence. The very cries which are coming up from all quarters for the direct instruction of the people,—cries which none should think of resisting,—are only echoes from the college walls. We should never have heard of them, if the state of things had continued among us which existed when the college was founded."

There is probably no position more impregnable than this, that the university is the source and fountain of the common school. It follows from this that the two are but parts coördin-

ate of one great whole. The university, of course, gets its supply of learners from the common schools; but whence, it may be asked, do these learners get their preparation, except from the accomplished teachers sent forth from the university? These higher seminaries are unquestionably of more importance to the common schools than the latter are to them. Indeed, there can be no such schools—none worthy the name at least—without the university. It is the lowest of all views of true education adopted by many, that “for common schools there is no need of teachers of so extensive and liberal culture; any sort of decent English scholar will answer.” The very reverse is the true doctrine. All youth require at the outset the most careful and exact training; and none but a teacher of fine accomplishments, capable of comprehending the whole scope of the education designed for his pupil, from first to last, should be allowed to lay the foundation, and build the earlier stories of the structure. Such teachers can be obtained no where else save at the universities and colleges of the land. There can be no antagonism between the two forms of schools. Designing demagogues have for effect endeavored to demonstrate to the people that there was no sympathy with the poorer class, and no provision for them in the university,—that it was their interest to build up common schools, and not to be taxed for a “rich man’s college.” But nothing is truer than the intimation of Dr. Thornwell, that if we depend upon no school higher than the common schools of the land, there would be danger of the people relapsing into barbarism.

But perhaps it is time to throw together a few leading thoughts, so as to sum up the character of this great light of our times, as he appears in the several spheres which he filled.

1. He was a thorough and enthusiastic educator. Himself a fine, critical, exact, and extensive scholar, he evermore aimed to make his pupils the same. His views, as we have seen, were far in advance of his times, as to what constitutes a liberal education and a great institution of learning. He also possessed the happy faculty of attaching his pupils to himself with a deep and devoted affection, such as rarely obtains between teacher and

pupil. He had another talent indispensable to success in this calling: that of government—control over young men. This faculty is as truly the endowment of nature as the poet's inspiration, or the orator's power. No man can ever make himself a disciplinarian without the gift by nature. He must be "born to command,"—not to be a despot, but to be able to exert an influence in controlling and directing, without seeming to govern. All else is falsely styled "*executive ability.*" This talent involves a native sense of the fitness of things; a tact in the application of general principles; a transparent purity of principle; a lofty and unvarying love of truth; uniformity in his intercourse with those over whom he presides; firmness, blended with affectionate tenderness; so true a sympathy with his pupils as can be known in all his words and acts, enabling him to enter minutely into all their feelings; a parental solicitude for their welfare and best interests; and not least, though last-mentioned, a personal dignity, never betraying him into words or deeds inconsistent with or unbecoming his high position: all these combined will result in the formation of such a character as will ensure admiration, respect, reverence, and love. Now, it may not be amiss to remark, that no habit on the part of an executive in an institution of learning is more unfortunate or fatal to the success of his administration than that of keeping his pupils at a distance, wearing toward them a cold, formal, repulsive aspect in all their mutual intercourse. Such habits do not enter into the combination of traits belonging to a successful controller of youth. Polite and cordial treatment of them will never detract from the influence of the ruler in this body politic of letters. If a man finds that he cannot control students without this rude, stern, repulsive manner, he may know at once that he is fatally deficient in a prime element of the character of a governor, and that he has utterly mistaken his calling.

2. He was, in his office of minister of the gospel, singular in his self-abnegation, and in his profound sense of his unworthiness to fill the position. So lofty was his conception of the holiness, the preciousness, the unspeakable value and grandeur of the office, that he habitually shrank from the discharge of its

sacred functions. This trait is noticeable not as censurable; by no means. On the contrary, it is eminently right and proper that every minister should cultivate such sentiments; nor can too high an estimate be placed upon the grand mission of the preacher. But it is remarkable in one so gifted, differing as it does so widely from the habit of many who never have any personal misgivings, nor the thousandth part of his gifts. It is remarkable that one of such noble natural endowments, such art culture, such power to sway the popular mind and will, and above all, one apparently so deeply imbued with the spirit of the gospel, should have experienced this abiding and growing propensity to avoid the active duties of the pulpit. Says his biographer, while "he seemed to shrink from the work of preaching, as something not within his proper province;" while "he regarded the educator's chair as his proper office, and seemed to feel more at home as an humble hearer in the pew, than as the authorised expounder of the pulpit," he does "not doubt that in doing the great work which Dr. Lindsley did in Tennessee, as President of her University, the grand element of his power, and of his success, was his magnificent preaching." The consideration of this phase of the character of Dr. L. suggests a topic which merits a passing notice. How far is it allowable, or consistent with the ordination vows of a minister of the gospel, that the office should be combined with any other calling? No doubt the words of Dr. Halsey are weighty and worthy of all note: "We give it as our own deliberate judgment, for the benefit of every young minister who reads and admires these (Dr. L.'s) discourses, that preaching is, after all, our greatest work. In our estimation, there is no throne of power on earth higher than the pulpit." Hear Dr. H., however, again: "There are indications, in some of his later discourses, that he did not regard the pulpit as his forte, and that he filled it only on occasions when no one else could be found to do so. In this we think he was greatly mistaken. ***** Even as an educator, not to speak of the other higher relations of God's ambassador to dying men, we think he might have accomplished a greater work than he did accomplish, had he preached more

frequently." We quote Dr. H. because we believe with him, and taking these statements in connexion with others, showing the exalted estimate he places upon his character as an educator, we do not doubt that he would decide that in Dr. L.'s case the two callings were with entire propriety combined. There once prevailed as the public sentiment of the Church, to a very considerable extent, a tone of thought, which would have gone the length of excluding a mere educator from the ministerial office; which taught, as it were, *ex cathedra*, that the only field of labor for Christ's minister was the pastoral office; that it tended to the degradation of the holy office that its incumbent should "come down from that great work," in which he had been placed by the Spirit and providence of God, to engage in communicating secular instruction.

That grievous wrong has been done to the cause of Christ, and that the churches have grievously suffered under it, when, by their avarice and penuriousness, the people of God have refused to sustain the minister in his proper calling and in his holy labors, which, of themselves, were enough to

—————"fill an angel's heart,
And filled the Saviour's hands,"——

necessitating his engaging in the toils, drudgery, and confinement of the teacher's office, cannot be denied. It is a sad truth. But in most of these cases of enforced necessity, there has been apparent a manifest unfitness for the two, or for one or the other of the two functions; and, by making the man a teacher, they have either spoiled a good preacher, or, in his attempting both to teach and preach, he has failed to do either; or having succeeded as a teacher, he has discovered that this is really his proper calling, and thinks now that he was mistaken in believing that he ever was called to preach, and so he has abandoned the ministry, and has given himself wholly to the business of teaching. It is beyond question true, that, in the main, preaching and teaching should be separate and distinct offices; yet it cannot but be regarded as high and untenable ground to assume that the two callings should never, under any circumstances, be united in one person. Experience, history,

and observation, seem to teach very plainly the reverse; and we do not hesitate to declare our belief that many a man has been called of God to fill both the pulpit and the educator's chair. How can we withhold our assent from this proposition, when we have most unquestionably known instances of men who have succeeded in meeting all the demands of both with entire acceptance? Recall to recollection the veteran Preacher-President of Union College, who, for fifty years, trained the youth of all sections of the United States, attracted to him by his reputation, and influenced and moulded by his marvellous eloquence in the pulpit not less than by his preëminent abilities and genius as an educator. Think also of Dwight at Yale, and Wayland at Brown, of Witherspoon at Princeton, and Thornwell at the College of South Carolina; and tell us who shall undertake to measure the mighty moral power exerted by these great men, who, while delighting in their vocation as teachers, spent their strength of mind and body in preaching, and threw their great souls wholly into the blessed work? While so bright a page of history's record is occupied by these great luminaries, showing that one devoted man called of God, and qualified by his Spirit, can fill both offices simultaneously, let us be satisfied with the logic of facts, and not be driven from a position so approved by God's word and providence, by the crude dogmatism of verdant young theologues, who hold the higher law theory that "no preacher ought to teach."

One thought may, however, be dropped by the way before we leave this topic. Statutory provisions in some institutions require that the presiding officer should be a minister of the gospel. It *has happened*, (we trust, for the honor of truth, not very frequently,) that, under the pressure of a strong preference for some learned, accomplished, and popular layman, the authorities of these institutions have persuaded themselves into the belief that there was no violation of solemn and fixed principles of truth, to ordain this layman for the express purpose of making him President. This was man's call,—not God's. From all such desecration of the holy office, "Good Lord, deliver us!"

3. As a thinker on all topics of morals, jurisprudence, gov-

ernment, and political economy, Dr. Lindsley was profound, striking, and independent. Though a teacher and a preacher,—and preëminent in both capacities,—yet such was the vast range of his reading and his observation, that he was, in point of fact, a far more accomplished statesman than hundreds who were prominently figuring on the political arena. He eschewed party politics; yet he was perfectly conversant with all the great fundamental principles of “the science of the government; all questions involving civil and religious liberty, public morals, the administration of justice, the relation of capital and labor, the wealth of nations, banking, and finance.”

In these three spheres of effort, “he lived, and moved, and had his being” for nearly a half century, and in all of them seemed to have been born to excel. In each department he has left monuments of himself in these volumes. He has given us no elaborate, heavy treatises on any subject. But while these three beautiful volumes show the brilliancy of his genius, the peculiarities of his mind, the ardor of his nature, and the depth and earnestness of his spirit, his nobler works,—“living epistles, known and read of all men,” are his two thousand pupils, who, in all spheres of active usefulness, have been perpetuating his influence; and having received from his generous hand the lighted torch of knowledge, they have handed it to the generation now succeeding, and thus the blazing link, growing brighter as years pass, shall continue to descend as an heir-loom of priceless value, from generation to generation, “to the last syllable of recorded time.”

Such a teacher’s “Life and Works” then, are not to be considered a failure,—but a grand success. Such a man, gifted almost with the prescience of the seer, often during the toiling time of actual daily teaching, looks upon the crowd of young immortals intrusted to his care, and he may not doubt that there he beholds the future statesman who is to lead back his country to her lost greatness; the future orator, whose eloquence is to command the applause of listening senates; the future divine, whose holy precepts and noble advocacy are to diffuse the lustre of a pure faith and of a holy salvation over the darkened earth.

Such, doubtless, were often the anticipations of Dr. Lindsley; and to him, even before he closed his eyes in death, not a few of them became blessed realities. The field before the educator is indeed grand and sublime. Patiently, yet joyously, should he reap it. Toil, care, and anxiety, await him. But his reward is with him even now in his toil. He may and will win a place in the young hearts around him by his zeal and devotion; and, as together they climb,—teacher and pupil,—the steep of science, these young aspirants will cling to him for aid, and look to him for guidance, until he can plant their footsteps safely upon the summit, whence they can strike out boldly for themselves a pathway over the broad plain of life. Year after year, detachment after detachment goes forth from the parental roof—and “the paths of life divide;” and the moistened eye; the faltering tongue, the cordial grasp of the hand, as one, and another, and another bids him adieu, tell more eloquently than words of the profound hold he has taken upon those young and noble hearts. His connexion with them is not dissolved even then, when they cease to be his pupils. While he remains at the old homestead to do for successive classes that are ever coming up for training what has been done for the newly departed bands, often from his secluded retreat of ceaseless toil, his eye will be blest and his heart gladdened by the dazzling lustre of some rising star in the broad firmament of life, whose first spark was kindled at the humble altar where he himself had ministered, and whose beams are destined to illumine with joy, and hope, and peace, their native land. Rich guerdon of humble toil! Who would not be content with such reward? All the life-work of Dr. L. shows that he felt the influence of such lofty ambition; that his hope was, that as an educator he should be honored to do a work upon immortal minds that should tell in its results upon the destiny of the world in this life and in the life to come. So every true educator, every teacher actuated by the right spirit, feels in his heart that, for his part, any who *will*, may grasp the warrior’s bays, and wear his laurels stained with tears and blood, or the high honors of the statesman,—and surely these are not to be despised,—or the glittering diadem of kingly glory, or the

shining heaps of golden treasure; only give him the honor of being a successful laborer in this great field; let him but feel conscious that by a life of self-denial and toil, he has trained for usefulness here and happiness hereafter, multitudes of his young countrymen, and the goal of his ambition will have been attained, and he would be willing to retire quietly from life's eventful stage, with all the joy so abundantly derivable from the reflection that by God's grace he had not lived altogether in vain.

In the study of Lindsley's life and labors in the cause of education, we are naturally called to the consideration of the subject in its connexion with the present times. It is matter of solemn thought to inquire whether the present troubles will retard or advance the progress of public enlightenment and liberal culture. Were we to allow ourselves to regard certain facts as permanent, and to believe that no interference with our plans and wishes would be offered, we should be greatly encouraged. Among these facts stands prominent the deep enthusiasm which has been awakened in the South since the close of the late war in this cause,—certainly prevailing with a far wider sweep of influence than ever before. An education has become to our people an object for their children of far greater importance, and upon it a far higher estimate is now placed, than was the case before our great troubles came upon us. To be sure, men of wealth were then disposed to educate their sons and daughters; they would have regarded it as disgraceful not to do it. But their views went little beyond the conviction that a young man ought to be sent to college, and get his diploma, always easily obtained; and in this they were influenced more by the fact that it was fashionable to do so, and a sort of necessary ornament to a young man, than because of any really correct estimate placed by them upon its importance and value. It is not meant by this statement that there was not scholarship in the South of a high order; for, undoubtedly, ripe scholars were made at Southern colleges; and even now, to mention no other institution, it may be said without fear of contradiction, that there is not an institution of the Northern States where it is not easier to graduate.

than at the University of Virginia. But this being admitted, we repeat, the estimate of true education among us was far lower before the war than it is now. It may be accounted for, we think. It is just the same thing that exists in all countries where the amassing of wealth is a matter of such facility as it was among us. The passion for it becomes paramount, and under the sweeping tide of material prosperity every noble and lofty enterprise that has to do with intellectual pursuits is more or less neglected. Adversity is healthful to the morals of nations and communities, as well as to that of individuals. The great object then presented to nearly all minds was the making of a fortune; and the concrete of this abstract was ever a cotton or sugar plantation, with hundreds of slaves turning out its thousands of bales or hogsheads, to be converted into gold or its equivalent, and this in turn to be transformed into more land and more slaves, to make more cotton or more sugar. Now, this train of thought being kept prominent to so great an extent, it could not but act upon the minds of the mass of our young men with an influence wholly and purely hostile to all noble intellectual progress, and they had before them, in many instances, not the smallest idea of making their collegiate training subservient to the great end of usefulness to our race. One of the inevitable results of such a state of public opinion,—a result too, of which we complained, just as though we did not ourselves bring it about,—was that those fields of usefulness which should have been filled by Southern young men, were allowed to be occupied by foreigners, under the false and unworthy view that it was a drudgery to which it were well enough for those to submit who had no alternative but to help themselves, but was not so much as to be named or thought of as becoming the “so-called” fortunate classes, who were sustained in a life of lordly ease and gentlemanly indolence by others. But we may be thankful that this era is in reality gone by; and with it such influences are passing away. A generation or two may find the realisation of the great truth in our land, that all honest labor is royal and noble. We repeat it, that the signs of the times in this regard are encouraging. Our colleges and universities,

which during the war had been suspended almost entirely, have most of them been rehabilitated with a facility, and conducted with a degree of success, in striking contrast with the slow progress made in the reëstablishment of a system of agriculture. "Cotton is no longer king;" if he is destined to play any very prominent part in our future prosperity, it will be as a producer simply of the means of promoting the progress of the country, not so much in its *material*, as in its *intellectual* prosperity. We find now, that under the pressure of this universal desire to educate, men are making sacrifices to which they would not have submitted previous to the war. Real estate has been disposed of, and the proceeds sacredly dedicated to educational purposes. Self-denial is practised to secure the coveted boon, and the absorbing thought seems to be, that education is the chief good.

We need not too curiously inquire into the motives that underlie this new-born zeal. Let us accept it gladly and joyfully, as a step in advance, and in the right direction, inasmuch as it furnishes us who are educators the opportunity of doing our work more extensively and more thoroughly. One thing is certain, if we do not turn this fortunate reform to good account, by inculcating in the youth intrusted to us proper views of the nature of education, high estimates of the responsibilities of the educated classes, as well as of the grand life-work before them, and of the glorious destinies that await them if faithful to their trusts, then shall we ourselves be held to a most rigid accountability, and justly condemned as recreant to our lofty mission.

Not only is this gratifying enthusiasm observable among parents and guardians, but it has never before fallen to our lot in a long career as practical educators, to observe among Southern young men such devotion to duty,—such close application of time and means,—such exhibitions of moral earnestness and solemn determination to succeed in study as is now manifested among our students; and this is the unanimous verdict of all the faculties of our colleges and universities in the South. Well may we "thank God and take courage," especially in view of the gratifying disappointment herein furnished to the oft-repeated

prediction that our young men would return from the camp demoralized and worthless. The astonishing fact is recorded, on the contrary, that while our institutions are crowded with returned Confederate soldiers, the good order, gentlemanly deportment, studious habits, and regard for law, by which they are characterised, has never been paralleled in any previous period.

With these two encouraging features of the times, we would undoubtedly augur favorably of the future, so far as the simple question of education is concerned. Were there no unfriendly influences *ab extra* to be dreaded; were the devoted and zealous workers in this wide white field not interrupted, trammelled, disturbed, or let in their simple abandonment of all else but their proper function, to guide, fit, teach, and train for usefulness, the rising generation ever-increasing; were it not that there are two insatiate daughters of the hateful horse-leech,—party-fanaticism and infidelity,—clamorously crying to us, “Give! give!” and whose appetite for our rights seems to grow by giving; could true peace and justice but succeed in establishing their benign reign over both sections of this groaning land; there need be no limit set to the conquests of an enlarged and extended civilisation and elevation of our country, the result of the combination of sacred and secular education, gratifying the most extravagant wishes and meeting the most sanguine anticipations of her most devoted sons. Meanwhile, let us not anticipate evil. It is not for us to lift the veil that shrouds the future. It remains for us to do our whole duty, allowing nothing to distract our thoughts. We must “work while it is day;” we must do all we can, while we are allowed to do any thing at all. We must remit no toil; crave little relaxation; work the more laboriously for the very prospect before us; and when the evil day come,—if come it must,—let it be our ambition now, and our consolation then, to be found at our post,

“Heart within, and God o’erhead.”

It was thus that Philip Lindsley, and every high-hearted lover of human progress labored, and so must we labor. Let the young men of the country take such men as their models, and

embrace such principles as their creed. To be sure, every man may not receive the highest form of scholastic training, but every man should have an education that shall fit him for intelligent action in all the spheres he may fill; and those favored ones who may be conducted through all the chambers of the temple of science, up to its last and loftiest, can go forth among their fellow-men as luminous reflective points, radiating to all around them the light of which they are the fortunate repositories; and thus, by the union of a whole educated people, the tide now setting against us may be turned, and only thus can it be done. When we reach this lofty elevation, by God's blessing, ignorance, fanaticism, and corruption, shall cease to hold high carnival; and truth, justice, mercy, order, virtue,—the religion of Jesus Christ,—shall lead the whole land to temporal and eternal glory!

ARTICLE II.

UPHAM'S INTERIOR LIFE, AND THE DOCTRINE OF
HOLINESS.

Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life; Designed particularly for the Consideration of those who are seeking Assurance of Faith and Perfect Love. By THOMAS C. UPHAM. Eighth Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

“Christianity has its wonders. It requires man to acknowledge himself vile and abominable, and it requires him also to emulate the likeness of his Maker.” So wrote Pascal, the most exquisite of thinkers, in what would have been the noblest of modern works—of which, alas, we have only the accumulated *blocks*, wood, marble, and precious stones, out of which it was to

have been built—his “Thoughts.” In the grasp it takes of the two polar facts of man, his greatness and his misery, lies one of the decisive characteristics of Christianity—one of the immediate proofs that it is true, and therefore divine.

It expresses and explains that “sublime discontent,” of which Pascal so eloquently speaks. Man, made a king, but unkinged by sin, and to be re-throned by Christ, is the theme, as Emmanuel himself is the glorious hero, of its Record. And the first step of his recovery is the acknowledgment of his fall, his obligations, and his Redeemer. There is given him “an abasement of soul, not by an abasement of nature, but by penitence: not that we may abide there, but that we may attain thereby to exaltation.” The “stirrings of greatness” within us “originate not in human merit, but spring from grace, and follow humiliation.”

It is in the darkness of this humiliation, enhanced rather than relieved by transient flashes of the hope of spiritual greatness; it is there that the soul is born again. Its effectual calling is felt; “its election of God” becomes manifest. “We have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.” More; “we have access by faith into this grace, wherein we stand.”

Now, so great a thing is this—this translation from the irreligious to the religious state, “from death to life,”—that the preachers of the word almost inevitably, and almost universally, talk of it as though it were something absolute, intrinsically complete in itself: whereas we know, and occasionally say, that it is the soul’s entrance on a course whose consummation is to its beginning as mid-day to the dawn.

But considering how almost exclusively this first event, the sinner’s regeneration and justification, is dwelt upon and urged; it is a sublime example of the enlightening power of grace, that all through the Church, and in every age, books having the same purpose as this of Prof. Upham’s, have been constantly springing up. Different sects select different phrases in which to speak of it—theologize about it in their different dialects. Successive ages ply their best powers upon the problem: “What more is the believer to be, than a rudimentary Christian? Is there a definite “higher life,” with its proper methods, boundaries, and

tests? If there be, is it accessible to all? And if so, by what route? How approach it, achieve it, possess it forever?

The grand "discontent" of man with his spiritual condition reappears in the Church; reappears, let us say it, enlightened, ennobled, energized by being commanded; made imperative by being promised. It is the voice of God, that will not be silent in her heart, saying, "Be ye holy." Inspiration has spoken of a portion of the believers as *τέλειοι*; and by that very discrimination has authorised, as it has kindled, the ambition to attain that sacred eminence.

Thus he is a benefactor in things precious beyond price, who opens for us the inner door of the temple of holiness, or even points us to it more plainly, or more cheerfully, than before. But it behoves the guardians of the prosperity of Zion to watch narrowly, and judge boldly, the men who claim that they can render this service, lest they guide the people wrongly, or lest, in the very act of guiding, they lay snares for our feet.

The work before us is itself a striking proof of the depth of interest taken in this subject. Written in a style singularly tame and dry, it has had a very wide circulation, and has retained its hold upon the public mind for upwards of twenty years. It is thus seen to be a book of considerable importance, and worthy of critical examination—which we propose now to give it. And we expect to show that, with a large amount of practical wisdom, it combines serious errors of principle. With a great deal of method, we find in it very little of system. Indeed, it makes no pretension to a scientific treatment of the subject; and it will be necessary to institute our own inquiries, and draw from various and widely separated pages Prof. Upham's views on certain fundamental questions; nor shall we always succeed in making those pages consistent with each other.

The first great question—assuming, as we well may, that it is the believer's privilege and duty to be something more than a rudimentary Christian—is, What is that "something more?" This, again divides itself into two points demanding investigation; as to the nature of it, and the method of it. And it will be convenient to reverse this logical order, and consider the

method of the inner life first. Here the question is, Does this life, once begun, advance in the same or in varying planes? Is it a grand *plateau*, a level table land, sharply differenced in kind from what preceded it, but not so differenced within itself? Are there two *kinds* of Christians in the world: the Christians who are only justified, and the Christians who are also sanctified? And are the believers of this last class only entitled to be called "saints?" And can they properly be spoken of as in a state of "entire" and "perfect sanctification," dwelling in "perfect love?" It will be easy to show that the book before us must and does answer these questions in the affirmative, though not by any means uniform in doing so.

On p. 23, "Christian perfection" is used as a convertible term for "that holiness which * * * we are imperatively required and *expected* to exercise." On the next page, "holiness" is explained as "pure and perfect love;" and "the possession of the hidden life," is said to be "impossible, except on the condition of [this] holiness of heart." Then comes a chapter (iii.) on "The Attainment of Holiness." The phrase "perfect and entire sanctification," is constantly used, and is expressly declared to be the equivalent of "assurance of faith." Once more: "If the doctrine, which is variously termed sanctification, evangelical holiness, and evangelical or Christian perfection, be true; * * * then it will follow that it is our duty and *privilege*, even in the present life, to realise in our souls the fulfilment of that great command, 'Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart.'" P. 145. These are only specimens, taken almost at random, of language to be found on almost every page.

To complete our view of his doctrine on this point, it only remains to say that, having appropriated such words as "holiness," "saints," "sanctification," etc., exclusively to this class, he evidently experiences a difficulty in either finding scriptural names for the remainder of the Church, or even admitting its existence. On the first page, he does, indeed, distinctly admit that "the hidden or interior life," is "a *modification* or *form* of religious experience;" and that "when a person first * * * exercises faith in Christ as a Saviour from sin, there is no doubt, *however*

feeble these early exercises may be, that he has truly entered upon a new life." But chapter v. takes a different tone. Speaking of the man who has just made an entire and effectual consecration of himself, and thus begun his life of perfect sanctification, he says, "*Perhaps he had faith before. If he were a Christian, he must of course have known something of justifying faith!*" He then proceeds to treat of three kinds of faith—"historical faith," and "general religious faith,"—both of which he justly pronounces "dead;" and thirdly, "appropriating faith;" and this faith, at least where it is "strong and operative," is spoken of as though it were almost or entirely the possession of them who have entered on the "interior life." Christians of the other class are elsewhere spoken of as "persons who believe to some extent in God and in Christ, and perhaps in their own final acceptance." P. 88. "*It is generally supposed that God may exhibit pity and pardon to those in whom there still exist some relics and stains of inward corruption; in other words, that those may be forgiven who are not entirely sanctified*"!! P. 17. The allegations of both these paragraphs might be more largely proved; but doubtless the above examples will suffice.

Next we inquire, How are these doctrines proved? It is rather startling to find amid so much explanation so little attempted in the way of proof. It is nearly summed up, 1. In the argument that what is commanded must be achievable, in order that it may be obligatory; and that perfect holiness is commanded. 2. In the production of certain scripture terms, as "sanctified," "holy," "saints," "perfect in love," etc., no one of which terms in the original, either in itself or in the context, necessitates the doctrine here advanced. And 3. In the extraordinary assertion that "we can have no available faith in the promises of God without it," *i. e.* without this entire consecration. P. 28. "If * * * * we consecrate ourselves to him, * * * * *then and not otherwise* can we believe that he will be to us and do for us all that he has promised in his holy word." P. 29. That is: there is faith in the Church; but faith cannot be available without entire consecration; therefore, here must be entire consecration!

True it is, that we shall have to produce some excellent and lucid passages in connexion with another point, which teach precisely the opposite doctrine as to the relative positions of faith and holiness; but these are there; and they are an integral part of his argument.

We submit, now, that the premises involved in the first and third of these positions are not only errors, but they are errors of the first water. They draw deep.

So far is the major premise of the first argument from being true, that we must maintain the precise contrary of it. The fundamental, vital duty of man is *never* capable of complete fulfilment in this life, in any direction. If it were, it would so far forth lose one essential element of its divineness. It is precisely as demanding indefinite, incessant, immeasurable *approximations*, a struggling, or a soaring up, toward the ever-soaring zenith, the springing out to view of new heights, starry pinnacles clothed in virgin white, the lifting of the standard, and the "reaching forth" after the crown which only heaven gives: it is precisely in that quality of human life and duty, that its true grandeur appears.

Put an immovable limit upon man's intellectual or moral progress; put it ever so far ahead; still, if it be there at all, you dissolve the noblest charm of his ambition; you reduce almost infinitely the promised rewards of his zeal; you make his spirit so much the tamer, and his climbing of the steeps, which are none too easy now, so much the harder and more irksome.

And yet the evil done in these departments, intellect and virtue, by placing a limit on their progress—and that limitation necessarily ensues upon the recognition of any perfectness to be consummated at a definite time—these evils are trivial, compared with the mischief wrought by the same doctrine in religion. Because the standards there are impersonal; here, personal. A barrier is interposed by it between us and the LORD JESUS CHRIST, which the Scripture has not raised. "God hath joined us together;" but this doctrine "puts us asunder."

Thus, therefore, without lengthened argument, it is seen that

the command to be holy does not infer the ability definitely to achieve perfect holiness in this life.

But what shall we say of the other argument, that consecration to God is the necessary antecedent of faith? Is it so, that a man must find a guarantee *in himself*, before he can find one *in God*? Waiving for the present anything like a full discussion of the relations of faith and holiness, we need not hesitate to proclaim, what the heart and voice of the Church every where and always acknowledge—what Prof. Upham himself on other pages admits and maintains. We are to “ask of God,” not because we *have*, but because we “*lack*, wisdom.” It is they “who labor and are heavy laden,” that are commanded to “come” unto him; not those who have themselves broken the yoke.

So far from admitting, then, that entire consecration must be possible, because it is the necessary antecedent of faith; we insist that so far as consecration obtains at all, it does so precisely as the consequence, and partly the effect, of faith. The inference, therefore, fails.

We propose, now, to offer a few considerations respecting the method of the inner life, not based upon the work before us.

1. No inference can be drawn, hostile to the standing belief of the Church, from the meaning, or from the employment in Scripture, of the word *τέλειος*. The word which corresponds most accurately with it in English, is the word “finished.” But who ever inferred, from a man’s being a “finished” gentleman, or a “finished” scholar, that he had attained perfection?

The correlatives of *τέλειοι* in Scripture are *παιδιά* and *νήπιοι*; see 1 Cor. xiv. 20; Eph. iv. 13; and the word, whether used literally or figuratively, hence appears to mean “of full age.” In Heb. v. 14, it is so translated, and a definition attached, viz., “those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.”

The *τέλος* to which these “perfect” men have attained, is thus seen to be simply the “end” of immaturity and spiritual childhood. Manhood, ripeness of heart, experience and discernment attained by use; these are the goal at which Paul represents

them as arriving when he uses this word. But there is surely no "perfection" or entire sanctification in that.

But at this point we are confronted by the text: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Here, it is said, this very word is used to predicate perfectness of God, and that in connexion with the command to be perfect laid upon us. To which the reply is easy:

(a.) We have not denied the obligation resting on man, to be perfectly holy.

(b.) We have seen that it cannot be inferred from the fact that perfection is commanded, that it is attainable in this life—or at any given period.

(c.) If pressed, as a measure of the perfectness required of us here, this text would prove far too much for Prof. Upham. His second chapter, "On the Doctrine of Holiness," makes large deductions from even paradisiacal perfection, in describing that which is demanded of us.

(d.) It would appear that no other comparison our Lord could have used, would have so compelled that very view announced above. He has here expressly made the Father in heaven our standard of excellence. How could language more impressively convey the thought, that we are forever to advance, and never completely to attain?

2. The Scriptures explicitly teach the non-perfection of the *τέλειοι*. See Phil. iii. 12, 15, 17. "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect. Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded," *i. e.* as he, who was *not* perfect, had just described himself to be; "and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded," *i. e.* not as right-minded as I, "God shall reveal even this unto you. *Brethren, be ye followers together of me.*" Here we have those who are called "perfect" commanded to follow one who by inspiration declares himself not "perfect;" which would be simply impossible, if what we call perfection were intended. The conclusion seems irresistible, therefore, that the perfectionists put a wrong construction on this word.

3. The elevation of the soul involves the elevation of all its parts. The perfection of the soul would involve the perfection

of all its parts, conscience and its standards included. Overtaking the standard of to-day, therefore, if so happy a feat were accomplished, would bring about, among other things, the application of severer tests, the being scrutinized with a more exquisite sensibility, and thus the discovery of *im*-perfections unnoticed before.

Here, again, we find that the true method of the inner life in this regard, is that of an indefinite advance in Christian excellence.

It grieves us to touch so slightly and coldly points of such profound interest; but the ground yet to be covered is too large to allow of our lingering. We hasten, now, to

4. A fourth remark. The experience of the whole Church, in the whole long life of the Church, is against any other change in regenerate persons, in this life, than from immaturity to maturity. Here, surely, labored argument is unnecessary. If there is any blessed hope in the heart of God's people, in connexion with death, it is the sure hope of sinlessness then. If there is any thing the universal understanding of the Scripture has taught us to expect, it is that the conflict with sin will run through our earthly years with us, and in its own despite confer a royal dignity upon the king of terrors, by dying under his spear. If there is one challenge we can never cease to proclaim to each other, it is—

“Fight on, my soul, *till death*
Shall bring thee to thy God.”

But all this stands upon the historical, unvarying, mournful experience of the saints, that “entire and perfect sanctification” is *not* “attainable in this life.”

Nor will the apparent exceptions to this experience of the Church prove real. This will be evident when we proceed, as we shall do presently, to consider the nature of holiness. One argument, however, must be examined, which is suggested by the remark just made. It will be said: “You concede the immediate and absolute sinlessness of the believer at death; where then is the impossibility of his sinlessness before death? And

what becomes of all your reasonings about a necessarily gradual and indefinite advance in holiness?" The answer is easy and complete, though perhaps not obvious.

What we have been discussing is the method of the inner life as developed in the working of a gracious *nature*, according to the *laws of the kingdom of grace*, and without the interposition of miracle. What is the *fact*, as experience, observation, Scripture, declare it? It is not denied that God *can*, and we gladly and devoutly proclaim that he *will*, set man free from his inbred sin; that he has appointed him a time, and will not fail, wherein all that pollutes or offends or darkens will be forever removed. But that is not a part of the method of the inner life. It is the miraculous beginning of another phase of that life. It is made known only by revelation. It comes at the end of the "good fight," and is a special interposition of divine power. "We shall be changed;" not as here, "from glory to glory," steadfastly beholding as in a mirror the glory of God, but "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye;" "we shall *be* like him, *for we shall see him as he is.*" Here we have the contrast of the two processes, and of the two results, clearly set forth. The one is a life-long beholding, and a life-long likening; the other is a flash of glory upon the eyes, and an instantaneous victory in the soul.

But all these points will be made more plain when we consider, as we now proceed to do, the true nature of holiness. And first, we must look a little into Prof. Upham's ideas on this point. We shall have to classify his views under three heads, thus:

(a.) Holiness is "freedom from actual voluntary transgression." P. 21. This phrase and its equivalents occur often. On p. 161, we are told that "ideas or suggestions of some evil to be done * * * which * * * on certain occasions arise necessarily and involuntarily in the mind, *are not evil*, unless they are consented to in act or feeling."

(b.) Holiness is formally defined as "pure and perfect love," p. 24; "loving God with the whole heart," p. 23. Of this perfect love, three "marks" or tests are given. 1. "An entire approbation of, and delight in, the character of God in all

respects." 2. "The existence of a desire to promote his glory * * * in such a degree that we are not *conscious* (note that) of having any desire or will at variance with the will of God." 3. "Perfect love excludes in a great degree, and perhaps entirely, any reflections upon self, which are of a self-interested or selfish character."

(e.) Evangelical holiness is also in some measure defined by what it does *not* include. We may pass over the first and second negations, viz., that holiness in this life does not imply perfection of the physical or intellectual system, as self-evident. But the third, p. 20, involves, as it is expounded and prepared for use in the argument, very strange notions indeed. "One of the particulars * * * in which the holiness of the future life may be regarded as differing from that of the present is, that it is not liable, by any possibility whatever, to any interruption or suspension." Another is, "unavoidable errors and imperfections of judgment, which, in their ultimate causes, result from sin, (we have reference here to Adam's sin)"; even such that they "*require an atonement.*" P. 21. "In accordance with this view, we"—*i. e.* we of the inner life, evidently—"may very properly, sincerely, and deeply mourn over those various infirmities and imperfections * * * and may with deep humility make application to the blood of Christ, as alone possessing that atoning efficacy which can wash their stains away." "He has mercifully seen fit to remit or forgive all these involuntary sins, more commonly, and perhaps more justly, called imperfections or trespasses, if we will but cordially accept of the atonement in the blood of Christ." "It is probably in reference to such imperfections or trespasses, rather than to sins of a deliberate and voluntary nature, that some good people speak of the moral certainty or necessity we are under of sinning all the time." P. 22. "*If such is their meaning, it is not very necessary to dispute with them.*" P. 23.

It is but justice to this good and earnest man to say that there are many passages in which a far higher and more evangelical idea of holiness is conveyed—casually, but emphatically and sincerely,—than in these. But in them, the Christian in-

stinct speaks; here, the necessities of his argument. These are his formal, deliberate, carefully worded statements of one of his main points; and if his book is not to be held responsible for them, criticism is a farce.

Our first remark, at this point, then, is that the phrase "perfect holiness," or any synonyme of it, is entirely out of place among such conditions. A holiness that does not exclude suggestions of evil to be done, arising involuntarily in the mind; which does not absolutely exclude reflections upon self of a selfish character; which may be interrupted or suspended; which includes unavoidable errors, imperfections, trespasses, involuntary sins that we may deeply mourn, and humbly make application to the blood of Christ for them, (because they require an atonement,) that their stains may be washed away, and they be remitted or forgiven: a holiness like this, whatever else it may be, is certainly not "perfect;" and the mind that can think it so is sadly warped.

We remark again upon the purely subjective standard employed, at least at one point. One mark of "perfect love," it will be remembered, was that "we are not *conscious* of having any desire or will at variance with the will of God." Now there is no more fixed or notorious law of Christian experience than this—that it is the *more* stagnant and torpid heart that is the less conscious of its variances with the will of God. Not being conscious of such variance usually implies only that we are too crass and cold to be conscious of it. The test is bad as a test, and worse as a principle.

We pause here to remark that these low views of holiness are not peculiar; they are common to the advocates of the doctrine that perfect sanctification is attainable in this life. We quote two sentences from Prof. Finney, as an illustration: "Sanctification consists in the will's devoting or consecrating itself and the whole being, all we are and have, *so far as powers, susceptibilities, possessions, are under the control of the will*, to the service of God." Systematic Theology, p. 200. "Sanctification does not imply *any constitutional change*, either of soul or body." Ibid, p. 199. What a portentous reservation is that of

the first sentence! And what a tremendous negation, that of the second!*

These shallow volitional theories, which take no account of man's nature, but only of his ways, are indispensable to this doctrine, as they are the life of many other errors. One feels a certain embarrassment about combating them; the things to be said are the very lore of children in pious houses. Deep down, below a man's will, are the elements which decide the action of his will. If we adopt Edwards's doctrine, that the will is always and necessarily as the greatest apparent good, we have only opened the way for another question: WHY does this or that "appear" the greatest good? Why is money "the greatest apparent good," in Edwards's sense, of the covetous man, and pleasure, of the worldling, and holiness, of the believer? To say, because the man has chosen it, is to give us back the effect, calling it the cause. Why *does* he choose it? That is the fundamental question; and the answer, obviously, must be sought, not in the will, but in the nature.

Nor does the attempted answer of these men remove the difficulty more than a step. They divide our volitions into two classes, specific and generic, or emanent and immanent; and they refer the specific or emanent volitions to the generic or immanent as their cause. But these more permanent states of the will—and that is all they mean by "immanent volitions"—confessedly originate in acts of the will. And the question immediately recurs, Why are they what they are? The cause must be sought within and beneath these voluntary acts, or we must have an infinite series of volitions to account for any given one.

* We are tempted here to set down a brief authentic dialogue. A Presbyterian minister, some years ago, visited a most excellent old lady of another denomination—a true suffering saint, whose grace of patience rivalled her grace of charity, both in giving and forgiving. During a most refreshing conversation she suddenly said: "Mr. D., you believe in perfect sanctification, don't you?" "No, ma'am." "Oh, how *can* you reject that precious doctrine?" "Mrs. G., consider what you are saying—**PERFECT** sanctification?" "Pshaw," answered she, very promptly, "you know I don't mean they don't sin!" "Precisely so, ma'am; we agree exactly."

We feel that any formal discussion of this point is supererogatory here. Too well and thoroughly have the great teachers of the Presbyterian Church done their work, to leave the minds of those who think unimpressed with the truth. Man's nature and man's will, though not separable *in re*, are separable *in conceptu*; not only are separable, but they must be distinguished, if we would have any just ideas of man or of holiness.

There is no controversy about the original literal meaning of the Hebrew and Greek words that stand for holiness. They mean *cleanness*. Properly dilated, to suit the known facts of the subject to which they are applied, that meaning is ample now. But in nothing, perhaps, is the progress of uninspired thinking more impressively manifest, than in reference to that idea, spiritual purity. It has gained a depth, and thus a dignity, unknown in ancient time, except to souls specially enlightened from above. The ceremonial cleanness of the early Jew was well symbolized in his white linen robes. The ethical cleanness of the later Jew—confined to trivial rites and traditionary virtues,—equally well by the washing of hands and feet. The stricter personal purity enjoined upon Christians in the ages that first succeeded the age of inspiration, found its type in the immersions and anointings that then prevailed. And we, on whom the Sun of Righteousness has risen higher and shone more brightly; not through any penetration of our own, but possessing the accumulated wisdom of the descending centuries; we, for whom the slow ripening conceptions of mankind are mellowing at last, though we have almost forgotten how to symbolize them; we feel there is a *cleanness of soul*, conceivable by man, commanded in the Scriptures, granted its crude beginnings here, and its fulness in glory, to which all other purities are as filmy wrappings; rather, perhaps, as the transient flush upon the cheek, which betrays the glowing blood within.

The most sublime of general ideas is—Life. That vast word includes infinite gradations. We begin with that wondrous, vague coil of magnetic pulsations which arm the blind round world itself with a certain vitalizing energy, and we ascend to the indiscriminable monads of the vegetable and animal king-

doms. Presently we begin to disengage ourselves from the tangled morasses of merely physical life; and as *reason* begins to appear in the more highly organised animals, we feel that we are upon rapidly ascending ground. Still, we only walk the clod; let philosophers boast themselves never so loudly, mere intellect will never take the highest place. That is reserved for goodness. When conscience, when faith, when self-conquering and therefore all-conquering love, appear, then is the heavenly glory seen. And the light is the life of men. The heart in which living goodness is, swings loose from the earth. Its best, its immortal affinities are with heaven.

Now, holiness, as enjoined and honored in the Scriptures, is just that inward cleanness of soul. It is *being right*, in the depths of life. It is not love, but it grows by love. It is not faith, but it gets the blessing by faith. That, in the saint, which loathes sin, which finds it a deadly evil, which would cut off or crucify every member, if it "offended;" that fixed bent of the heart, which is not a purpose, because it is the spring and life of every purpose; that whiteness of the spiritual man, out of which the grace of God dissolves the stain, obliterates the deep-graven lines of unlawful passions—that is holiness.

It is not a mask, but a transfiguration. It has climbed the mount and looked with eyes of faith upon the glory of God: God, before whose infinite loftiness, the highest heights of man are mere abysses. There the rapt believer confesses, with irrepressible yearnings—"hungering and thirsting," the Master called it—"Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come!" And while in his lowliness and his longing, he "steadfastly gazes" upon the King's beauty, he is changed. Even on earth, and looking by faith, he is changed; how much more in heaven, beholding face to face!

Now, beyond all question, the profoundest impulses of the believer answer to this idea of holiness—an inward, central purity of soul, of which a right will is born, and right affections flow. Holiness of the outward life is not a dress, or a reflexion of some radiance without. The better class of sinners are arrayed in that way; but the saint's outward light is the glow of

a light within. And when a sound thinker talks of "perfect holiness," or "entire sanctification," he means not that poor, precarious, spotted, halting thing the Perfectionists flatter with that title, but *an absolute conformity of the whole heart to the purity of Christ.**

Prof. Upham is too devout a Christian to apply his description of "evangelical holiness" to our Lord; and yet He is our pattern, and none but He. Why, then, should men put up, between themselves and Christ, a pattern of human invention, void of his beauty, stripped of his sanction, discrowned of his promises? With all the attractions of his transcendent and divine excellence, with what a miserable leaden tardiness we rise! And what purpose can a lowering of the standard serve, but the comforting of spiritual indolence, or flattering a vain ambition? The process of sanctification is the gradual evolution in the soul—and to some extent in its consciousness also—of the fair ideal of perfect purity, a slow reproduction in the forming saint of "the face of Christ." In him, "those lips have language;" the glow of immortal life is on his brow; and by that wonderful transfusion of the Holy Ghost, his life pulsates in us, now feebly, and then triumphantly.

* "But man * * * * has lost his original righteousness; and has besides *contracted a defilement*, and reduced his nature to *a state* and habit of sin, precisely opposite to the holiness his nature needs. The process of restoring that original righteousness, and perfecting that true holiness—meantime healing and extirpating that inward state and habit of sin; is that work of grace whereby both the quality and habit of human actions are changed, by acting *radically* and divinely *upon the human soul itself*. This vital progress and steady mutation of the renewed soul, is what we call sanctification. * * * * Considered as a great work of divine grace within the renewed soul, it is the method whereby God renews us completely *in his lost image*, and conforms us entirely to the image of his Son, restoring us to the perfect knowledge and love of his truth, and *the complete fruition of his holiness*. For if we have learned Christ aright, and have been-taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus; we put off, concerning the former conversation, the old man which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and are *renewed in the spirit of our mind*; and put on the new man which after God is *created in righteousness and true holiness*." Breckinridge, Knowledge of God Subjectively Considered. Book II., chap. xi., 1, 5. The italics are ours.

Let us borrow an illustration from zoölogy. Whoever has studied Prof. Agassiz' exquisite illustrations of embryology, will remember the faint, barely discoverable, gauze-like tracery which hints the creature that is to be, in the pulpy mass. Presently we look again; the lines are stronger, but still we see them through a dissolving cloud. As the days wear on, those lines become distinct, and at last decisive; we have traversed the whole tract, from the original blank, to the likeness of the living creature. But then, the shell bursts, and the foetal life is swallowed up of a new life! Now, the controlling principle of that whole marvellous development—speaking of the physical law, and not of the causal power—the controlling principle of that whole development, from undistinguishable pulp to a creature perfect in its kind, is the infusion of a certain life.

Thus is it with us; we begin with nothing; we end with being "like Him," when we "see him as He is." The likeness is long but a cloud-veiled tracery, far more like a shadow than a portrait. But the lines grow firmer; one lineament after another extricates itself from the blank, not painted on us, but formed in us; at last we "stand complete in righteousness"—but not here. Once only has this mournful, sinful earth been honored by the tread of perfect goodness. We shall "be with him, and see his glory," when we share it.

We have preferred this direct appeal to the facts, and to the rooted and necessary judgments of the believer, to any exhaustive argument, as more entirely satisfactory, if less elaborate. And it will be worth while to notice how completely this conception of the nature of holiness resolves the apparent exceptions to the universal belief that perfection is not to be attained in this life, into a confirmation of that doctrine. Suppose it announced, in the Confession of our Faith, that this holiness is "imperfect in life; there abideth still some remnants of corruption in every part, etc.;"* and suppose a voice of opposition to be raised, alleging that perfect sanctification is attainable here. We inquire, what do you mean by perfect sanctification? And the

* Conf. of Faith, chap. xiii., sec. ii.

answer is—such as we drew from Prof. Upham just now. We ask, again, Is that what you mean by your objection? Can *even you* predicate no more of your best saints on earth than that? Then your voice, to all intents and purposes, is with us, as regards the thing treated of; and the only controversy between us at this point is as to the use of certain words—holiness, perfection, and the like.

If now we briefly consider the relations of faith and holiness, we shall reach the other capital error of the work before us, (and only for them have we space,) clear up some of the remaining obscurities of the subject, and introduce the practical counsels on which are founded the author's chief claim to be heard.

Let us begin by disembarassing ourselves of one question, namely, as to the *current inter-relations* of faith and holiness during the Christian's life. They are reciprocally helpful, beyond all doubt. The more faith, the more holiness; the holier, the more believing. They are coëxistent in time and influence, throughout our career.

But which comes first in the order of nature? Which depends upon the other, as the condition precedent of its life? This is not a matter of mere speculative interest, but of the highest practical importance. It includes the question—really includes it, although not in the view of Prof. Upham—whether we, or God, are authors of our holiness.

It will be our duty to show that this fundamental question, and by consequence the included question also, is answered *both ways* in the work before us; and that directly, intelligently, earnestly. But that which we must pronounce the wrong answer is given first, and therefore imparts a coloring to the whole book, as it is read.

Chapter Third, entitled "Directions to aid in the Attainment of Holiness," is perfectly explicit as to the order of events; though even here casual saving clauses occur, looking the other way. We will quote largely enough to make his meaning certain. Take first a passage already referred to; but this time given at length. "(An act of personal consecration) is necessary, first, because we can have no available faith in the promises of

God without it. It is a great complaint in the Christian Church, at the present day, that there is want of faith. If we may take the statements of Christians themselves, they do not believe; certainly not as they should do. And why is it? It is because they have not fully consecrated themselves to God; in other words, they continue to indulge in some known sins. **** The Saviour himself has distinctly recognised the principle, that faith under such circumstances is an impossibility. "How can ye believe, who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only?"* If we seek the honor that cometh from God, in other words, if in the fixed purpose of our minds we consecrate ourselves to him, to do as far as in us lies his whole will, *then, and not otherwise, we can believe* that he will be to us, and do for us, all that he has promised in his Holy Word. It is precisely here as it is in common life. **** The principle will be found to hold good in regard to God as well as man. **** *If we would have faith, therefore, we must endeavor by consecration to cease from all known voluntary sin."* Pp. 28, 29.

"*It is at this point, when we have put forth, with all the energy and sincerity of our being, the unalterable determination, relying upon divine assistance, that we will be wholly his, that he meets us.*" "Having believed, *first*, that holiness is a duty * * * * ; and having, *secondly*, consecrated ourselves to God in all things to do his will; we are *now, in the third place, to have faith in him.*" P. 30. "He who breaks off from every known sin, and at the same time, in full reliance upon the word of God, and with childlike simplicity, leaves himself entirely and in all things in the hands of God * * * * necessarily *becomes* a sanctified person. **** God necessarily receives him: in other words, *he passes from a state of rebellion to one of submission; from a state of unbelief to one of childlike confidence; and from himself, and out of himself, into God.*"† P. 31. When he has

* Let it be noted here, that our Lord is rebuking the impenitent Pharisees; but Prof. U. has expressly excluded the unregenerate from his argument. The quotation is irrelevant.

† The italics in all these excerpts are ours.

done all this, *after that* he shall have faith! Only let the lungs resume their play, and the heart its pulsations, and all the organs their functions, and the senses their several powers; and the consequence will necessarily ensue that the dead man will come to life!

Now, will it not be wonderful to find language so explicit, and in its utterance at least so well considered, set aside by language on the other side still more express? Surprising as it may seem, Chapter Ninth, on the "Relation of Assurance of Faith and Perfect Love," is a clear, forcible, manful setting forth of the precious truth, which the previous accounts had obscured or denied. Let us frankly say, we are glad it is so. We rejoice, not *against* our brother; but *in* him, when the truth in his heart masters him, and "will out."

Having laid down the proposition, that "assurance or perfection of faith, and perfection of love, are closely and inseparably connected," he inquires, "What is the precise relation which they sustain to each other?" He answers, "In the first place, that they hold the relation of ANTECEDENCE and SEQUENCE. Assurance of faith naturally and necessarily precedes assurance or perfection of love. **** How is it possible, looking at the subject in the light of nature merely, if we have no confidence in God, no faith in his character, that we should love him?" P. 81. "And I think it is obvious, from what has been said, that we may go further, and say that faith * * * sustains also the relation of a CAUSE." P. 82.

He observes further, that love will not only "follow faith, but will be *in proportion to faith*." He quotes Leighton's wise apothegm: "BELIEVE, AND YOU SHALL LOVE; BELIEVE MUCH, AND YOU SHALL LOVE MUCH." Pp. 82, 83. The emphatic italics and capitals in these sentences are his own. And with all this we heartily agree. And we coincide also with the explanation in the conclusion of the same chapter, that faith and love are different aspects and expressions of the same state of heart, and act and react upon each other.

"By grace are ye saved, *through faith*; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God." That is, grace operates for our

salvation by means of faith; and that faith is itself the necessary first gift of grace. To elaborate this doctrine fully would require a volume; nor can we think it necessary, in the case of a truth which perhaps not one reader of this Review would deny, to go at large into it. But we desire to clear it up a little, and let it shine by its own light.

A beautiful experiment reported to have been made in optics, will illustrate the subject. A daguerreotype was suspended, face downward, over a vessel filled with mercury, and put in a thoroughly darkened place. Upon examination, after some time, the mercury showed no change until it was breathed upon. Then a distinct copy of the portrait started into view. So—not in the glow of sight, but under the action of faith, which is “a lively sense of things not seen,”*—the likeness of a Heavenly Face is formed in us, as the Spirit of the Lord breathes upon us.

Just in proportion as—and only as—the divine Agents in our redemption become known to the soul, is this transcendent change wrought in it from the natural to the spiritual man. If religion, or holiness, which is very much the same thing, were a natural product, Prof. Upham’s argument would be relevant. “It is impossible for us, in our intercourse of man with man, to believe that a man whom we deliberately sin against and injure * * * * loves us, provided that we are certain that he has knowledge of the fact. The principle will be found to hold good in regard to God as well as man.” Precisely so; and yet that impossible thing is exactly what we are commanded to do, and will be eternally lost if we do not do. We *must* “believe that a” God “we deliberately sin against loves us,” calls us, sent his Son to save us, with the full “knowledge” of our sin, or we cannot be saved. God has seen fit, in his wisdom as well as in his sovereign right, to make just that “impossible” faith the indispensable first step! †

* See Heb. xi. 1. The cause (evidence) put by a figure of speech for the effect of evidence—a realising sense.

† “As without holiness no man shall (or can) see the Lord, must not Christ be much more earnestly anxious to make us holy, than we can be to be made so? If we do not believe in this earnest desire of his, do we

We need not stop to solve the dilemma. Faith, as we have just read, "is the gift of God." He brings us face to face with this dreadful extremity, and makes it his opportunity.

Neither is it necessary here to argue the wisdom of appointing this order, or of selecting this particular interposition. It will suffice to point out its admirable fitness and efficiency for the production of holiness by producing faith.

The *grasp of the fact of redemption*, taken by the freshly believing heart, awakens intense gratitude to the Redeemer, and a sense, alike tender and profound, of obligation to him. The sense of narrow escape from utter destruction by sin; and the rising hope of life in a holy world by grace, both of which are intended in the Scripture by being "under the powers of the world to come," make the issue, of obedience or disobedience, more clear, the bearing of them more sure, and the duty more binding. But *the direct vision of the Lord* by faith, is mightier still. The contrast between our foul helplessness and his serene and beautiful strength, "the saving strength of God's Anointed," draws the soul to him. Our contrition, and thankfulness, and wonder, and love, all combine to enhance the impressibility of our hearts, just when they are most under *his* influence. The very conviction that we cannot repay him, lends a charm to that obedience by which alone we can testify how infinitely we are bound to him. Oh, the pathos and the power of that word, "If ye love me, keep my commandments!"

Then the *yearnings of our spirit after him*, which are born of faith, have themselves, in the order of grace, a refining and exalting tendency. As the desiring heaven is better than possessing earth, so the hungering after Christ is better than being filled with any thing else. "Steadfastly to gaze upon him," is to be "changed into his image, from glory to glory."

To crown all, we have the Scripture, *χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος*; grace given as a reward of grace enjoyed. Having blessed us with

believe in his love at all? Have we ever really apprehended it; or has it been merely a tale recited to our ears, which we do not care indeed to contradict, but which has never at all taken hold of, or touched, our hearts?" Goulburn, Thoughts on Personal Religion. Pp. 31, 32.

faith, our Lord proceeds as a rich man who has invested part of his fortune in a great enterprise not yet completed; he pays instalment after instalment, until the glorious work is done. He builds love upon faith, and purity upon love; and faith "worketh by love," and "he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger." And thus the powers of the soul are set to a happy play upon each other, like that of the members and organs of the body. The cheek is indebted for its glow to the swift foot and stalwart arm. The arm is debtor for its stoutness in part to the eye, blessed with light; and so through the whole round of the bodily frame.

Similarly, faith (among its other works) furnishes food to the imagination; imagination applies new stimulus to hope; hope crowds out temptation, and pours light and courage into the conscience; conscience, quickened, finds voice in prayer; prayer, drawing nigh a waiting Saviour, and trying all his grace, and testing his infinite sweetness, transmutes patience into gladness, and warms love into a passion. Or we might arrange the faculties and graces of the Christian in any other order—only beginning with faith—and find the life that enters there sinking through every fibre of the man, and penetrating to his very heart's core with a heavenly blessing: such is the interdependence of our powers.

In looking back upon the three principal parts of this general discussion, now drawing to a close, we call attention to one thought connected with them all. Under the first head—the Method of the Inner Life,—we saw that one great characteristic was its indefinite, indeed its eternal, progression. But under the second head, the Nature of Holiness, we saw that holiness is inward purity, and that this was to be attained at death. It appears, therefore, that "the Inner Life," and "Holiness," are not exactly convertible terms: the latter attaining completeness with the close of this life; the former, *never*. Sanctification, or the process of becoming complete in holiness, thus appears as the first stage of the Inner Life. Now, under the third head, we saw that faith was the indispensable means and subjective agent of sanctification; whence we easily dis-

cover that there is a correlation between them in time, as well as in action. Faith seals the graft to the Vine; its office endures while the knitting of the fibres is incomplete; when the Vine and the branch are altogether one, its work is over. Faith

"Is sweetly lost in sight,
And hope in full, supreme delight,
And everlasting love."

How, then—for this is the great question, after all—how shall the Christian set out to be holy? Prof. Upham treats of this as a sort of second chapter of the Christian life; and so, as regards our conscious efforts, it too often (though not always) is; and he makes the first step to be an act of solemn personal consecration to God; p. 28; (the nominal first step, *i. e.* a belief that holiness is attainable in this life, being a logical and not an actual preliminary.) And he quotes a form of consecration from Dr. Doddridge, who was treating of the repenting sinner, and not the striving Christian; and who makes it not a first step, but among the very last.

The fatal fault in this prescription is that it puts *man's work first*, instead of God's. It impresses upon the mind, despite all casual caveats, the idea that we are to lead, and he is to follow: the error of all errors, which man is most prone to commit, and most hard to be warned off from. Well has a late excellent writer characterised it, though without reference to this book: "Ah, what if these struggles to be holy should themselves be in a certain sense tokens of unbelief? What if the poor bird imprisoned in the cage should be thinking that, if it is ever to gain its liberty, it must be by its own exertions, and by vigorous and frequent strokes of its wings against the bars? If it did so, it would ere long fall back breathless and exhausted, faint and sore and despairing. And the soul will have a similar experience, which thinks that Christ has indeed won pardon and acceptance for her, but that sanctification she must win for herself; and under this delusion beats herself sore in vain efforts to correct the propensities of a heart which the word of God pronounces to be desperately wicked. That heart—you can make nothing of it yourself—leave it to Christ, in quiet dependence upon his

grace. Suffer him to open the prison-doors for you, and then you shall fly out and hide yourself in your Lord's bosom, and there find rest. Yield up the soul to him, and place it in his hands; and you shall at once begin to have the delightful experience of his power in sanctifying.*

Indeed, how is this consecration to be made, as we are truly told it should be, with all the energy of the soul—as a “volition, a fixed, unalterable purpose,”—unless the Spirit has revealed to us *by faith* the motives, dangers, glories, of the world to come? Put the Christian back among the illusions of his late worldliness; let God and a crucified Saviour retire again into the distance and dimness of his unbelief; and such action on his part becomes *impossible*. He must “see him who is invisible,” or he will neither resolve boldly, nor “endure” patiently.

Nor is it an unimportant mistake, to treat this act of consecration as a thing to be done once, and at the entrance upon the stage of the Christian life. We would like to ask Prof. Upham, what is the plain meaning of that phrase his theological congeners employ so incessantly: “Give your heart to God?” But we need not narrow the discussion to an argument *ad hominem*. What is that, to which, in connexion with the supreme act of believing, every right-minded minister and laborer tries to bring awakened sinners? What, but *to devote themselves to God*? And how does that self-devotion differ from self-consecration?

True, this effort, even when successful in the case of the soundly converted, is not perfectly successful. The work of devoting one's self to God (*i. e.* of sanctification) “proceeds by degrees,” as Fisher says.† One of the most wholesome, efficient, happy, of the means to be used to procure its advance, is the occasional solemn renewing our covenant with God—“acting faith,” and renewing consecration.

The effect, therefore, of such language as is used in this work on this subject, is, first, to exalt man's idea of the efficacy of his own determinations; secondly, to discourage from attempting to

* Goulburn, Thoughts on Personal Religion, p. 32.

† Catechism, Sanctification, Q. 26.

consecrate themselves to God, all who do not believe that perfect holiness is attainable in this life; and thirdly, to deter ordinary Christians from using a powerful and salutary means of grace.

We limit ourselves to one other stricture; one, however, which we find it difficult so to make as not to match his error with a more dangerous one of our own. And we select a sentence which conveys intensely the impression which whole chapters make more or less forcibly. "But it is a painful truth that multitudes of persons, and some even of those who claim to be the Saviour's followers, pollute themselves by taking food, not for the sake of the food, and in the fulfilment of the intentions of nature, but *for the pleasure which it gives*; making the pleasure the ultimate, and oftentimes the sole object." This passage clearly teaches that all pursuit of pleasures which are not spiritual, is sinful. But what right has the author to draw any such distinction between spiritual and other pleasures? May not a man who is not thirsty sip a little water, just for the pleasure of it? If not, it can only be because it *is* pleasant. But if pleasures, as such, are sinful, why is spiritual pleasure—which yet *is* pleasure—innocent?

If it be replied that the objection is only to *inordinate* desires for such pleasure, then it is not the taking food because it is pleasant that pollutes, but excess in quantity and circumstances. To this we agree; but then this passage, and many others, are wrongly worded. But it is no accident or oversight that gives them this direction. It is an integral part of the theory, that one half of a man is to be starved, sapped, drained of its life-blood, with the hope thereby of elevating the other half. And this doctrine is closely connected with the feeling that sin is somehow an element of our material rather than our spiritual nature. We know but too well, and by bitter experience, that neither nature has a monopoly of evil. There are sensual sins; but there are also spiritual sins.

The Church must discard that profound and dangerous fallacy, that any pleasure God has given is sinful in itself. "Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun." The breath of fragrant breezes, the murmur of limpid

falling waters, the carol of happy birds, the flavor of fruit: has the Father of all, who is rich unto all, spread these only as snares for our feet, or for refreshment by the way? "EVERY CREATURE OF GOD IS GOOD, AND NOTHING TO BE REFUSED, IF IT BE RECEIVED WITH THANKSGIVING; FOR IT IS SANCTIFIED BY THE WORD OF GOD AND PRAYER."

We turn now, for a moment, to the more pleasant, but less necessary task of praise. The whole book is written in a devout and earnest spirit. The style, though studiously plain and homely, is almost always clear, and occasionally rises, by the mere force of the thought, to genuine eloquence, as in the passage given below.* And the chapters of a practical nature, counsels, and explanations, are singularly wise and good, barring a strong infusion of quietism. This praise is particularly due to the chapters "On Temptations," and "On a Life of Signs and Manifestations, as Compared with a Life of Faith."

But space and time—and perhaps the reader's patience—fail us; though many points of deep interest remain untouched. No subject lies nigher the hearts of God's saints than holiness. None more urgently demands the thought and prayer of the Church in this age than the Inner Life. We have endeavored to make it clear that the life spiritual, which begins with regeneration, is just the opening of the life eternal, and progresses forever. Its grand characteristic, in this its first stage, is the

* "This is one of the unalterable conditions of faith, especially when it exists in a high degree, viz., that it is attended with a pure and tranquil consolation—consolation so sure and permanent, that we can never be deprived of it, whatever else may be taken away. The soul is led up, as it were, into the mountain of God's protection. In the attitude of calm repose, it remains established on that sublime height, with the sunlight of heavenly peace for its companion, while there is nothing but darkness and the roaring of tempests in the valley below. Such was the pure and sublime consolation which our Saviour experienced, when his heavenly Father had withdrawn from him the manifestations of his love, and left him in extreme and inexpressible desolation of spirit. He still possessed, though apparently and terribly forsaken, the consolation and the joy of faith. He could still recognise the bond of union, and still appropriate, as it were, his heavenly Father to himself, and say, '*My God! My God!*'" P. 156.

sanctification of the believer; who may attain *maturity* at some point in his earthly course, but *perfection* only when he lays down this life.

The indispensable sure cause, both instrumental and conditional, of this holiness, is faith. By faith we dare to look at Christ, and by faith we can do it; and looking, we are transformed into his likeness. So transformed, we love him whom we are like, and are animated with a loving sympathy which discards what he abhors, and affects what he delights in. "We hate the sins that made him mourn" and die. We stoop the once proud head gladly to the yoke which he pronounces easy. We welcome the refining fires of affliction. We glory in duties to be done "for his sake." (2 Cor. iv. 5; Rev. ii. 3; and many other places.)

And God "who never works upon mere lines or isolated points," God, who hath "wrought all our works" and graces "in us;" this God, who is our guide forever, pervades immensity with his perfect, unchangeable, triumphant will, that Israel shall be Holiness unto the Lord. The obedient winds and waves of the whole sea of events waft and rock and urge us to that goal—perfect holiness. Toss they their white crests never so passionately; though we "mount up to heaven, and go down again to the depths;" though our soul be "melted because of trouble," even so "he bringeth us unto our desired haven." "All things are ours," unto the end; and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's. And we go presently to him, whose we are. He is the "happy harbor of God's saints."

ARTICLE III.

MOSES.

The life, character, mission, and works of Moses, were left as a legacy to the Church in all future generations. It is a legacy of inestimable value. For Moses is one of the greatest characters that ever figured on the stage of the world. He is one of the most venerable, exalted, and distinguished of those saints, heroes, and worthies, whose deeds are recorded in the Old Testament Scriptures. With the exception of John the Baptist, the immediate forerunner of Christ, Moses stands at the head of God's prophets, or those persons who were selected to be the recipients of divine revelations and the messengers of his will to mankind. "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face." Deut. xxxiv. 10. He was greater than Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, or any of the others who executed the prophetic office. In a certain sense, he was greater than the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He was eminently honored of God by divine manifestations and communications, by the miracles wrought through his instrumentality, and by the high position to which he was exalted as the head and ruler of his people.

In contemplating Moses, there are so many points of view in which he presents himself, that we can merely glance at the more prominent events of his life and features of his character.

The first thing that strikes us, in connexion with his history as a whole, is, its division into three equal parts of forty years each. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty. One third of his life was spent in the palace of the king of Egypt, as the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter. The next forty years were passed as a shepherd in the land of Midian, where he

tended the flocks of Jethro, his father-in-law. At the age of eighty, he undertook his great mission, which occupied the remainder of his life.

We are to regard Moses as one of those extraordinary persons raised up by Providence to perform a special and important work. His mission was, to lead the children of Israel out of the bondage of Egypt, form them into a nation by giving them laws and institutions, and conduct them to the land of promise. He was obviously created, endowed, watched over, trained, educated, and preserved, for the accomplishment of this glorious and difficult enterprise. He was gifted by nature with a comely form, large understanding, and magnanimous spirit. He received all the advantages of education which royalty could procure: for he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, who were then the most enlightened, cultivated, and civilised people in the world. Brought up in the family and court of Pharaoh, accustomed to associate with princes and nobles, Moses acquired a spirit of dignity, elevation, and courage, that fitted him, in after years, to appear before that monarch, contend with him, and brave his anger and threatenings, without fear and trepidation. He was one of the Hebrew race, and connected by ties of closest sympathy with the oppressed and afflicted people whom he was to deliver. It cannot be doubted that he was early taught the true religion, particularly by a pious mother; that he was made acquainted with the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the covenant of Jehovah with them, and the promises made to them and their posterity, which insured them a glorious national future in this world, and to the truly pious among them, an everlasting inheritance in heaven. It was the apprehension of the truth on this subject, and the faith of Moses in God's word, that led him to cast in his lot with the despised Hebrews, identify himself with them and their fortunes, and share in their trials. "By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the recom-

pence of the reward." Moses grew up to manhood in Egypt an eye-witness of the sufferings of his people, in earnest sympathy for them, with a comprehension and foresight of the destiny before them, with ardent desires for their deliverance, and with an ever-growing purpose to devote himself to the accomplishment of it.

The forty years which he spent as a shepherd, in the land of Midian, must have exerted a powerful influence on his character. They largely aided to qualify him for the part which he afterwards acted. That space was chiefly passed in the silence and solitude of the desert, in the vicinity of those mountain summits—Horeb and Sinai—afterwards rendered sacred by the presence of God and delivery of the law. Here Moses had abundance of time for meditation, prayer, and communion with God, for self-culture, and growth in intellectual and moral excellence, undisturbed by the noise and busy hum of the world. During this period, advancing in age, wisdom, piety, and humility, he must have become a stronger, firmer, graver, and abler man.

This long experience of life in the desert also rendered Moses familiar with that form of existence, and fitted him to be the chosen leader of Israel in their subsequent journeyings for forty years in the wilderness.

We see, moreover, that Moses was under the special protection of Providence, which saved him from death by drowning in infancy, delivered him from the wrath of Pharaoh when he sought to kill him, and preserved his life in the midst of many perils. "Man is immortal till his work is done." During the first eighty years of his life, God was educating, training, and preparing Moses for the work and mission which he was to perform.

As a public man, Moses acted in a variety of characters or capacities. He was the deliverer of the children of Israel from the thralldom of Egypt, and the leader of the twelve tribes as they marched on their way to Canaan. He was their judge and ruler, the name of king being in one place applied to him. He was the mediator between Jehovah and the Israelites, and negotiated a covenant between them. He was a prophet and lawgiver, that is, he received from Jehovah instructions and laws, as well

as predictions of future events, which he delivered unto the people. He was a military commander, the organiser and director of the martial movements and expeditions undertaken by the children of Israel, during his leadership. He was a writer, both of history and poetry, of unequalled excellence in each of these departments of composition. If not in voice and manner an orator, yet, as to the matter of his discourses, Moses was evidently a fluent, powerful, and influential public speaker. He complained to the Lord that he was not eloquent, that he was a man of uncircumcised lips, which indicates that there was some defect in his mouth or vocal organs. Yet we find that, on divers occasions, Moses stood up and addressed the people with a ready flow of words, and with a marvellous wisdom and power of sentiment. Almost the whole book of Deuteronomy is one continuous discourse delivered by Moses to the Israelites, in the plains of Moab, on the east side of Jordan, opposite Jericho, a short time before his death. He rehearses their former history from the coming out of Egypt to that time, their rebellions, murmurings, wanderings, and the divine judgments upon them, and the giving of the law at Sinai. He also repeats both the ten commandments and the other statutes and ordinances which the Lord had delivered unto them. It is from this circumstance that that book is called *Deuteronomy*, which signifies the *second law*, because Moses then gave the law to the children of Israel a second time, by rehearsing it in their hearing. His speech is characterised by so much clearness, simplicity, wisdom, truthfulness, force, and vitality, that the author certainly merits the title of a powerful and eloquent speaker.

Here, then, are at least eight different characters in which Moses is exhibited to our view, and he excels in them all. He is by turns deliverer and leader of the Israelites, their supreme judge and ruler, the mediator between them and Jehovah, their religious teacher and lawgiver, their military captain, historian, poet, and orator. What other man, in the whole course of time, has combined so many various characters and offices in his own person, and acquitted himself so ably and honorably in each capacity?

The whole public career of Moses is full of stirring incident and dramatic interest. From the time God appeared to him in the burning bush, to the final destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, what a series of wonderful events passes before us, as recorded on the page of sacred history. Moses is the humble instrument selected by Jehovah to go and bring his afflicted people out of Egypt. Upheld by the power and aided by the miraculous judgments of the Lord, he at length effects the release of the children of Israel, and conducts them to the shore of the Red Sea. Here they suddenly behold the near approach of their enemies in hot pursuit, and their hearts melt with terror at the sight. But in a little while, through the agency of Moses, the sea is divided, and the Israelites pass over on dry ground, while the Egyptians, attempting to follow, are destroyed by the returning waters. The climax of miracles has been reached. Israel is completely delivered, and Moses, as the instrument employed by Jehovah to effect their redemption, stands before them in the sublime attitude of their national saviour. He is regarded by his brethren with wonder, veneration, and awe, and they have a stronger faith than ever in the divinity of his mission. "And Israel saw that great work which the Lord did upon the Egyptians; and the people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses."

On this occasion, Moses, by divine inspiration, composed the sublimest triumphal ode that was ever written by man. It is a magnificent outburst of joy and exultation for deliverance; of gratitude and praise to Jehovah for the displays of his power, wrath, and goodness; and of confident assurance of future victories over their enemies through his almighty arm. This song was sung by Moses and the children of Israel, and then by Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, and the women, with timbrels and dances. The complete redemption and triumph of the children of Israel thus celebrated, is an emblem of the final salvation and glorious victory of the Church. For as Moses and the Israelites were delivered from the power of Pharaoh, and vented their joyful emotions in a triumphant song, so Christ will ultimately redeem his people from the power of Satan, sin,

and death, and their victory will be celebrated with hallelujahs and rejoicings. "And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty!"

Having brought the people out of Egypt, Moses next becomes their leader to conduct and guide them through the wilderness to the land of Canaan. As in former times he had been a shepherd in the desert, and had the oversight of the flocks of his father-in-law, so now he was the shepherd of Israel, and had under his care and superintendence a multitude of people, numbering from two to three millions. It was a heavy burden, which was greatly increased by the waywardness, rebellion, and disobedience of the Israelites. Moses complained to the Lord of its crushing weight. "I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me." But God graciously sustained his spirit, so that he surmounted all difficulties, and finally brought his charge in sight of the promised land.

It is needless to dwell on the manner in which Moses executed the office of a judge and magistrate. To him all hard causes were brought, and he was the highest court of appeal in all matters of controversy. He also performed the general duties of a prince, ruler, or king.

At Mount Sinai, he received the law from Jehovah, and delivered it to the children of Israel, who promised to obey all the words spoken to them. He was thus the mediator of a national covenant between God and that people. In this respect he was a type of Christ, who is the glorious Mediator between God and men, in things spiritual. He establishes a covenant of peace between God and penitent believers, which secures to the latter eternal life. Hence, he is called the Mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises.

As a messenger of the divine will, a religious teacher and lawgiver, Moses occupies a lofty position. He is subordinate only to Jesus Christ, the founder of the gospel dispensation, as he was of the Levitical economy. "For the law was given by Moses; but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." In his prophetic office, Moses prefigured Christ. For he said unto

the children of Israel: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, like unto me: unto him ye shall hearken."

We do not find that Moses actually engaged in battle, but he organised the six hundred thousand men of Israel into an army. Portions of these were sent by him against the Amalekites and Midianites, who were defeated and destroyed, and the whole force was subsequently employed by Joshua to effect the conquest of Canaan. It is proper, therefore, to ascribe to Moses the qualities of a great military chief.

As an historian, he stands unrivalled for the antiquity of his writings, the truth of his narrative, and the importance of the facts which he has recorded. It is from his pages alone that mankind derive any rational and trustworthy account of the creation of the world, the origin of the human species, the fall of our first parents, the introduction of sin and death, the deluge, and other events connected with the early history of our race. It is he that acquaints us with the first promise of a Redeemer, the subsequent revelations and promises made to the patriarchs concerning a divine Saviour, and with all those events and miracles connected with the settlement of the Hebrews in Egypt, and their exodus from it. His five books are a precious storehouse of historical fact, doctrinal instruction, moral precept, and prophetic prediction.

Moses also left three poetical compositions, which place him in the very first rank of the writers of song. One is the triumphal ode already alluded to. Another is the song he wrote shortly before his death, which is found in Deuteronomy xxxii. 1-43. The third is the 90th Psalm, which bears the title, "A Prayer of Moses, the Man of God." All these productions are marked by a wonderful degree of fervor, spirit, and elevation. They abound both in the beautiful and the sublime.

Is it not amazing that God ever endowed one man with such a variety of gifts and powers, called him to act in so many different characters and situations, and enabled him to perform his manifold works so admirably and so well?

In forming an estimate of the character of Moses, we find

that its virtuous traits were many and strongly marked, yet so harmoniously developed as to present a beautiful symmetry. The basis of his character was a certain natural greatness, dignity, and elevation of soul, that made him superior to ordinary men. The mighty, magnanimous, and heroic spirit given to him by the Creator, was taught, disciplined, and improved by education, religion, court life in Egypt, pastoral experience in the desert, and the manifold influences by which he was affected. Divine grace operated with renovating power on his heart, sanctified to him the trials he endured, and imparted to his character its eminent excellence, strength, consistency, and beauty. The man Moses, in the maturity of his age and powers, was the glorious workmanship of God, a product of his creative, providential, and grace-dispensing hand. He made him what he was, and to him should be given all the praise and honor for his talents, worth, and achievements.

We may notice the eminent piety of Moses. This included the exercise of those affections and virtues that had immediate respect to God. The fear and love of God, profound reverence and awe of the divine majesty, adoration of his perfections, gratitude for his mercies, delight in the contemplation of his works, faith in his word, submission to his providence, and obedience to his will, were characteristics of Moses. He was accustomed to commune with God, both in ordinary exercises of devotion and prayer, and in those extraordinary interviews with which Jehovah favored him. This habitual intercourse with the high and holy One of Israel exerted a transforming influence on his character, and imparted to it a purity and worth that brightly reflected the divine image. The effulgent glory that illuminated his face after communing with God on the mount, was a visible emblem of the moral lustre that his spirit received and irradiated, in consequence of his familiarity with the divine presence.

As to those right moral feelings and virtues that are exercised in reference to other men, Moses exhibits a high standard of rectitude and goodness. He was distinguished by meekness under injuries and provocations, forbearance and patience, free-

dom from pride, malice, envy, jealousy, and revenge; by a benevolent concern for the welfare of his people, and warm attachment to them; and by justice, integrity, and uprightness in his dealings with them.

The virtues that directly related to himself, he also exercised in a high degree. He possessed great humility, that is, low thoughts of himself and feelings of deep abasement before God, temperance, moderation, and self-control, freedom from covetousness, ambition, and self-seeking.

In short, the animating motive, the governing principle of Moses, was fidelity to God, regard for his will, pleasure, and glory, conscientious convictions of duty. "Moses verily was faithful in all his house."

We are to derive profit from the contemplation of Moses, by striving to imitate his virtues. He is set before us as a bright and shining example of piety and moral worth, which we are to follow. It is true that Christ is the only perfect model presented for our imitation. But we are instructed and exhorted to seek after conformity to the character and life of those eminent saints brought to view in the Scriptures, so far as they were pious, pure, and holy. The example of Moses teaches us to cherish supreme love to God, and willing obedience to his commands; to forsake the pleasures of worldliness and sin for the kingdom of Christ; to cast in our lot with the people of God, and participate in their self-denials and trials in this life, that we may share in their endless rest and inheritance hereafter. His conduct instructs us to be fervently devotional, pious, and trustful towards God; meek, patient, forbearing, just, righteous, and benevolent towards our fellow men; humble, lowly, and contented as regards ourselves and our situation in the world. Its great lesson is, that we must be under the controlling influence of religious principle, a lively sense of obligation and duty.

We are not called to act the part of Moses. Yet each of us, in the providence of God, has a work and mission to perform. Whatever be the service allotted to us, let us engage in it with the spirit of Moses, that is, with zeal, earnestness, and fidelity to our divine Lord and Master.

The departure of Moses from this world was attended with circumstances of grandeur and glory that fully sustained the splendor of his previous career. As the glorious and unclouded setting of the sun on a summer's day harmonizes with the preceding brilliancy of his course, so the last scene in the life of Moses, his death, and burial, were a fitting termination of his earthly race. For speaking unadvisedly with his lips, whereby God was dishonored, he was forbidden to cross over Jordan, and enter into the land of Canaan. But the Lord graciously signified to him that he might ascend to the summit of a lofty hill, called Pisgah or Mount Nebo, and take a view of the country before he died. "And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar."

This was the last gaze of Moses upon the objects of earth. He obtained only a sight of the promised land, which he so earnestly longed to enter, but in a little while his ravished eyes were beholding the scenes and glories of the Paradise of God. He failed to attain the rest below, but gained the inheritance above, which was far better. Instead of crossing the river Jordan, which lay between him and the goodly land beyond, he crossed the river of death, and passed into heaven. Although he was not favored, like Enoch and Elijah, with direct translation to the skies, yet his death was scarcely less glorious than their departure without dying. His spirit took its flight from a high mountain, midway, as it were, between earth and heaven, and vanished from scenes of terrestrial glory, to reappear among the brighter glories and more blissful scenes of the celestial world. Moses also had the high honor and distinction of being buried, not with human hands, but by God himself. The place of his burial was concealed from the knowledge of men, lest the body and tomb of Moses should become an object of idolatry.

About fifteen hundred years after his death, Moses reappeared

on earth, in that very land of Canaan which he was forbidden to enter before his departure. In company with Elijah, he was present on the mount, at the scene of our Lord's transfiguration. These two men there appeared in glory, and talked with Christ of his approaching decease at Jerusalem. ' A cloud overshadowed them, and a voice was heard out of the cloud, saying, "This is my beloved Son, hear him."

This wonderful transaction was designed to teach the great truth that the law and the prophets were fulfilled in Jesus Christ and his atoning death; that the former dispensation was preparatory to the introduction of the Messiah's kingdom, which would be established in place of it; that henceforward a greater lawgiver than Moses, and a greater prophet than Elijah, was to reveal the truth and will of God to mankind. His words, it would be their duty to receive and obey. Moses was the giver, and representative of the law; Elijah was one of the greatest of the Old Testament prophets, and represented that ancient and venerable order of God's messengers. They both descend from heaven, stand with Christ on the mount, acknowledge his superiority to themselves, and lay their honors at his feet. They converse with him concerning his death, which was to be a sacrifice for sins, the end of the types and figures of the law, the fulfilment of the prophecies, and the bringing in of everlasting righteousness. Although Moses was great, Christ is infinitely greater. "For this man was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house hath more honor than the house. For every house is builded by some man, but he that built all things is God." Christ is God, and he is therefore exalted, at an immeasurable distance, above Moses.

ARTICLE IV.

THE CHURCH AND POLITICS.

The practical question now at issue between the Northern and Southern evangelical churches, is, Who is to blame, not for the past separation, but the present division? Why is it that they cannot again unite in communion?

In arguing this question, one charge, that of unwarrantable "meddling with politics," has been made the subject of crimination and recrimination, and has been bandied from side to side, until an impartial observer might suppose that both sides took very much the same ground on this question which we have heard a talkative lady say the male sex take when they hear women talking politics. Said she, "If we talk the politics of our male hearers, they see no impropriety in it; but they are mightily scandalized, and are not slow to inform us we are out of our sphere, when we talk the politics of the party which they oppose."

In all this clamor of contending sides, we have thought there was a strong call for a discussion of the principle which lies at the root of this question of the Church and politics. The principle is one of great importance and interest to us of the South. Our defence against those who openly call upon us to repent of the sins of slaveholding and rebellion, is, that in making these charges against us, the churches of the North are out of the sphere in which they legitimately belong.

Besides this, they also charge us with "meddling with politics," and this principle is necessary to our defence against this charge.

But the question has a yet deeper interest to us than any mere defence against the imputations of others. The Southern Churches are earnestly desirous to avoid "meddling in politics." While they instinctively see that certain actions are to be avoided

by us, it is evident they are not fully satisfied exactly where the line is to be laid down between what is wrong and what is innocent. They do not at all doubt that there is a principle on which such a line can be laid down, nor do they doubt the general nature of the principle. But that they cannot yet accurately define it to their own satisfaction, is evident from the various discussions with which Southern religious papers are filled. And therefore, any sensible contribution to the accurate decision of this principle is important.

Perhaps it may be sneeringly said to us of the South just here, that we never saw this truth or principle, until its supposed violation pressed hard upon us. Granting this were fully true, it is no reason for supposing that the principle is not a just one. There is scarcely a true principle of government which was not first discovered by its violation pressing hard on some class of persons who cried out that they were wronged, without perhaps at first understanding clearly what moral principle was violated in the inflicted wrong.

Without discussing the question, how far a mere feeling of personal inconvenience is the cause of our investigation of this subject, we do protest and claim to be heard on the ground that we are *now* actuated by motives of another kind, at least in part. We do not claim that, in these exciting times, Christians at the South are free from passion or prejudice; but we do believe we are entitled to claim that some of us are desirous also to establish true and just principles for their own sakes. Nay, more; we (the writer) do sincerely believe that the churches of the South are controlled by such persons.

In the name of these persons we claim to be heard by all who love the truth, in whatever section they may live, while we discuss this question and endeavor to establish sound principles. We protest we only desire to discover right principles, and are not prejudiced against truth. Claiming this, we have a right to a respectful hearing from all who love the truth. And we sincerely believe there are truth-lovers in the Northern churches who will hear us in the spirit in which we speak. Whether they will be able to subject the action of those churches to these right

principles, when the wave of excitement has gone over them, we are unable to say.

We first ask the question, Are the domains of Church and State so distinct that each can be confined to its own ground, and charged with meddling, if it ventures out of its boundaries?

Certainly, the domain of the State as constituted in other times and other countries, has not been so restricted in its field. The day has been when the State claimed the whole ground, and sought to regulate the whole domain of human action and even opinion.

And since the moral law, which the Church, so far as she is able, seeks to enforce, also claims to regulate all a man's actions and feelings, the domain of the two would have seemed to be identical.

In this time and country, however, the State has greatly narrowed the ground it claims. Without pretending to settle the abstract question, what should be the office of government, it is a sufficiently accurate statement for the purposes of the present argument, to say, that in this country it seeks to prohibit all those violations of the moral law which, if they became general, would destroy a progressive civilised society.

The Church in Protestant times has practically somewhat narrowed its ground, though there is still an overlapping territory; but we think it can be clearly shown that questions called political do not belong to this domain.

As a preliminary matter, it will perhaps be well to explain what we mean when we speak of the Church taking part in politics. And, first, as to politics. Political questions are either questions relating to the internal government of a country, or to affairs of general interest in the position which one country holds towards other countries. The latter are questions of international or the world's politics. Whenever political questions become matters of practical interest in any popular government, (and unless they are of practical interest, the churches are under no temptation to meddle in their settlement,) they become questions of party politics. In a popular government there always exist two parties, between which such questions are agitated until

settled by the ballot-box. In the settlement of questions of the world's politics, there are also parties or sides; but the decision is reached, sometimes by negotiation, oftener by the sword. In a popular government, when the parties become sectional, the questions at issue become akin to questions of the world's politics; and they become more nearly related to questions of international politics, when the sword is drawn and civil war inaugurated. If the strife be a strife for independence, of that kind which when successful is called a revolution, when unsuccessful, a rebellion, one of the very questions at issue, is, whether the matter shall be considered a question of the world's politics or of a nation's internal politics.

The first question to be settled is, how far these questions are questions of right and wrong. Those questions of party politics which are settled by votes, and those questions of international politics which are settled by negotiation, are, generally speaking, questions of mere expediency. But it is the *duty* of voters and negotiators to do what is expedient, so that the moral element enters into the action.

Questions of international politics, of a nation's internal politics, and the questions akin to both which lie on the debatable ground between them, are, when they are settled by bloodshed, usually questions of more than expediency. The question usually is, whether treaties in the one case, and laws and constitutions in the other, have not imposed on one party or the other an obligation to some course. Since, however, it is wrong for one party to refuse to fulfil an obligation, and wrong for the other to compel to the observance of an obligation where none exists, there is a distinct moral element in the actions of the two parties. The decision of the question generally turns upon the interpretation of some written instrument, and would be simple enough but that the cases which occasion the difficulty are usually such as were not directly contemplated by the framers of the instrument, and therefore the argument turns on the general intent and meaning of those persons.

It has been denied that these are moral questions, because the argument is, after all, not to be decided by a moral principle.

It is true that the argument is not so decided; but what is true in this case, will be found true of every question which can be called a moral question.*

Whenever it is asserted that political questions of the latter kind described, are not questions of right and wrong, a bit of misunderstood metaphysics lies at the root of the whole difficulty in this, as it does in so many other controversies. The true metaphysics of this case is that on which the science of moral philosophy rests; and it would, we think, be advisable to state it clearly in the beginning of every compend of moral philosophy. Wayland not only does not state it, but lays down conclusions regarding conscience at variance with it. It is as well, however, to add that the view we take is consistent with that of all writers who treat directly of metaphysical subjects, except those who derive our ideas of right and wrong from association, and those whose views would carry no weight whatever with the members of any of our evangelical churches. The principles of it are clearly laid down by Dr. McCosh in particular, in his *Intuitions of the Mind*.

What is called moral truth is derived from the intuitive convictions of the mind. Not that the mind has any intuitive knowledge of what we call moral principles, in the abstract generalised form in which we express them. The mind, or that faculty of the mind called the conscience, simply makes concrete judgments on particular cases presented to it; and by a process of abstraction and generalisation, we get from the concrete cases what we call moral principles, or general laws, the fruit of induction. For example, our intuitive convictions alone could not give us the general law, "*Children must not disobey fathers.*" We see a case of a particular son who disobeys a particular father; and the intellect perceiving the relation between them, pronounces the moral judgment that the son does wrong. Perceiving that this relation is a general one, and that the moral judgment is necessary and self-evident, we obtain by abstraction and

* We do not mean by this that there may not be a distinction between the two classes of questions, or that the last is not more properly a moral question. What this distinction is, will appear as we proceed.

generalisation, the principle or law, "*Children must not disobey fathers.*"

Where these moral judgments are made, it will always be found that the intellect sees some relation between the moral persons, one of whom is subject to the obligation. Sometimes the individual sees, or fancies he sees, a relation where none exists; sometimes he is interested in pronouncing or not pronouncing some particular moral judgment; and in that case, by the power which his will has of bringing certain things before his imagination and neglecting others, he causes the intellect to perceive only imaginary relations, and then the conscience draws moral judgments which would be true if the relation were true, (and the relation would be true, if what the will placed before the imagination were true.) The relation, however, is imaginary; but being regarded as true, the moral judgment is not only imaginary, but false.*

* Neither intellect nor conscience give false judgments. Their judgments never are anything but conditioned upon the truth of the previous process on which they depend. But this does not prevent these conclusions from being self-evident and necessary: and they are not conditional in any sense which interferes with self-evidence and necessity. We do not mean that the speculative or moral judgments put their conclusions in *direct* conditional form. The speculative judgment says, "there is a certain relation between the persons present before my imagination or senses;" and the moral judgment says, "one of these persons is therefore under certain obligations to the other." Neither speculative nor moral judgment expresses any belief in the truth of what the imagination or senses perceive, nor do they express any belief in its falsehood, nor yet do they think it doubtful. Their conclusions are conditional upon its truth, just as the conclusion of a syllogism is conditioned on the truth of the premises. It may be noticed by any one who will take the trouble to observe, that in a dispute on any point of wrong, (unless it be about the validity of all obligation, and such disputers invariably admit and sanction in practice what they deny in theory,) the dispute always turns upon the conditions on which the judgment is true. The parties always argue on the supposition that the conditions being true, the moral judgment is true, and the same in all men. They may not say so in words, but the whole argument is built on this assumption. It is so self-evidently, necessarily, and universally true, that it is not necessary to state it. All of our intuitive judgments are conditional, except those dealing with the abstract relations of

The dispute, in what are properly called moral questions, is always about the relation which the intellect perceives; but men agree in the judgment, if they agree with regard to the relation. If this were not so, if one man's moral sense gave him by intuition as a self-evident and necessary judgment what another man's moral sense denied, the moral sense would prove itself utterly untrustworthy; and there would be no common foundation on which to argue about moral questions at all. Those who deny the validity of moral obligations, and those who found them on association of ideas, will, in arguing on that very topic, assume moral judgments as self-evident and necessary.

In some cases, the moral judgments of different men seem to have a greater agreement than in others, because we are agreed as to the existence of the relation on which the judgment is founded; and this is more especially true when the relation is founded on what is addressed to the eye, or some other sense, and consequently men cannot help seeing it. Thus, men are everywhere agreed that children should obey parents.

If only those questions are to be regarded as moral questions, in which the judgment does not depend on a previous settlement of something perceived or deduced by the intellect, then are there no such things as moral questions at all; since all moral judgments are conditional on the truth of some intellectual judgment. But those are more appropriately called moral questions in which the decision depends on a dispute about a relation between persons on which the moral judgment is conditioned; and therefore the second class of political questions above stated

number, which are directly perceived by the mind, and therefore the judgment, being founded on what is necessarily true, is a dogmatic assertion. But when relations of number are viewed, not abstractly from things, but as relations between actual things, the judgments founded on them are conditional. The conclusions of Newton's *Principia*, so far as they are conclusions regarding abstract numbers, are unconditionally true; but as applied to things, to the solar system, for example, they are conditional on the accuracy of Newton's observations, and the observations of others, on which he built.

We have thrown this abstract discussion into a note, because, carried to this length, it will not interest everybody.

is more properly called moral than the first. Where a moral judgment depends on a long train of reasoning which can be formally expressed in a string of syllogisms; we may pursue the moral decision expressed in the conclusion from premiss to premiss, and from syllogism to syllogism, and it will be found, if there is doubt about the validity of the moral judgment, it is always because some relation of persons on which it depends, is doubtful.

It will next be best to inquire what means the churches possess to enable them to "*meddle in politics.*" How could they seek to control political issues, or the actions of individuals affecting them? These means are of two kinds. The ministers of the churches could in sermons seek to induce their hearers to cast votes for either party; or in the various church courts and legislative assemblies, the various evangelical churches could pronounce what they intend to be authoritative decisions on political questions, and pushing the matter to extremes, erect these decisions into tests of communion which should exclude all men who hold and act upon certain political opinions. This last mode of taking part in politics, we shall discuss first, as its discussion will consume the greater time and space. The evangelical churches at the North have not only laid down decisions in regard to slavery and the "*rebellion*"; but they have erected them into tests of communion. This has been done by Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches; and our defence concerns all, though from the less compact nature of the Baptist denomination, the question with them takes less definite shape.

The separation in those churches which still had a Northern and Southern wing, was, in 1860 and 1861, brought about mainly by the supposition that two separate governments would exist in the territory of the old United States. The separation was a matter of convenience, never intended to affect or prevent intercommunion. When the Confederate government failed, the door of return was closed in the face of the Southern churches, by the erection in the Northern churches of new tests of communion, requiring repentance of the sins of slaveholding and

“*rebellion*” before the churches could be reunited. The precise weight of this now celebrated decision, it would perhaps be hard exactly to determine. The Presbyterian Church, with which we of the South were formerly connected, was at least so divided in making this decision, that any attempt to carry it out to its legitimate consequences would probably cause a disruption; if, indeed, there is any respectable number of persons among them who would face all the logical consequences. If intended to affect anybody, it must affect, not the Southern Church at large, but the individuals composing it; since not the Church at large, but the individuals composing it are guilty, and can repent of slaveholding and rebellion. If persons are unfit to be received into the Northern churches until they repent of these so-called sins, they are unfit to be invited to occasional communion. It is probably true that an attempt fully to enforce this, to prohibit all ministers from inviting Southern Christians to communion, and the effort to discipline those who do this,—Dr. Van Dyke, for example,—would end in sending many prominent men out of the Northern branch of the Church.

Though such results as these were probably not contemplated by those most concerned in bringing about this decision in the Northern churches, and likely would be repudiated in practice, they follow logically and consistently from that decision.

If it be said, the decision was intended to affect, not individuals, but the Church at large; we again ask, how can the Church at large, even the synods and presbyteries, repent, except by the repentance of the individual members? Neither synods nor presbyteries are persons, with souls, and a sense of right and wrong, and capable of repentance, except by the repentance of the individuals composing them. If it should be said this decision was intended to apply to the case of presbyteries desiring to leave the Southern churches and join the Northern, and would be sufficiently carried out, if in such cases a majority, controlling the body, formally acknowledged and professed sorrow for the so-called sins; we reply, would there not be inconsistency, nay, absurdity, in excusing the minority from repentance?

Perhaps it may be said this decision was only intended to

affect the combined action of the Church in giving authority to ministers and teachers. It is intended, however, to do something more than restrain ministers from things innocent or doubtful, but which are not for edification; because, in that case, repentance would not be spoken of. With regard to things wrong, to be repented of, ministers and people are to be judged by the same rule, and the requirements for both are the same; though a minister may, to a greater degree than a private person, be called on in innocent things to restrain his liberty so as to keep or increase his influence or that of the Church. Where men are called upon to repent, they should be excommunicated, unless they do repent. Hence this would make this decision a test of communion.

The truth is, this decision is just as much a sentence of excommunication against a number of people as even excited persons in this nineteenth century can persuade themselves to fulminate. It fails to be this, fully and completely, because even excited people could not avoid a lurking feeling that the premises were not such as to warrant a sweeping sentence of excommunication.

In speaking of it as "excommunication," we do not mean to charge upon our brethren that they justify all these odious consequences. They would probably not agree how far the decision ought to be carried out to its consequences. But unless the decision is a mere dead letter, a mere passionate utterance, meaning nothing, if it have any practical force at all, it is the force,—perhaps a modified force, but still the *actual* force—the weight of *excommunication*. It is excommunication in *kind*, if not in the *degree* to which excommunication has been carried.

To this decision (and the principle involved in making decisions of this kind,) the present separation between the Northern and Southern churches is owing. In the Episcopal Church it has ceased, because no such tests were required.

The ground taken by the Southern churches is that this was an unwarranted meddling with politics. We do not take the ground that it was right to make a decision in such a case, but wrong to decide the question against slaveholders and so-called

rebels. We hold that there should have been no decision at all on either point, and more particularly the last. We hold that it would have been equally wrong for us, (whether secession had been successful or not,) to have decided that we would not hold intercommunion with the Northern Church on account of what we considered their war of aggression on us. Any decision in such a case is wrong, just as it would have been wrong had the evangelical churches in England and America, at the close of the Revolutionary war, required from each other's members, as a preliminary to reception into the churches of the other side, a repentance for the part taken by individuals for one side or the other in that contest.

In arguing this question, we of course cannot settle it by a direct appeal to Scripture, in which we seek to find some formal prohibition to the Church of God from taking part in politics. Nothing of that kind is found in the Sacred Writings, since they say nothing of what, in countries under a popular government, is called party politics. In fact, all questions of moral philosophy, (and this is really a question in moral philosophy,) are in Scripture settled by a few general principles, from which we must deduce directions for particular cases. Therefore, this question must be involved in some other and more general principle in which we must seek a solution.

The question is really, so far as it is more than a mere decision without results, but one form of the old question between private right and professed authority. A right to the Church sacraments and to Church privileges is the right of every professed believer in Christ who conforms to the moral law.

It will probably be said that the Church of God claims a right to enforce the moral law over a man's whole being, acts, feelings, thoughts, and consequently the Church has a right to decide this question, whether slaveholders and so-called rebels had committed sin in being such.

There is certainly one marked limitation to the Church's power of enforcing the moral law. There are certain actions which can only be considered right or wrong according to the motive with which they are performed. Of motives the churches can

not possibly judge; and consequently, though they may exhort and teach in general terms, they cannot enforce by punishments for such violations of the moral law. But there is another class of human actions, to which belong slaveholding and what our adversaries call rebellion, whose innocence or guilt depends on a train or process of reasoning which shall prove it a particular dereliction of the one general moral law, duty to God, which is the basis of the deductive science of moral philosophy. There may be various arguments and various conclusions coming from minds of various powers, and influenced by various prejudices; but for all that, (and here our adversaries will, we suppose, fully agree with us,) truth is one, and right and wrong unchangeable. We fully agree that men are responsible for their opinions and the actions based upon them, and the guilt or innocence of either or both sides does not depend upon the fact that they thought or argued themselves into thinking that they were right. Either we were released from obligations to the United States government by the right of secession or the right of revolution, or else we were not released. In the former case, they have committed sin; and in the latter case, we have committed it. In the sight of God, a moral responsibility attaches to some persons for every man killed in the late war; and the fact that we cannot agree as to the side to which the responsibility attaches, (if to either alone,) does not at all remove the responsibility. God's eternal scales can weigh and decide, may have already decided, and branded the guilty with an invisible brand, though they may now be warmly charging the guilt on the other side.*

* It is sometimes said we were not guilty of "*rebellion*," because in Scripture the word rebellion is applied, not to opposition to a particular government or set of laws, but to opposition to all laws. But this is merely a dispute about the application of a word. As for the mere words rebels and rebellion, they have been so often applied to glorious things and peoples, we care very little for them. But even if it can be shown that the word, as used in Scripture, is only applicable to those who set themselves against all law, there still remains behind, the moral question, did we or did we not violate obligation in seceding from the United States.

Then, since this is an undoubted question of right and wrong, it may be said, has not the Church the authority to decide such a question? It may be asked, since this is a case in which, in whatever way a man decides, he runs the risk of committing a great sin; in the one case of committing the sin of rebellion, in the other of waging an unjust aggressive war; and since the question is undoubtedly one of morals, and also one in which there is great diversity of opinion, in which a decision, especially to the simple-minded Christian, is very difficult,—it may be asked, we say, are not the churches justifiable, nay, are they not *bound* to say what is right, to lay down the rule authoritatively, for the guidance both of their own children and also of such of the world's people as care to avoid what is wrong?

We have thus stated the case, as we suppose it presents itself most forcibly to those who advocate or are inclined to the other side.

To this we reply: A right to *enforce* the decisions of the moral law, the churches undoubtedly have—it is the right, not merely of those large ecclesiastical bodies called churches, but of the smaller local bodies also, called by the same name. But to enforce an already understood law, and to decide what law is, are two different things. It would probably be replied, that to enforce implies a decision. It certainly implies a decision, and implies that the persons enforcing unite in the decision; but it does not necessarily imply that they have a right to decide on their own sole authority. It will, we suppose, be replied that it is not pretended the Church has a right to decide contrary to Scripture. At the very bottom of the matter, however, lies the question, who is to decide as to the interpretation of Scripture.

In the question, as it stands between us and the Northern churches, there are evidently two points involved. One is the abstract right of the churches to decide controverted questions of right and wrong; the other is the right to make such decisions of controverted questions tests of communion. The first point is an interesting one, as involving a principle which would greatly assist us of the South in determining our practice in regard to

the Church and politics, a matter in which we are greatly concerned, and regarding which many of our leading minds are now engaged in thoughtful study.

The last point is essential to repel the imputation that we of the South are responsible for the division between Northern and Southern churches; since the ecclesiastical action of the Northern General Assembly plainly contemplates some practical result; and the only intelligible practical result would be one which, in some way, affected the rights of communion.

The first question is a question between church authority and the right of private judgment.

The second question is one between church authority and private right to the sacraments. A right to the sacraments is the right of every private professed believer in Christ.

If now, we were to lay down a theory of Church authority, with no matter how much wisdom, discretion, and regard for reason and Scripture, it would have very little weight if the churches were accustomed in practice to exercise a higher authority than that which we granted them. If, however, we can show that they do always carefully refrain from exercising such authority, and can clearly deduce from their practice a theory forbidding it, which we show to be not inconsistent with reason and Scripture, we shall place this theory on a very strong foundation.

We shall first deduce this theory from the practice of the churches; and shall afterwards proceed to present various considerations, founded on reason and Scripture, supporting the different parts of it.

In discussing this question, we shall not enter into any lengthened consideration of the formal declarations of any of the evangelical churches regarding Church authority. One reason is, that the present writer, though a Presbyterian, seeks so to put this case as to make it a defence of all the Southern evangelical churches. Another reason is, that where the declaration of a particular church differs from the theory which it (in common with all other evangelical churches) practises, we care little for the torpid and moribund declaration. The theory

which we lay down will be found, however, rather to enlarge than contradict any such declarations. The declarations pretty generally refer to a body whose existence under one organisation is purely imaginary, the Church universal, or the body of the regenerate of all times and ages, with which no evangelical church pretends to be commensurate. Where the practice might at first view seem to deviate from the theory, it will be found to arise from the fact that no Baptist, Presbyterian, or Methodist body arrogates to itself the authority which it attributes to the Church universal, or body of the redeemed of all times and ages.

Before beginning our inquiry into the practice of the evangelical churches, it is as well to say that by evangelical churches we mean those Protestant bodies which so hold the doctrine of justification by faith alone, (and they can consistently hold it in no other way,) as to contradict the views of sacramental or baptismal regeneration. Sometimes these bodies quarrel a little among themselves, and accuse each other of favoring baptismal regeneration in their formulas of doctrine; but whatever may be said of the formulas, the way in which the charge is made shows that both parties disbelieve the dogma. Those who believe in the kindred doctrines of baptismal regeneration and apostolical succession, entertain and practise, (so far as they can,) very different views of Church authority from those we advocate. It is a curious fact, however, that such decisions as those we are impugning come not from those bodies at the North which hold these high views of Church authority.

We are now prepared to establish our first point, viz., the theory to be deduced from the practice of the various evangelical churches.

The evangelical churches of this day, act on two very different views of their own authority, when their regulations concern the rights of their members, and when they concern those duties which the churches owe to their members and the world.

As regards the right of private members, they are in entire and remarkable unanimity. They take the view that all regenerate persons have a right to the sacraments, making no other

test of communion than regeneration ; and accepting a not obviously false profession on the part of the person desiring the sacraments as a proof of regeneration. At the time of the reception of members, they put this profession to no other test than to ask the candidate a few questions, to make sure that he understands what they mean by regeneration. So that their terms of communion may perhaps be most correctly stated to be *a not obviously false profession of faith in Christ*, which implies regeneration.

They require no further profession of belief than is involved in regeneration. Of course, this involves the few simple essential doctrines of Christianity. They do not exclude from the sacraments except for conduct which proves a man to be either unregenerate or a backslider. Where there is any doubt, they give the benefit of the doubt to the accused person, ascertaining questions of fact precisely as courts of law do, only being subject to a disadvantage which courts of law do not suffer under, viz., want of power to subpoena witnesses.*

The terms of communion and excommunication agree so remarkably in the evangelical churches that they are really in unity on this point ; and as a consequence, intercommunion between the members of these bodies is very generally practised. This is so true, that mere questions of convenience and expediency do often, without the smallest scandal, determine and cause a transfer of church membership from one of these bodies to the other. This intercommunion among evangelical churches is perfect, except in the case of the Baptists, with whom the only bar is a formal one, arising from certain views of the sacraments ; and in this case, the different custom is not intended to convey any condemnation of the character of Christians in other churches, and is no bar to Christian fellowship. Even this restriction, however, on the perfect intercommunion existing between the evangelical churches, has provoked much hostile

* This want of power to subpoena witnesses, has caused some very undeserved imputations on Church discipline, from those who are glad to bring charges against the purity of the Church.

criticism, with the justice or injustice of which we have at present no concern.

The intercommunion between the various evangelical churches in the same country is, as far as the private members are concerned, nearly as perfect as between the members of the same church in different countries. Although there is much formality observed when a minister transfers his allegiance from the Presbyterian to the Methodist church; when a private member in the Presbyterian church becomes a Methodist, the change required is so slight, and the matter so purely formal, that it amounts to very little more than would be required if a member of one of the Presbyterian bodies in Scotland came to the United States and desired to join one of the Presbyterian bodies in this country.*

On the other hand, as regards the duties which the churches owe to their private members and the world, they take a different view of their authority; and here they vary among themselves, and only partially agree in practice. These duties are fulfilled through the ministers and other church officers; and from them the churches require adherence to many things not required from church members. The church does not infringe upon their rights in doing so; since the church officers hold their membership on precisely the same terms as the rest of the body, while the office is a trust voluntarily assumed. If the assumption of it requires anything which a man cannot conscientiously, or does not willingly adhere to, the minister or officer need not assume it; and there is no infringement on his rights in doing so.

* There is, in fact, a substantial unity between all orthodox Protestant churches, as far as regards the rights of private members. We do not pretend to argue the question whether this is the unity which Christ required Christians to maintain. Of the large body of members of evangelical churches who would not, as a fact, deny the existence of this substantial unity to which we refer, (indeed *could not* deny it,) a great many would take the ground that the unity required by Christ is of another kind. We contend for this unity only so far as this class of persons would be willing to concede it,—merely as *a question of fact*.

We may give the following as an example of the foregoing general statements. The Calvinistic bodies on the one hand, and the Arminian on the other, do not think any other than their own metaphysical views logically consistent with the doctrines of man's free will and responsibility; but both Calvinists and Arminians think that private individuals may hold either view, and by a happy inconsistency believe in enough of the truth to *be regenerate*; and therefore neither Calvinists nor Arminians require of private members any formal adherence to the metaphysical theory of either party. But of a minister they generally require a formal adherence; and would silence any teacher in the Church—some of them perhaps even a Sunday-school teacher—who openly should teach what they consider the false view. There is among them a frequent interchange of the services of the pulpit; but with the understanding that the preacher will preach no distinctive doctrine of his own sect.

We have shown in what respect evangelical Christians of this day have a substantial unity, viz., in respect of the terms on which they grant participation in the sacraments. But we can go still further than this, for if we take all of the smaller associations which together constitute the universal body of the regenerate of all times and ages, we shall find that the terms of communion in the evangelical churches of the present day are such, that, were all the regenerate of all ages present, we should have no tests of communion which would exclude them from communion with us.*

The reader will observe that we do not say that churches of evangelical Christians *in all times* had such tests of communion that they did not exclude evangelical Christians of all times; but merely that most churches of *the present day* have no tests which would exclude any Christian of any time. We are deducing our theory from the general practice of the evangelical churches of *the present day*; and in their practice there are no

* We of course refer not to formal tests which Baptists have, but to such tests as convey an imputation on the Christian character. Other denominations have no formal tests even.

tests which would exclude from communion regenerate persons of any time. It is important not to misunderstand us here.

In this day, the churches do very generally, when they act deliberately and free from the influence of any temporary excitement, follow out to its logical conclusions the view that all regenerate persons have a right to the sacraments; and that a not obviously false profession of faith in Christ must be accepted as a proof of actual regeneration, and all doubts be interpreted in favor of the person making the profession. They would probably (when forming a *deliberate* opinion) consider the guilt of any action doubtful, which any considerable body of the certainly regenerate of any age deliberately approved, and would give the benefit of the doubt to a candidate for the sacraments. There seems no reason to suppose that any body of the regenerate, unbiassed by temporary excitement, would require from Southern Christians repentance for the sins of slaveholding or "*rebellion*" before granting them the sacraments.

In fact, the evangelical churches have, especially in later times, been very slow to assume the office of deciding who were the guilty persons in great political causes when there was undoubted guilt on one side or the other. There have in constitutional countries been many rebellions which never won any higher title than rebellions; and there have been others which have won the title of revolutions; and there have been wars in which not only kings and kaisers but the people were the agents; and always in such cases, somebody or some class of people must incur moral guilt of greater or less degree, and of course somebody's conduct is worthy of reprobation, if only there were a competent authority to say on which side the guilt lies. Nations have frequently taken up arms to enforce obligations derived, or supposed to be derived, from treaties; and in such questions, the whole matter turned either upon the general intent or meaning of treaties or the interpretation of some particular clause in them. No evangelical churches ever required their members on pain of excommunication to hold and act upon either view, and no ministers who held either view were ever silenced until they should repent of the sins they committed. The United States

has been engaged in two wars with Great Britain, in which one side or the other (or both) had a heavy load of guilt. But Protestant churches have not been willing to parallel their conduct with that of the Popes in the Middle Ages, who always fulminated excommunication against the opponents of their allies. Even the Pope now excommunicates very sparingly.

Before completing this deduction from the theory of the Protestant evangelical churches of the present day, there is still another point to be stated. If we make the supposition, that they consider it their business to *enforce* the moral law and exhort to the duties flowing from it, rather than to *decide* questions in it, we shall find that this theory will certainly explain their conduct. It is true that decisions must be assumed as a basis for enforcement and exhortation; but the churches do not assume such decisions by virtue of any independent authority vested in them to decide the moral law. The Bible interpreted by private judgment, is the basis of their decisions. When any delinquent is charged with a violation of any particular point of the moral law, the decisions which they assume in order to enforce them, are those of all classes of the entire body of regenerate persons of all time who have ever arrived at any conclusion at all regarding this point of the law. In order to assume and enforce such a decision, it is of course necessary that all classes of the regenerate who have arrived at any conclusion on the subject agree in their conclusions. In such a case the churches run no risk of interference with the right of any regenerate person to the sacraments; nor with the right of any accused person to the benefit of the doubt. Nor can they be said to claim any authority over the private judgment of those whom they exclude. They are, by merely adopting the decisions of the whole body of Christians, enabled to place those whom they deprive of the sacraments in the following dilemma: Either the private judgment of the excommunicated person does not make the decisions which they assume; and in that case he is unregenerate; or else it does make them, and the delinquent disobeys them; and in that case he is equally unfit for communion, and has no injustice done him.

We do not mean to say that in the action of the evangelical churches of the present day, instances may not be found, (like the case of the Northern churches, which is the subject of this article,) in which they act on other principles. But no evangelical Christians approve such acts, except those who are biassed by interest or temporary excitement. The churches, too, in such instances, always show some indications that they are conscious of a want of right to make decisions, as such, for private judgment; since they generally make such decisions, as if for the practical purpose of enforcing, and yet show that they feel their own decisions are fallible by failing to carry out to its logical consequences the practical enforcement of the point decided. Both supports are weak, the claim to decide and the right to enforce in these particular cases; and so the decision seems intended to rest partly on both supports. All the action of the evangelical churches supports the view we take. These churches are associations of regenerate persons for combined action in enforcing the moral law, as developed by the gospel; for exhorting the Church and the world to duties based on that law, and for celebrating the sacraments. (We do not mean of course to say what the churches *ought* to be; but simply what they *are*. It is a mere question of *fact*.)

Their creeds are not, as represented on the one hand by the interested advocates of spiritual tyranny and by infidels on the other, dogmatic decisions which their members are to receive as authoritative settlements. They are simply statements of the principles of belief on the basis of which their private members combine to enforce the moral law; to unite in the administration and reception of the sacraments, and in having the gospel preached.

To some parts of these creeds, the private members fully subscribe; but this is not because the churches exercise any right to decide what private members are to believe, and in the exercise of this right order those members to believe those articles, (belief in which is essential to regeneration,) and because the private members acknowledging this right, obey by believing. The churches are in this respect not associations to make people

by authority believe in these things; they are simply associations of persons who *already do believe* in them. For example, it is an article of their creeds that the Bible is to be believed; and the private members do believe the Bible. But the Bible is not believed on their authority; but they, on the contrary, derive authority from it. The declaration of belief in the Bible is put in their creeds merely to let the world know the basis on which they unite, and to warn from their folds all who cannot unite with them on that basis.

The distinctive articles in the creed of each church are only so far subscribed to by the whole membership, that they can conscientiously and do support exhortations to duty, (or in other words, the preaching of the gospel,) based on those distinctive articles. Such articles are formally stated, because it is both right and wise to let the world know that each particular church is an association for combined action in providing for the preaching of the gospel on the basis of those distinctive articles. The church members have before joining the church decided at least that they can conscientiously combine to support the gospel preached on such a basis of doctrine.

Nor is it true that they *require* ministers to believe those articles in which their creeds differ. Of course, no man could consistently preach the gospel on that basis, except one who believed it; and therefore each particular evangelical church licenses as ministers only such men as believe all articles of its creed. It would be an utter perversion of the principles of their practice to say that they *require* ministers to believe their creeds. The true statement is, that they only sustain and license those ministers who do believe them.

This view that the churches consider it their business only to enforce, and not to decide moral questions, and rather assume a decision in order to enforce them, than decide them, is at once a defence to the churches against those who would make them engines of spiritual tyranny, and those infidels and semi-infidels in the present day, who represent their creeds as an infringement on the rights of conscience. One can scarcely read a single number of the *Westminster Review* without finding some com-

plaint of the tyranny exercised by those Christians who withdraw their support, pecuniary and moral, from a minister—their paid agent—(who of course voluntarily assumed the trust,) because he preaches infidelity.

It is only by the assumption of some definite basis of doctrine that combined action in support of the preaching of the gospel is possible; for it is necessary in urging to certain duties to *assume* the truths on which those duties are founded. Not that the churches cannot prove those truths by evidence, and do not make provision to have them proved on proper occasions; but if their ministers were all the time proving, and never could be entitled to assume one conclusion as a basis for another, they never would get beyond proving the conclusion to the first syllogism, and never would exhort to duty. Taking this view, that the churches neither consider it their duty to promulgate dogmatic decisions for the people's private judgments to obey as authority, nor yet to help to true decisions by having the reasons on both sides argued, but rather to assume decisions which at proper times they can prove, we find the ministers of the churches justified in the course they take in presenting direct arguments mainly on one side, and only *noticing* (and noticing as "*objections*,"") the views of those who attack these assumed doctrines. This is not dogmatic teaching, though it is undoubtedly true that ministers of the gospel do not always accurately discriminate it from dogmatic teaching, and so are guilty of that teaching; but for this the churches are not to blame.

As we have shown, it is only by such assumptions that combined action is possible, not only in religious matters, but in all other matters. It is impossible for exhortation to duty to be made at all without such assumptions, and this follows directly from the true metaphysics of the question laid down in the beginning of this article, since (as we showed) every moral judgment whatever is impossible until an intellectual question is previously decided; and therefore the intellectual decision must be assumed in order to exhort to duty based on the moral judgment. This is not only true to those who believe the morality founded on the Bible. It was equally true of the moral judgments passed by

Confucius or Plato, that they depended on the previous settlement of an intellectual question.

The often observed incapacity of infidels for combined action in moral matters, arises from their contempt of assumptions for these legitimate purposes. In moral and religious matters, they will not admit anything as proved, and of course cannot get beyond the very first principle: But in secular things they constantly make assumptions in this legitimate way—nay, individually, they assume enough to pass moral judgments of censure on others, on Christians in particular.

If it be the business of the churches directly to decide, or cause to be decided, speculative questions, they must either do this dogmatically, or else by laying both sides before hearers and leaving them to decide; in which case each minister would either be forced to assume one conclusion as proved and go on to another, or always be hammering at that one. A church not built on some assumed basis of doctrine, whether formally expressed or not in a "creed," could stand but a very short time, since each minister would of course exhort on the basis of his own belief, and after a while those whose paid agent he is, would get tired of paying him to exhort to duty on a basis of assumptions which they consider false. It is evidently necessary to make such assumptions in order to have any combined action at all; and it is fairer, wiser, more expedient, to have them distinctly and definitely stated. The indefinite and in some respects really inconsistent basis of moral exhortation in the Church of England, has not so soon had the practical effect of disruption, because that Church does not depend on voluntary contributions of individuals for support. It is now producing such varied and utterly inconsistent false teaching, that it seems as if the large body of good people in it could not long give their moral support to teaching based on assumptions which they cannot make, and consider utterly false.

In this long deduction of the theory of the evangelical churches from their practice, we have not proceeded so systematically, and therefore hardly so clearly, as we might have done, had we not, (as the intelligent reader probably sees,) been constructing

an *argumentum ad hominem*. In this respect, the practice of the evangelical churches is ahead of their theory. Their practice is certainly not inconsistent with Scripture, properly interpreted; and is mainly only an extension of their formal theories, and not contradictory of them in a certainly not unfair sense of those formal statements; but many of their ministers and members who unite in the common practice have held, with some warmth of prejudice, a contrary interpretation of the formal theory. It is in order to avoid exciting this prejudice that we have first discussed, and that not so systematically as might otherwise have been advisable, this theory, as derived from their practice.

In summing up, we shall put the points in more systematic order.

1. The churches regard the sacraments as the right of every professed believer in Christ who does not make an obviously false profession.

2. Where they punish by depriving of rights, they give the benefit of the doubt to the accused.

3. They do not exercise any right to decide the moral law.

4. They enforce it by deprivation of the sacraments, where they can assume the united decisions of all the regenerate of all ages who have arrived at any conclusion regarding the particular point to be enforced.

This point may be somewhat differently expressed, by saying that they consider no law of sufficiently undoubted authority to enforce by deprivation of the sacraments, the violation of which would not plainly prove a man to be either unregenerate or a backslider.

5. Where they assume intellectual decisions (creeds) as a basis for the preaching of the gospel, church members are only expected to believe them so far true that they can conscientiously and do support preaching of the gospel based on them.

On the above theory faithfully carried out, the churches are free from the imputation of supporting spiritual tyranny; and can also satisfactorily answer infidels who charge them with it.

It may perhaps be said of our argument that we have deduced

it from the *practice* of the churches; and that they may have been betrayed into wrong practices. We shall therefore discuss directly the four following points :

I. The Church has no right to deprive of the sacraments except for conduct which clearly proves a man to be either unregenerate or a backslider.

II. The benefit of the doubt must be given to the accused.

III. The churches have no right to decide moral questions for the consciences of believers.

IV. The churches can assume decisions which will enable them to enforce the moral law.

I. The Church has no right to deprive of the sacraments except for conduct which clearly proves a man to be either unregenerate or a backslider.

This of course depends on the fact that all professed believers in Christ have a right to the sacraments, unless the profession is an obviously false one. In order to establish this point, it is only necessary to refer to the conversation between Philip and the eunuch in the book of Acts, or to the apostolical commission. The point will hardly be disputed, however.

II. The second point, that the benefit of the doubt must be given to the accused, is a maxim of law so well known that it is hardly necessary to say anything to support it.

III. The churches have no right to decide moral questions for the consciences of believers. Let us state distinctly what we deny and what we do not deny. We do not deny that Scripture confers some sort of authority on the Church; we only deny that it is an authority to decide moral questions for the consciences of believers. This is a negative argument; and therefore a denial of an argument of some supposed opponent. As our opponent is imaginary, we shall have to suppose his argument; and accordingly we imagine that our opponent would say that Scripture conferred this authority on the Church. Now, the negative can only be indirectly proved, by the *reductio ad absurdum*. In such a case, the absurdity might be either in the idea which it would be asserted Scripture intended to convey, or else it might be absurd on grounds of grammar and philology so

to construe Scripture. To undertake to discuss the grammatical and philological question would lead us into a lengthened argument, in which it would be necessary, in order to have anything like a proper discussion of the matter, to leave translations, and consider the question on the grounds of Greek grammar and philology.

A *reductio ad absurdum*, with regard to the idea conveyed in any passage of Scripture, always implies a *reductio ad absurdum* with regard to the grammar and philology used to establish that meaning. Therefore, we shall at present undertake only the argument with regard to the idea.

If Scripture intended to confer this authority on the Church, it certainly did so with the expectation that it would in some way induce obedience, since this is included in the very idea of authority. If now we can show that in all cases in which the exercise of this supposed authority could be imagined, it would be either impossible to exercise it, or else it would be wrong to obey it, or else, again, the authority would be utterly useless in inducing obedience, we shall, we think, have established our *reductio ad absurdum*.

The only things in which it is claimed that man is under the dominion of his will, and could be called on to obey, are thoughts, acts, and feelings.

We will take thoughts first; and here it is impossible for any human authority to secure voluntary obedience. It is often said thought is free, conscience is paramount; but man, in this day, seems to be forgetting it, and often imperfectly realises it in the case of others; and it may therefore be wise to state distinctly the metaphysical grounds for the assertion. We are only concerned with the conscience, the feeling of moral obligation. God has so constituted man that it is utterly impossible for him to feel this, except when he has in his mind two persons under some relation to one another, (moral obligation with regard to things being derived from that with regard to persons,) when instantly the feeling of moral obligation springs up. It is impossible to have this feeling at the command of another, or because some one else sees the relation. It only comes from a

perception of the relation in the mind of *him who feels the obligation*. True, there are those general laws called moral principles, which are merely, as shown in an earlier part of this article, a generalised statement of what is true in particular instances in which we feel obligation. Whenever any man acknowledges the validity of such a principle, it is because it is a generalisation from a sense of obligation in his own mind, arising from a perception, by his own speculative judgment, of some relation between persons. If its validity were derived from a feeling of obligation which arose in the mind of some one else on the perception of the relation between persons by the mind of this other person, neither the general law, nor any deduction from it, would have a particle of influence in generating a feeling of obligation in the mind of the first individual, who did not perceive the relation.

The Bible, which is perfectly consistent with true metaphysics, recognises these facts. One object of the Bible is to make us recognise duty to God, and see that we have not fulfilled it; and it does this by giving us a narrative of God's dealings with men, in which the various mutual relations of both are constantly before the mind. This makes the reader perceive the obligation. The writers generalise the expression of the feeling of obligation into the principle or law, "Thou shalt obey the Lord thy God," for the purpose of assuming it as a basis for deduction and exhortation to duty. The Bible recognises the authority of conscience, and is built upon its authority.

When ministers preach to produce conviction of sin, they show their recognition of these facts by telling men of God's relations to them as Maker, Benefactor, and above all, through Christ, as Saviour. For the same reason, in prayer, both public and private, we begin with a recital of God's claims over us, and then proceed to tell how we have failed to fulfil the obligation. It is true, the moral judgments are conditional on the correctness of a relation previously seen by the speculative intellect, and an act of the will in bringing the truth before the speculative intellect; and the will may fail to do its duty, and so the conditions be untrue, and therefore the judgment inapplicable; but the whole process takes place in the inviolable secrecy of a

man's nature, and no fallible man or collection of men could have any direct evidence of it sufficient to convict the delinquent; nor can an authority, built upon voluntary obedience, as the churches are, punish him. But we think we have sufficiently shown, what indeed is admitted by all Protestants who do not want to persecute, that thought is necessarily free, and that any claim to control it is not only a usurpation, but a weak and impotent one, which men can laugh at as they laugh at the pope's claims.

Feelings are partly on the footing of acts; partly, of thoughts; and do not require separate consideration.

It is acknowledged by all parties that the Church has the right to enforce the moral law over acts; and the question is, whether the Church makes, or assumes, a decision. There may be two cases. The first is, where the decision is not in accordance with that of the conscience of him over whom they enforce it. All true Protestants will at once say, that conscience is the higher authority, and our previous statement of the metaphysical facts proves it. In this case, therefore, there can be no other contradictory authority. God does not establish contradictory authorities.

In the other case—where the Church would seek to decide or assume a decision, for the purpose of enforcing a moral law which is also in accordance with the judgment of conscience,—it can be proved there is no authority to decide, by showing that it is utterly useless. It is useless, since conscience already decides the case, and gives it a greater sanction than any the Church could give, and which includes the only sanction the Church could give, (permission to receive the sacraments,) since the sole penal effect which the Church's sanction could possibly have is derived from that of conscience, as deprivation of the sacraments would only be penal to those whose consciences made it a duty to partake of them. So that the Church's supposed authority to decide, not only gives no greater sanction, but gives no additional sanction to that of conscience.*

* Of course the sanction might be penal to those who take a superstitious view of the sacraments, such as no evangelical Christian takes; but the evangelical churches call conscience alone, not superstition also, to their aid.

We have, we think, shown that in all cases where it could be imagined this supposed authority could be exercised, that exercise is impossible, or else the authority ought not to be obeyed, or it is useless. Can any one believe that God intended to confer it?*

But it may be said, if the Church has no right to decide moral questions, but only to assume decisions in order to enforce them, then it is impossible to enforce decisions over those who do not admit them. This is certainly true. We imagine just at this juncture some of our readers will exclaim with horror, "the result of the whole thing will be, that you will have multitudes of people uniting in the sacraments who are guilty of very immoral conduct, but who shield themselves under the pretence that they are doing nothing which their consciences condemn."

IV. The consideration of this brings us to our fourth point: Has the Church power to assume decisions which will enable it without injustice, to enforce the moral law?

It is unnecessary to refer to Scripture, since it is conceded by all parties that the passages relied on warrant at least this authority *to enforce*. What we are to show is, that it is possible to exercise it, if the principles before laid down be true, and such as should control the action of the churches.

There are three classes of people to be considered.

First, those who do not deny the obligation of the law to be enforced. Sometimes such persons deny the acts violating the law; but in all cases where the law is admitted, it is clear the Church has the power to enforce so far as the delinquent feels exclusion from the sacraments to be a punishment.

There are other classes of people who are disposed to commit what they know to be sin, but pretend not to admit the moral

* Perhaps the case might be cited where the Church decides in some things innocent, and conscience passes no judgment on the things. This is clearly no right to decide moral, but rather ceremonial questions, and is denied by no one. It, after all, depends on conscience for all the authority it exercises, since no man obeys the ceremonial laws of the Church, but he whose conscience (seeing the relation established between himself and the Church by God's charter to her to decide ceremonial matters,) tells him it is his duty to obey in ceremonial matters.

law, and who would partake of the sacraments in order to sanction their wickedness in their own eyes and in the eyes of others. Now, it is not possible, by excluding from the sacraments, to reform such persons; but exposure would punish them; and it is possible to establish a rule which would make it possible to expose them.

There are other classes of persons who have come to wrong conclusions, for which they are more or less morally guilty. Now, it is possible to find a rule by which all very bad persons, all who are unquestionably such, may be excluded from the Church, and yet have no reason to claim that it is sought to enforce over them a rule which their consciences do not admit.

There is a way in which the churches can be justified in replying to complaints of injustice on the part of any of these three classes by offering them the following dilemma:

If you do not admit the validity of this moral law, you are unregenerate and have no right to the sacraments.

If you do admit it and do not obey it, you are (if regenerate) a backslider.

It will be seen at once that in order to say this, we must have some other means of finding out of what moral laws regenerate persons do clearly admit the obligation than by letting the accused individuals decide. We will show that there is a rule by which we may determine the opinions of the regenerate; and we can also show that individuals admit it to judge themselves, and ascertain the correctness of their opinions.

In order to make this principle or rule more clearly understood, it will be necessary to extend a little further the analysis of mental operations previously made. In all disputes about moral or intellectual truth, it is assumed, that what we report as the conclusions of our mind, are some test of truth both to ourselves and to those with whom we argue, since, without such an assumption, any argument would be both useless and absurd. That all or part of the process is assumed to be necessary, is evident when men say, "I cannot help thinking so and so;" "I am forced to think so and so." It is true this is often false, but it shows they think, and take for granted their adversaries will

admit, some part or all of the process to be necessary. But what is necessary is also not fallible in the process by which we arrive at our conclusions. We can conceive that God might make a man incapable of seeing the connexion between the premises and conclusion of some simple syllogism whose major and minor propositions he could perfectly comprehend; but it is inconsistent with our idea of God's truth, that he should so constitute a man that, understanding the two premises, he should necessarily think they lead to some conclusion contradictory of the one which really follows. It is considered a general evidence of the correctness of what we call mathematical truths that God has so constituted man that he cannot help believing them. If God had so constituted men that some necessarily believe that things equal to the same are equal to one another, while other men believe that things equal to the same are *unequal* to one another, we should not say as we now do when men's differences are irreconcilable, "let each follow his own judgment;" we should simply conclude that man's judgment is incapable of discovering truth, and would be landed in the most utter and inextricable confusion.

But we know that the whole process is not infallible, and therefore, since what is necessary must also be infallible, only part of the process can be necessary. Now, the mental process in all moral conclusions consists in seeing, either in reality or in imagination, a person with moral sense standing in a position in which he is in a certain relation to another moral person.*

The speculative intellect gives this conditional judgment, "if this representation of the position of the moral persons be a true one, then it is self-evident they necessarily stand in a certain relation to each other." The moral judgment takes the matter up, and says, "if this relation of persons be true, then it is self-evident that the persons are necessarily under certain obligations to each other."

* There are relations of persons to things and animals; but where there seems any obligation, it will be found, we think, that the animal or thing stands in relation to two related persons, and from their relation the obligation springs.

Both the speculative and moral judgments act involuntarily when the conditions are presented. Sometimes the position of the moral persons is perceived by the senses; and as the man takes for granted, until there is direct evidence to the contrary, that the senses are true, the conclusion is then certain. In such cases, the man is neither to be blamed nor praised for correct conclusions. In this way is obtained nearly, if not quite, all the moral truth unregenerate men possess. Sometimes the position of persons is presented to the mind by the imagination and power of abstraction, servants of the will. In such cases, one is responsible for incorrect conclusions where he could obtain truth for the judgment to act upon.

Where the process is involuntary, the results cannot be positively incorrect. Where the process is voluntary, the will is responsible for all *positively* incorrect conclusions.

There are two subordinate sources of error which may seem to render the statement doubtful when we say that the will is always to blame for positively incorrect conclusions. But it is easily shown that they cannot cause *positively* false conclusions. One of the sources is simply man's mere negative weakness of judgment. A weakness of the reasoning powers rendering a man incapable of arriving at any conclusion at all on certain subjects, is a very different thing from a positive defect in the reasoning powers making him come to false conclusions. The two things are not often distinguished; nevertheless the distinction is perfectly well founded. The last we deny, the former we maintain. This weakness, however, would not lead the man to false conclusions, unless he were seduced by his sinful nature which takes advantage of his weakness.* It is man's self-conceit

* For fear of appearing to refine too much, we place a further consideration and corollary from the foregoing at the bottom of the page. It might be said that a man's weakness would affect his judgment of his own reasoning powers, and make him think himself capable of judging in cases where he was from weakness incapable. To this, we reply, that he might be too weak to see his weakness; but, (unless the foregoing reasoning is unfounded,) it could not make him see strength. We can see that God might give a man a judgment so weak that he could not see that the conclusion,

and vanity, faults of his moral nature, which lead him to conspire with his own weakness, and persuade himself he can arrive at conclusions where the weakness of his intellect renders him incapable of any conclusion.

The other subordinate cause of a man's errors, which need not lead him into error at all, if his perverted moral nature did not tempt him into taking advantage of it, is his want of information upon some subjects.

A man's judgment resembles an optical instrument of limited capacity, but entirely without defect, in possession of one who has some obliquity of vision.

If the intellectual part of the process in the formation of man's opinions be necessary and certain, we shall be entitled to look for unity of judgment among those possessed of an instrument, which, though of limited powers, is not, so far as it goes, fallible in the detection of truth, and whose apparent errors are caused by the obliquity of vision of its possessors. If man were perfect, there would have been no pretence of authority over his opinions, (since there could be no reason for it,) except in cases where his judgment was too weak, or his information insufficient to come to any conclusion; for in that case, there would be unity of judgment, (as far as they *judged* at all,) among all men. No one would care to know what any one else thought on subjects where all were entitled to think, because all would think alike.

That there is some approach to unity, some tendency to it among those whose judgments are nearly on a level, and whose information is equal, in cases where the individuals have no cause of personal bias, cannot we think be denied by any observer. If this were not so, it would show that there could be no reliance placed on our own judgment, or that of others, and therefore no use in arguing about them. But any one who will examine the conduct of men, will see that in cases where the will, and its servants, imagination and abstraction, are concerned in their con-

his own weakness, followed from the premises which prove it; but we cannot think that God would give a man such a judgment that he would be necessarily impelled to think that these premises led to the conclusion his judgment was strong.

clusions, they want confidence in them, until they are, if possible, confirmed, or at least not contradicted, by the conclusions of other men.* Since each man knows that the opinions of other men and his own ought to be at one, no man is satisfied or can be satisfied with the decisions of his private judgment until he compares them with those of others. To use the figure previously employed of an optical instrument of limited power, but without defect, in the hands of a man who has some obliquity of vision, and is more or less conscious of it, each man knows that his neighbor has a similar instrument, and labors under a similar defect; and one and all try to rectify their conclusions by the conclusions of others. There is no man living who can be satisfied with his own conclusions, knowing them to differ from those of others, until he has gone through this process of rectification; until he uses this means of eliminating error. In all conclusions of importance he first forms his judgments independently, if it be a case in which he thinks he has sufficient strength of intellect and information to judge, then he looks abroad anxiously to find how far his opinions are proved by agreement with those of other men. Having learned their conclusions, he either sets to work to find out the causes of his own errors and eliminate them; or he thinks he sees some of the grounds of error in the calculations of his fellows.

In determining any question, he is not satisfied until he knows the opinion of the whole human race who are interested in it and who have minds and information to judge of it. If it be a question in which the whole human race, past and present, from Adam until now, have been interested, and on which they have passed judgment, he must either know that they agree with him, or after repeated rectifications of his opinions by theirs, he must be perfectly satisfied that the remaining disagreement is to be

* This is not at all inconsistent with the idea that the processes of the speculative and moral judgment are necessary and self-evident, since we have shown that they are also conditional. Not that men analyse as we have done, and say what part of the process is necessary; but they show that they recognise some part as necessary, and expect other men to agree with them.

attributed to one of the three sources of error in those from whom he differs, be they few or many. In all cases where he has to learn the opinions of such a number of individuals, the difficulty is simplified by regarding men in those masses whose opinions are easily ascertained. Sometimes he is misled by his interest conspiring with his situation in life to make him fancy that all the world agrees with him, because the little circle of his own time and place, whose opinions he has adopted, agrees with him.

There lives no man who can be satisfied until he has modified his opinions and brought them into some accordance with those of all other men who have judgments of sufficient power, information, and freedom from the bias of personal interest to reach truth. Nor can any man desirous to attain truth, bear to differ from any particular man, until he has satisfied himself his adversary should be excluded from the class of those who have judgments, information, and freedom from personal bias. Galileo recanted, but never really changed his opinions, because he supposed his opponents were wanting in some or all of these qualifications. Thinking this, he could composedly differ from the almost world who opposed him. Had Sir Isaac Newton lived then, and differed from him, Galileo never could have been satisfied with his own opinion until he had convinced Newton. There lives not the Christian minister or layman who can be indifferent to the scientific infidelity of the present day, (knowing that it exists,) unless he satisfies himself he can relegate those who hold it to the class of those affected by one of the three sources of error.*

* R. W. Emerson, a great but one-sided apostle of liberty of thought, says in one of his essays, speaking of private judgment, that one mind can balance all other human minds as a small column of water can balance the Atlantic ocean. The figure is an exceedingly apt one, and capable of being carried out to illustrate the relation which individual thought bears to unity of thought, a matter which Emerson does not enforce so clearly. While a slender column of water balances the Atlantic, if the two are connected, neither the Atlantic nor the slender column can be at rest until there is an equilibrium between them. So it is with single minds and the human race; neither can be at rest until they are in unity.

Experience shows that men have the power of deceiving themselves, of making use of weakness and want of information to entrench themselves in

Private judgment, as we have shown, admits the influence of other men's judgments to rectify its errors.* Wherever a man desires to know the opinion of the whole race past and present, (and of course this must be on some subject of general interest, since on no other would they have an opinion,) or any large part of it extending through various times and countries, the difficulty of the process is much simplified, and the matter rendered surer by regarding men in masses as nations, churches, religions. In such masses, men are generally so collected as to include persons of all degrees of talent and information, and where thought in them is active, are generally under the influence of such persons, and therefore the influence of the two sources of error is rendered of smaller account. But in such cases, the masses must all agree; because the judgments of the whole human race cannot assist us to correct our errors, unless they agree. But one portion carries the weight of the whole, when the opinions of no other portion can be cited as contradictory.

such a labyrinth of error, that after they have got there, they cannot give such a definite account of how they got in, as to enable any one to show them where they are wrong. Almost every one has noticed that in such sophistry, men who deceive themselves, show an ingenuity which neither they nor vastly superior persons can consciously employ in the service of truth.

* A man can in innocent things practically assume other men's conclusions to guide his actions, if their knowledge is greater than his own, (as in technical subjects it almost always is,) and if they are in unity among themselves. We may also be under personal obligations to others to obey, and in this case some perceived relation between the persons is the ground of the obligation. But this, so far from showing that other men are to control or could control either our speculative or moral judgments, is not only never to be assumed, except in matters where conscience gives no law at all, but is really dependent on private judgment and conscience, since there could be no ground for claiming obedience did not the private speculative judgment sanction it, by showing the relation, and the private moral judgment by declaring the obligation. Mr. Samuel Bailey, in his *Essays on the Formation of Opinions*, has well shown that the claim made by some Roman Catholics that the Pope is above and in opposition to private judgment, and can rectify its errors, is simply impossible to maintain; since how are we to know the Pope is infallible, except by arguments addressed to our judgments and the conviction of that faculty?

We shall now apply the foregoing principles to an authority which takes a somewhat narrower ground—the Christian Church.

The evangelical churches of Protestantism agree in believing that the Spirit of God has from time to time operated on the hearts of individual Christians to reform that sinfulness of heart, that disposition to make personal interest rather than God's will the rule of action, which we have in our foregoing argument laid down as one of the principal sources of error in man's use of that God-given instrument for the discovery of truth, viz., human reason. If this be so, then over those who are convinced that God's Spirit does so act, the conclusions of the universal body of thinkers in the Church should exercise some of the same sort of influence which we have represented individual thinkers as granting to universal human thought.

With two limitations this is true. Since the moral reformation was not perfect, the authority is not infallible. This is the first limitation. And the second is found in the fact that upon some points—on nearly all technical points, such as law, science, etc., etc.,—when we compare the united body of the regenerate with the bodies of experts in those branches, the superior morality of the one is, on all such points, more than neutralized by the superior information of the other. On few questions, therefore, if any, except those of right and wrong—moral questions—does the opinion of the Church carry weight. But the Church, or vast body of the regenerate of all times, can hardly be found in opposition to these bodies of experts for many reasons. One is that the subjects in which the opinion of experts is most valuable, are such that Christians are not called on, as such, to make any decision regarding them; and secondly, that a part of the body of experts belongs to the body of the regenerate of all ages.

With two precautions, the unity of opinion in the Church universal of all times, may be accepted as an authority by which private Christians may correct their own views, and by which the churches may ascertain decisions of that moral law which it is their duty to enforce.

1. We cannot accurately and without mistake determine who are regenerate, and are obliged to depend somewhat upon the
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outward profession of faith; and this fact must detract somewhat from the infallibility of the authority, as we may, with the opinions of the regenerate, collect the opinions of some who are not regenerate, and not be able to distinguish them. This reduces us to look for the expression of the opinions of Christians mainly within what is called the visible Church or within the churches.

2. A second precaution arises from the fact that the various ecclesiastical bodies within whose bounds we must seek the units composing the vast whole whose united opinions we are trying to obtain, have, many of them, since the Christian era, been placed in circumstances, (by connexion with the State and other causes,) in which there has been a premium placed on a profession of religion within their folds, and certain privileges, or at any rate freedom from disabilities, connected with it. It results from this fact, that many persons have been tempted thus to make a false profession of faith; and in the case of some ecclesiastical bodies, these persons have composed the majority, and the entire power and authority of the Church have been in the hands of the unregenerate, and they have controlled its united utterances.

Perhaps it may be said that on many subjects we could obtain no opinion at all from the regenerate. But as before remarked, the unity of thought in the Church is unbroken, if only those are united who have formed any opinions on the subject. Thus a part can exercise the power of the whole when (and only when) no part of the whole expresses contradictory opinions.

Our object in the foregoing statement and arguments regarding the influence of the united judgments of all the regenerate, is to show that it is possible for the churches to assume decisions of the moral law which will permit them to offer the dilemma previously given to all gross and known violators of the moral law who would shield themselves from excommunication by saying that their consciences do not admit the obligations of that moral law which they have violated. "No class of regenerate persons in any time has denied the obligation of this law," the churches may say; "and therefore, if you deny it, there is very little doubt that you are unregenerate; and whether you do it or not, you have no injustice done you when we exclude you from our communion."

This brings us by another road, the road of reason, round to the exact conclusions deduced from the practice of the evangelical churches. The moral law which is to be enforced over all church members, and which the consciences of all regenerate persons admit, is thus derived, not from the statements of individuals claiming to be regenerate, and who might pretend not to admit its obligation, but from the opinions of all the regenerate of all times who have ever come to any conclusion on the subject of its particular commands.

Perhaps it may be said that just in proportion as there is unity of opinion among all, the opinion of one is just as good a test of the truth as the opinion of all; and that there is nothing to be gained by appealing to the regenerate of all ages, since the opinion of the regenerate of our day would coincide with it. This is true; and in ordinary exclusion of backsliders or unregenerate persons, individual ministers and local churches never think of asking what the regenerate of all times have thought inconsistent with regeneration, but decide the question themselves. And so long as they agree with the Church universal, this answers very well. The influence of the Church universal on their decision, is simply a restraining one. Everybody approves the decisions of the churches when they are supported by the weight of the opinions of all classes of regenerate persons in all ages.

It may be said that the force of our reasoning all turns on the *doubtfulness* of decisions, and that this amounts to nothing, since there may be a *doubt whether a thing is doubtful*. So far as the mere idea of *doubtfulness* enters into our argument, we did not originate this idea. That all not obviously false professors of faith in Christ have a right to the sacraments, and that they must have the benefit of the doubt when they are accused of things which would justly deprive them of this right, are matters which stand on a far firmer basis than any argument we can make, and will hardly be disputed by any. What we have done is simply to give a *measure of the doubt*—a measure which the evangelical churches do practically adopt, and which we think we have shown to be founded in reason.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ARTICLE V.

A RE-EXAMINATION OF SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S THEORY OF CAUSALITY.

The late Sir William Hamilton, in discussing the principle of causality, flattered himself that he had reached a solution more satisfactory than any to be discovered in the speculations of other philosophical authors. The following passage at the close of his Fortieth Lecture will sufficiently illustrate his appreciation of the success attending his investigations. "If the deduction, therefore, of the Causal Judgment, which I have attempted, should speculatively prove correct, it will, I think, afford a securer and more satisfactory foundation for our practical interests than any other which has ever yet been promulgated." With great deference for the candor and sagacity of this eminent writer, and thankful recognition of his services in the cause of truth, it is proposed in the following pages to reëxamine his views of this great question; not with the expectation or desire of altogether refuting his peculiar doctrine; but for the purpose of showing that his argument, though sound and masterly, is incomplete in itself, and inadequate to the demands of the issue. The theory of Cause and Effect has a practical bearing in Natural Theology, and in Christian Morals; and it was with the hope of concluding its discussion in such a manner as to promote the highest interests of man, that Hamilton applied his gigantic faculties to his task. No one can rise from a study of his investigations, without admiration for his genius, and regret that his researches came so early to a close.

The solution which he sought to establish is succinctly stated in the following terms: "What is the law of Causality? Simply this,—that when an object is presented phænomenally as commencing, we cannot but suppose that complement of existence,

which it now contains, has previously been; in other words, that all that we at present come to as an effect must previously have existed in its causes; though what these causes are, we may perhaps be altogether unable even to surmise." And again: "This theory, which has not hitherto been proposed, is recommended by its extreme simplicity. It postulates no new, no special, no positive principle. It only supposes that the mind is limited; and the law of limitation, the law of the Conditioned, in one of its applications, constitutes the law of Causality. The mind is necessitated to think certain forms, and, under these forms, thought is only possible in the interval between two contradictory extremes, both of which are absolutely inconceivable, but one of which, on the principle of Excluded Middle, is necessarily true." From these citations, it will be seen that our author's theory reduces the law of Causality to a want of power in the mind to conceive of any event as unrelated to some antecedent event. All the processes and mutations occurring around us, are but phænomenal changes of the *mode* of existence, whilst the *sum* of existence cannot be conceived of as either increased or diminished. Of a new existence we can have no conception, and eternal existence is beyond our grasp. These are the extreme contradictories, and one of them, and one only, must be true. The Infinite and the Absolute are alike beyond the comprehension of our meagre faculties. That this theory is sound and satisfactory as far as it goes, appears to us established by conclusive reasoning. That we cannot reach infinity by the utmost expansion of thought, is a truth universally recognised in our experience; and it seems no less clearly impossible to conceive of existence springing up spontaneously from the abyss of nonentity. Up to this point, the demonstration, or at least the analysis, is faultless, and the parallelism perfect.

But it is one thing to recognise the limits of our natural understanding, and another to explain the conditions which nature has imposed. The exercises of our faculties are restrained by various laws. Some things we cannot do for want of capacity. We cannot grasp the Infinite, because we are finite ourselves. We have no unit of measure adequate to the object. Eternity

would be required to count the sands of time. But a difficulty of another kind is encountered when we endeavor to compass the Absolute. It is not a mere incapacity, as Sir William Hamilton seems to believe, but a certain incompatibility between the object and the intelligence. Why can we not conceive of a new world rising into being without a Creator? Not because the object is too vast for conception. The same difficulty would exist if we should endeavor to conceive of the creation of an atom. There is, no doubt, something in our mental constitution which renders the thought impossible. But is this impossibility due to a purely constitutional incapacity, irrespective of the nature of the object itself? One grand objection lies in the way of this conclusion. If it were true, we might still believe self-creation possible, although incapable of framing a conception of it. An infinite series is a mathematical verity, notwithstanding our inability to master the conception. And there are many other propositions which we readily accept on the same conditions. There is no repugnance of the mind to truth, because it is incomprehensible. We do daily embrace such truths without the slightest aversion. But there is another class of propositions that not only baffle our faculties, but repel our efforts to comprehend them. They are not only too vast for our capacity of belief, but repugnant to the taste and delicacy of right reason. We reject them, not simply because they are mysterious, but because there is a dictum of our nature which requires us to refuse our assent. In general terms, some things are true, although they cannot be comprehended; whilst others are inconceivable, because they cannot be true.

Sir William Hamilton objects to the assumption of a positive principle of the mind which compels us to refuse the notion of absolute commencement, on grounds rather economical than logical. What he terms the law of Parsimony, forbids a resort to an unnecessary number of primary principles. If, therefore, the law of Causality can be shown to consist in a simple inability to conceive of a commencement of existence, there would be no necessity to suppose a new faculty in the mind itself. This is undoubtedly philosophical. The first question with us is whether

it is a mere incapacity that rejects this proposition. To this we have directed the preceding remarks, for the purpose of showing that repugnance and incapacity are not identical, and that such demands on our belief are refused because they are offensive to the intelligence. But another inquiry is suggested, whether this repugnance implies the existence of a special faculty in the mind. This power seems indeed to be essentially positive. It declares that such and such thoughts cannot be entertained. They are repulsive to the mind, and incompatible with its nature. There is a kind of mental instinct that discriminates without a process of reasoning between the obviously true and the obviously false, and its decisions are at once summary and final. But there is no *peculiar* power in all this. We can see no necessity for such a supposition. Our natural taste rejects some objects to which it is applied, and accepts others. In general, sweet things are received, and bitter things refused; but it does not seem necessary to believe that different principles lead to these different results. The same power may have various relations, according to the character of those objects which come within its range. And for a similar reason, we may suppose a single power in the mind which discriminates between truth and error, rejects some things because of their absurdity, and admits others notwithstanding their incomprehensible mystery. It can be made very clear that some thoughts are not merely beyond, but contrary to our mental nature. This indeed will hardly be denied. The only question is whether the thought of absolute self-beginning comes under this category. This is a point for our own experience to determine. Do we merely shrink from its contemplation as an unfathomable mystery? Are we not conscious of some mental feeling of disgust for the thought, if it were possible to realise it? Let us suppose events occurring without causes, or unrelated to antecedent existence. Why should any event surprise us? Why might not new worlds spring into being, and old ones vanish away? Why might not the laws of nature be at any moment suspended, or suspend themselves, and the whole universe return to a state of chaos? In short, the most tremendous results of omnipotent power might be manifested, without

the exercise of *any* power, and all confidence in the permanence of nature driven from the mind. Yet the child feels this confidence as strongly as the man, and nothing but experience can impress upon him the contrary. We say this for the purpose of illustrating the magnitude of the question of causality, and not to confound a moral feeling with the mental repugnance to which we have alluded. But there is an intellectual opposition to such a thought, independently of any moral sense in the human constitution. If you state to any intelligent creature the possibility of the laws of nature suspending themselves, your proposition will be rejected immediately, without a moment's reasoning, and solely on the ground of its incompatibility with the law of human belief. It is on this point that we appeal to experience. Our own consciousness will testify that the mind resists such suggestions, not merely with a passive inability to receive them, but with a sort of aversion which is none the less real because it is difficult to describe. When, therefore, we are placed between the two extreme contradictories to which our author refers, the Absolute on the one hand, and the Infinite on the other, we are not left to chance to decide our choice. We are still rational in our preference of the one over the other.

The very existence of our external world is involved in this question of causality. If we believe in causation from mere inability to conceive of absolute beginning, then we believe in the reality of an external world for this sole reason. Our notions of extension and resistance are commonly regarded as effects produced by equivalent causes. But inability to conceive of a truth does not, on the hypothesis under consideration, render our belief of it impossible. We might, therefore, with Berkeley, imagine that there is no material substance, and refer our notions of extension and resistance to some mysterious operations of the mind. This would economize nature very effectually. But some modern writers, including Hamilton, regard the testimony of our consciousness as entirely satisfactory on this point. They maintain that the mind recognises the existence of matter with the same directness with which it perceives its own. If it is a dictum of consciousness that matter exists, this accords with

the familiar doctrine that knowledge is all relative and not absolute. We cannot think *self* as real, without thinking the external object as equally real. This necessary association of the one with the other, Hamilton accepts as a sufficient foundation for our belief in an external world. It is strange, therefore, that he could not accept with equal readiness the positive assurance of nature that there is a fixed relation between effects and their causes. We are conscious, he believes, of a material world existing independently of ourselves. Our inability to conceive of its non-existence is not merely negative, but compels us to accept the contrary. Surely our inability to think of events uncaused, should be accepted as a dictum of consciousness equally positive and irresistible. We would not do this eminent writer the injustice to suppose him sceptical on this question, but simply aim to show how far his theory falls short of a positive conclusion. It fails in this alone, that it seems to leave the mind in a position of neutrality between an eternal power on the one hand, and the possibility of spontaneous self-creation on the other. We insist that our minds are so constituted that we utterly reject the latter alternative, not only from incapacity to conceive of it, but from a decided aversion of the intelligence. There is a sort of polarity of the mind that points steadily towards truth, and our want of power to conceive of certain things is accompanied by a strong conviction of the truth of the contrary.

The law of the Conditioned, as laid down by Hamilton, that all our mental exercises must be bounded on the one hand by the Infinite, and on the other by the Absolute, leaves the impression that these two inconceivables are similarly related to the intelligence. It is true that, in one sense, they are equally beyond our grasp; but there is a wide difference between them, in their own nature. When it is said that one or the other must be false, we are still left like the embarrassed donkey between his two bundles of hay, and required to make an arbitrary choice between two things absolutely equal. But these things are not equal after all. We cannot grasp the Infinite, for want of time; for it does not necessarily differ from the finite in any

respect but that of magnitude. A small bottle may be filled with sea-water, and, although we cannot measure the ocean with it, it will fairly represent the fluid with which its vast bed is filled. We do therefore understand the nature, if not the extent of the ocean, from a specimen of its waters. It is so with the Infinite. It may resemble that which we know in a finite form, in all but its extent; and it is no meagre conception which we thus obtain. But of the Absolute, of existence unrelated to time, or space, or cause, we can form no conception whatever, because it does not fit into the mind, and the intelligence will not receive it. It has no form of its own that we have ever discovered, and is yet too inflexible to assume that of the intellectual medium. It cannot coalesce with our mental nature, and is, as it were, summarily rejected from the threshold. The difficulty in the one case is simple want of capacity; in the other, it is repugnance of the mind to the object presented. Perhaps, therefore, we may be justified in proceeding farther than Sir William Hamilton, and asserting that under the law of the Conditioned, the mind necessarily prefers the Infinite to the Absolute.

Our author seems to have contemplated the law of Causality in a new light, and to have resorted to several novel illustrations of his peculiar views. According to him, all the phænomena cognizable by man, are simply changes in the modes of existence, the sum total of being continuing the same from eternity. God and the created universe are no more than Deity alone. Creation was an evolution from himself. We quote the following passage: "In short, we are unable to construe it in thought that there can be an atom absolutely added to, or an atom absolutely taken away from, existence in general. Make the experiment. Form to yourselves a notion of the universe; now, can you conceive that the quantity of existence, of which the universe is the sum, is either amplified or diminished? You can conceive the creation of a world as lightly as you can conceive the creation of an atom. But what is a creation? It is not the springing of nothing into something. Far from it; it is conceived, and is by us conceivable, merely as the evolution of a new form of

existence by the fiat of the Deity. *** All that there is now actually of existence, in the universe, we conceive as having virtually existed prior to creation in the Creator; and in imagining the universe to be annihilated by its Author, we can only imagine this as the retractation of an outward energy into power." This quotation is made for the purpose of showing what we regard as the chief defect in the theory under discussion, or rather in the method of its exhibition. It strikes us as fanciful rather than solid. Having labored to show that the mind, in analysing the causal relation, is placed between two contradictories, the Infinite and the Absolute, and necessitated to make its choice, our author proceeds to point us to the former alternative as the only resource of embarrassed reason; and we find ourselves and the entire universe of created things merged in the infinite abyss of general existence. But this seems to cast but little light upon causation. It is true, in one sense, that effects pre-exist potentially in their causes. The power must be adequate to the result. But that the sum of existence is not increased by creation, is not so easily admitted. There is no increase of power. God and the universe are no more omnipotent than Deity alone. But if God be, as we believe him to be, a personal God, he must have an existence separate and distinct from his creatures, and every new creation must be so much added to the sum of being. This illustration seems to reject the idea of creation altogether, and to represent what goes under that name as a mere evolution—a change of form by God himself. In other words, effects are nothing more than new modes of existence assumed by the Deity, whose will as the universal cause produces them. But is this a philosophical analysis? Is the causal judgment, of which every mind is conscious, nothing more than a necessary resolution of every apparent change into previous modes of existence? We think not. This theory loses sight of the second causes that effect these changes. Cause and effect are relative notions. Every event or change must be wrought under three conditions—time, space, and succession. And this succession is not identical with time, but consists in a chain of appointed influences parallel with it. As we cannot conceive of

any such change unrelated to time and space, so we cannot conceive of it as unrelated to some preceding change upon which it depended. But it is not allowable to say that one *event* pre-existed in another. It is simply absurd. Neither did man nor angels preëxist in their Creator. The only sense in which this doctrine can be plausibly sustained is that of power. An effect may be said poetically, but not philosophically, to preëxist in the power destined to produce it. But a rational analysis of causality requires very different language.

This theory, however, is liable to grave objections on other than philosophical grounds. That it verges on pantheism will hardly be disputed by the candid reader, however reluctant he may be to attribute such views to the revered author. If the sum of existence was once altogether divine, but is now, in part, extant in other forms, without increase or diminution, then the divine has, to some extent, lost its nature, and descended in the scale of being; or all things are still essentially one. In other words, all things must be divine. That such gross notions were entertained by Sir William Hamilton, is not to be presumed; but it is evident that his language approaches the brink of that awful abyss into which German rationalism has sunk.

To return to his theory of causality, we will add that the course of illustration adopted by our author appears objectionable in other philosophical points of view, independently of its theological tendencies. According to him, causes are anterior, and effects posterior existences. We have shown the inappropriateness of this language. Let us consider more particularly the theory itself. The notion of an energy manifested in one or more things, and followed by a change in some other thing, appears to be essential to our ideas of causation. The manifestation of energy is one event, and the subsequent change is another. We say that such a thing took place; and in answer to the question why, we satisfy the inquirer by stating some previous occurrence. "The ship went down at sea. Why? Because she had been penetrated by a shot below the water line." The ball is not the cause, neither is the vessel the effect; but some power is believed to be the one, and the result the

other. There is a potential relation of some sort between the two events. This notion is inseparable from causation, and essential to our apprehension of it. Does it satisfy our minds to say, by way of explanation or illustration, that the effect preëxisted in its cause? Is our notion of causation limited to a mere inability to conceive of existence increased or diminished? If so, should a new world suddenly appear, we would be compelled to regard it as having existed previously in some other mode, and this would be our only possible notion of its origin. But is this an adequate conception? Does it suggest anything more than a mere temporal succession of forms? The power that has brought about the change is left out of view altogether, and there is no relation recognised between the two modes of existence but that of time. This is not all that our author aims at, but unfortunately it is all that his theory embraces. In certain notes in the Appendix to his Lectures, he admits that the idea of power is necessarily associated with that of causality, and in one of the passages already quoted, he says that annihilation would be "the retractation of energy into power." It is evident, therefore, that in creation there must be something more presented to the mind than mere priority of existence.

The notion entertained by Hamilton that the sum of existence does not increase, or that we cannot conceive of its increase, appears to us radically fallacious. But, supposing it to be sound, its bearing upon the theory of causality is by no means apparent. Cause and effect imply change and succession, whether the sum of existence is affected or not. Every event is relative, not only to time and space, but to some event preceding, which is a necessary condition to its occurrence. Such is the dictate of nature and of mind. This relation implies necessary antecedence, and not mere priority. In this all philosophers will perhaps agree who are not sceptics. The question discussed by Hamilton has reference to this necessity, and it is to account for it on the most economical principle that he resorts to the incapacity of our minds to conceive of any change in the sum of existence. But as the sum of existence is infinite, and we cannot conceive of infinitude, our inability to conceive of this change

may be owing to our want of power to grasp the object. The reasoning appears to be circular, and returns upon itself. According to him, we are placed between the Infinite and the Absolute; and for want of power to conceive of the latter, are compelled to embrace the former. But our difficulty in conceiving of the Absolute, arises from the infinite magnitude of the sum of all being, which we cannot therefore imagine to be increased or diminished. The two contradictories are thus resolved into one, the Infinite on the one hand, and the Infinite on the other.

But laying aside all logical or technical criticism, let us look at the subject as it were *ab initio*, and endeavor, if we cannot solve its difficulties, at least to state the most satisfactory light in which it can be contemplated. What does the nature of our minds compel us to believe concerning every new event that occurs under our observation? We answer unhesitatingly that each event must be spontaneous, or by necessity. There is no other alternative possible even to the imagination. These are the only two categories of causation that the human mind has ever framed. It is questioned by many profound thinkers whether even volition excludes necessity. But with that question we have nothing to do here. No change ever occurs in nature unrelated either to will or to force—to will within the object, or to force without it. Make the experiment and see if you can think of a change independently of such a relation. But if the object is inanimate, a material, and not a spiritual substance, are we not compelled to admit the necessity of an exterior force? Is not this the very reason of our incapacity to think of an absolute commencement of being? For all such notions must imply an exterior existence and an antecedent force, which is incompatible with the Absolute. This term is, after all, merely the negative of Relative, and we can form no conception of it, because relativity is a necessary condition of thought. We are no more called upon to explain the mode of this relation of cause and effect, than we are to explain the influence of a chemical agent that operates by its presence alone. How the causative force influences its object, is quite as imprac-

ticable a mystery as that of will upon muscle, or mind upon mind. What we know is the testimony of our own consciousness, that we cannot think of a change in mere matter unrelated to force.

What we insist upon in this discussion is that our notion of causality is of something permanent and positive, and not merely the expression of a want of capacity of conception in the apprehending mind. We insist upon its analogy to time and space. Neither of these notions is due to a mere negation of the understanding. Is our conception of time merely a consciousness of incapacity to conceive of events occurring unrelated to time? And is our idea of space nothing more than an inability to think of objects out of space? This is not the testimony of our own experience. These conceptions, once formed, are ineradicable. There is a positiveness about our apprehensions equal to that of conscious existence. As well might we resolve our belief in our own being into an inability to conceive of thought without a thinking agent. Thought is not more positive than self. And self is not more so than these permanent beliefs of our minds that space and time are permanent realities, however incomprehensible. But the notion of cause is equally positive with those of space and time. The term conveys from mind to mind, in the interchange of thought, a solid objectiveness of which no refinement of sophistry can deprive it. That which so fully satisfies a demand of our intellectual nature cannot be construed into a negation. It has a permanent and intrinsic value, independently of that necessity by which it was first introduced to the mind.

A large majority of modern writers who have treated of this subject, including Leibnitz, Des Cartes, Reid, Stewart, Kant, and Cousin, maintain that causality is an original and positive dictum of the intellect. Brown, as is well known, proceeded to the opposite extreme, and represented it as a mere succession of certain things in time. He denied that the notion of power or necessity is associated with it. Sir William Hamilton admits the notion of necessity, and repudiates the scepticism of Brown, but endeavors to account for this notion or belief by a novel and

peculiar suggestion of his own. But here is our principal objection to his method of demonstration. There seems to be no element of necessity in it. If we find ourselves incapable of conceiving of commencement, by his own showing this does not compel us to adopt the opposite alternative. We must believe in the truth of one of the contradictories, but he does not positively determine which. As the incapacity to which he refers is entirely subjective, due to the organisation of our own minds, and not to the nature of things, there *may* be such a thing as spontaneous beginning after all. There may be intelligences in the universe capable of grasping the thought which baffles us. What then becomes of our permanent belief in the necessity of causation?

It is a strong impression on our minds that this great logician felt the pressure of an ulterior motive in the discussion of this question. The admission that causality is a positive principle of the human intellect of universal application, appeared to him fraught with dangerous consequences to other truths of the highest importance to the interests of man. We refer again to his own words, in order that there may be no misapprehension of his meaning: "To suppose a positive and special principle of causality, is to suppose that there is expressly revealed to us, through intelligence, the fact that there is no free causation, that is, that there is no cause which is *not* itself merely an effect; existence being only a series of determined antecedents and determined consequents. But this is an assertion of fatalism. Such, however, most of the patrons of that doctrine will not admit. The assertion of absolute necessity, they are aware, is virtually the negation of a moral universe, consequently of a moral Governor of a moral universe; in a word, atheism. Fatalism and atheism are, indeed, convertible terms. The only valid arguments for the existence of a God, and for the immortality of the soul, rest on the ground of man's moral nature; consequently, if that moral nature be annihilated, *which in any scheme of necessity it is*, every conclusion established on such a nature is annihilated also." He proceeds to show that the difference assumed by other writers, between voluntary and other

effects, is inconsistent with their theory of causality, which must be abandoned, or the Freedom of the Will given up. And he insists upon the importance of the latter as a permanent belief upon which depend the highest and most sacred interests of our race.

It seems to us hardly philosophical to argue against one positive principle on the ground of its antagonism to another. This has been frequently charged as a fault of theologians. But in this case, it is evidently employed by the prince of Scottish metaphysicians against a theological school that has flourished most vigorously in the land of his birth. We shall not enter upon the discussion of a question which has strained the giant powers of such an intellect. Whether Edwards was right or wrong in maintaining the universal application of the law of necessity, shall be left to other and abler investigators. But we must say, that each original and positive dictum of the understanding ought to stand upon its own basis in our consciousness; and if there should be an apparent incompatibility between two or more of such principles, we should be careful not to reject one for the sake of the other, but rather consent to await the developments of another state of being in which such difficulties may disappear. This willingness to wait is a state of mind as truly philosophical as it is humble and devout. The purest reason, as well as the strongest faith, dictates its necessity and propriety in our imperfect state.

But it may not be going too far to suppose it possible that, even in this life, the human mind may hereafter come to a satisfactory conclusion on this subject. The apparent antagonism between necessity and freedom may possibly be due to some present misconception of the one or the other. Certain it is that our advances in knowledge consist, to a great extent, in corrections of previous errors, many of which were held as necessary truths. The old idealism was maintained as tenaciously by its advocates as any modern dogma. Moderation of opinion is one of the fruits of enlarged thought and growing experience, and in nothing can the true philosophical spirit manifest itself more impressively, than in the diffidence with which it distrusts its

own conclusions. Sir Isaac Newton, gathering pebbles on a boundless shore, is the truest, highest type of the philosopher.

Since commencing this article, a late number of a British periodical has fallen into our hands, which contains a well-written vindication of Sir William Hamilton from the strictures of Mr. Mill. But it incidentally appears in the discussion, that some of Mr. Mansel's views, contained in his work on the "Limits of Religious Thought," are evidently traceable to the suggestions of Sir William Hamilton, in his treatment of causality. The views of Mansel which have elicited criticism, are those which deny to our finite nature the capacity to conceive of the divine character. And they appear to be founded, in part, upon the doctrine of Hamilton, that the Infinite and the Absolute are equally inconceivable. We have already endeavored to point out a considerable difference in their relation to the understanding, and to illustrate this difference by certain analogies. Nothing will be attempted in addition. Enough has been said to indicate the importance of caution in treating of such a subject, and we regard the dangerous speculations of Mansel as the first fruits of a serious error in the discussion. It will not be out of place, however, to insist that a want of capacity to conceive of a truth is no valid objection to it. Far from it. If there is no stronger principle that would cause us to reject the Absolute than mere want of power to imagine it, we have no reason to consider it absurd. And indeed we do not so consider it in every sense. What we do necessarily regard as contradictory, is a commencement unrelated to something else. We believe firmly in a commencement of motion, although we can form no conception of it. But we cannot believe in the fact of a commencement of motion unpreceded by a necessary cause. That thought would do violence to our understanding. Our intellectual constitution not only requires us to wonder at it as a mystery, but to abhor it as an absurdity. Conception is one thing, and apprehension is another. We hold to many beliefs which we cannot comprehend. If, then, our intelligence is similarly related to all inconceivable thoughts, we must find it as difficult to entertain the notion of *creation* as of *self-creation*. If we select

the one in preference to the other, it must be as a matter of necessity, and not what is contrary to the supposition, on account of any advantage in it. But self-creation is inconceivable, because it is absurd; and creation is inconceivable, because we cannot comprehend the infinite power which it implies; and we know of no law of our minds which requires us to reject the notion of an object because it is infinite.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Christocracy; or Essays on the Coming and Kingdom of Christ: With Answers to the Principal Objections of Postmillenarians. By JOHN T. DEMAREST, and WILLIAM R. GORDON, Ministers of the Gospel in the Reformed Dutch Church. New York. A. LLOYD, 115 Nassau-street. 1867. Pp. 403, 12mo.

The subject which is discussed in these pages is one which has attracted the attention of the Church in different ages, and, as our readers must have perceived, is occupying the thoughts of many now. The volume before us is a republication of certain essays on the Premillenarian Advent, published in the *Christian Intelligencer*, in 1863 and 1864, and contains as complete and forcible a statement of that theory as has ever attracted our attention. We cannot say, however, that we have read all that has been written on this subject, nor that we regard every portion of this book as equally able. The least sensible are those portions which describe the difficulties of Postmillenarianism, and demand that the positions of Premillenarians should be *refuted*, and which carry the self-complacent, *quod erat demonstrandum* air with them, as if their authors had fought a great

fight, and won the victory. Prophecy unfulfilled, especially that referring to "the power and coming" of our Lord Jesus Christ, is but a lamp (*λίχνος*) shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, (*διαυγάζει*, shine through the gloom,) and the day-star arise in our hearts. Even that day-star shines with less than the full beams of the risen sun. Imperfect indeed is the flickering light of any lamp shining in an obscure, dusty, and squalid place, showing only the *existence* of objects of sight, in comparison with the clear revelations of the mid-day sun; and such is the case with every prophetic exposition anterior to the event. Nor can we see wherein the revival of the Judaic view of the earthly reign of the Messiah, of which his whole life on earth was the refutation, is any more suited to comfort the heart, to purify the soul, and promote godly living, than the postmillennial view of the coming of the Redeemer. We are willing that this should be put to the test, and that the lives of the good men who have lived and labored upon the earth under the postmillennial *delusion* (?) should be compared with the lives of those who have held the premillennial *certainty* (?)—the lives of the Brainards, and Martyns, who have gone to "the regions beyond," preaching the gospel, with those who have stayed at home, waiting till the feet of the Redeemer shall stand again on Mt. Olivet.

Indeed we are unable to appreciate the views of those who expect such extraordinary spiritual advantages from the personal presence of Christ on earth. It is not Christ, as he was visible to the disciples, that was to them the object of faith. They believed in his invisible power and Godhead. It was this that gave efficacy to his atonement, and saving virtue to his prophetic, priestly, and regal office. Very few who saw him with their eyes, or heard him with their ears, believed in him to their own salvation. Five hundred brethren, or a little more, is the largest enumeration of converts through his own ministry of three years, or nearly one thousand days' duration, mentioned in the Scriptures, though this may not have been all; but when he was "made Lord and Christ," and seated on his invisible throne, three thousand converts were made in a single day, and the number shortly after swelled to five thousand men; and though

the same rapidity of increase has not marked every period of the Church, it has spread, and is still spreading over the world.

According to this theory, the temple of Ezekiel's vision is to be rebuilt by restored and sanctified Israel, the Levitical priesthood is to be literally revived, and Palestine redistributed among the tribes; though they do not tell us how the Levites are to be known and the tribes distinguished, when the blood of all the families has been commingled for ages, and all original distinctions of family and tribe lost and obliterated forever. Sacrifices will be resumed, but will be commemorative, eucharistic, and symbolical. The literal flocks of Kedar and rams of Nebaioth shall be offered upon literal altars, in this literal temple, which shall be built upon the literal mountain of Moriah, which shall itself be established in the top of the mountains and exalted above the hills, requiring indeed, as these writers allow, "a great change in the physical structure of the Holy Land, and particularly about Jerusalem." Zech. xiv. 4, 5, and 8-11. P. 249. Even when the land is literally "turned as a plain from Geba" six miles north, "to Rimmon," in the tribe of Simeon, "south of Jerusalem, and it shall be lifted up" (v. 10), how the literal river,—and the river must be literal, if the temple is,—is to rise from the east side of this mountain and flow into the Dead Sea,—and the Mediterranean too, if the river in Ezekiel and the waters in Zechariah are the same,—and sweeten the waters into which it empties, we do not see. It must have a far greater volume of water than the Jordan, a very remarkable river, which it surpasses our knowledge of hydrostatics to understand. And yet we suppose it belongs to this theory that this earth, "which abideth forever," is to be under the same physical laws as now.

The argumentation of this book is in other respects inconsistent. The authors hold that before the premillennial advent of Christ, the Elijah of the book of Malachi is yet to come, in the person of the old prophet, although our Saviour said of John the Baptist, "This is the Elias which was for to come," and again, "Elias is come already," "and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed." The usually received interpretation of the passage does not suit them. But if Elijah, the Tishbite,

must come in person, why must not "David, their king," whom "the Lord will raise up unto them?" Jer. xxx. 9. And why should not the Lord fulfil his promise and multiply the seed of David, his servant, "as the host of heaven and the sand of the sea," (xxxiii. 24,) and "the children of Israel seek David, their king"? Why not the literal David be "a prince among them," and the one shepherd over them"? Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; xxxvii. 24, 25. It does not suit these writers to receive the literal sense of Scripture here. It will not do for David, in person, to sit on his own throne, because this is in reserve for the Messiah. P. 237. And yet, in the mode of introduction and form of the phrase, there is more reason for the literal meaning in the case of David, so often mentioned, than in that of Elijah, of whom there is but the one prediction. Behold in the two expositions the *certainties* of the new system of interpretation, the application of the *true* key which has now been discovered, that fits all the wards, and will infallibly unlock and open all the mysteries of prophecy!

Other specimens of reasoning, far from conclusive, may be adduced. "We maintain," they say, "that the *spiritual* reign of the *man* Christ Jesus, is a proposition in itself altogether unintelligible, and from the Scriptures altogether indefensible." P. 380. Yet the *manhood* of Jesus never was separated from the eternal Word, nor ever can be. "We assert that there has never been on earth a visible kingdom without a visible king." P. 200. Yet, if the Church is his kingdom, there is in a visible Church a visible kingdom, without a visible king on earth. Nor was the true king of the old theocracy visible, for no man hath seen him at any time, or can see.

But they add, "God himself swore unto David that he would raise up Christ to sit on David's throne *according to the flesh*." P. 198. "David's throne must be in heaven; and not only so, but David must be God Almighty. For Christ is now sat down upon the throne of his Father." "If the kingdom of Christ is already come, *the will of God is done on earth as it is in heaven*; the first part of the Lord's prayer has thus been answered, and it must be superseded by praise." P. 198. "Will any venture

to affirm that Christ in heaven now sits on the throne of David? If so, are they prepared to admit that the disembodied spirit of David is God the Father"? P. 208. "David was never Lord of the Church, but Christ is." P. 216.

Now, these literalists must themselves admit that figure begins somewhere. If not, let them tell us where the identical throne of David is kept. It would be worth sending to the grand exhibition at Paris, if it could be found. They must admit that to sit on the throne of David must mean simply to be his successor in regal power. In this sense, Solomon sat on David's throne, when he was walking, or riding in his chariot, or superintending the planting of his gardens, or the construction of his pools of water, all the while being king and ruler. Again, is God's throne a material throne? Christ is a man, with a material body. As God, he has supreme dominion in his own right. When it is said that he is seated at the right hand of the Majesty in heaven, what is meant, but that in his theanthropic nature, which he did not possess till he became incarnate, he exercises divine authority and rule as Mediator and King of saints? He bore that human nature which came through his mother from the loins of David into the heavens, and, invested, as he is, with that nature, sits on his Father's throne. In the same theanthropic nature, for in no other can he, he sits on the throne of David.

There are two considerations of which we must never lose sight. One, that by what is known in theology as the *communicatio idiomatum*, the properties of both natures united in the divine person of Christ, are ascribed to him by whatsoever name that person is designated. The properties and actings of one nature are affirmed of his person when it is denominated from the other. Thomas, looking in admiring love on his human form, says to him and of him, "My Lord and my *God!*" And Paul says of the "Lord of glory," that he "was *crucified.*" In his human nature, as the Son of man, he was the son of David, and when the son of David is enthroned, it is on his father's throne; in his divine nature, he is the Son of God, and when *he* is enthroned, it is on the throne of God. But the throne on

which the Son of God is *enthroned* is the mediatorial throne which he occupies, both as the son of David and the Son of God, and the throne of David on which he sits is thus the throne of David, and also the throne of God. And David is not in this way made God the Father, nor God the Father David. The passage misquoted from Acts ii., does not say that Christ was to sit on David's throne *according to the flesh*, but that "*of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his [David's] throne.*" "For David is not ascended into the heavens," "but God hath made that same Jesus both Lord and Christ." David was the Lord's anointed Messiah, or Christ; and Jesus, his son, is also the Lord's anointed Messiah, or Christ, as being the son of David who was promised.

The other point of consideration has its foundation in the nature of a *type*. Between a type and its antitype there must be an analogy, but not an identity. There must be more in the antitype than in the type. This has been remarked from Chrysostom down. It is also the fact, that things can be affirmed of the type which are literally true only of the antitype, and the reverse. When Paul says of Melchizedek that he was without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, these attributes could be affirmed in their proper sense only of the antitype, Christ. There is ascribed to the Messiah what was literally true only of David, and of David what was literally true only of Christ. If Christ was to sit on David's throne, and David's throne was a visible one on the earth, it does not follow that Christ's shall be in the same sense a visible one, with Cherethites and Pelethites waiting around it as his body-guard; nor when it is said that David shall never want a son to sit on his throne, and that his seed shall be multiplied as the host of heaven and the sand of the sea, does it follow that David's family, now utterly lost and commingled in the Jewish race, shall emerge again, and his kingdom be re-established in any of these persons, as it was before. By meditating on these things, a mind open to conviction can easily see that those who do not yet believe in the personal visible reign of Christ on the earth in the millennial day, have reason on

their side. They can see, since Christ could not *become* Christ, nor be raised to the mediatorial throne till he became the son of David, how he could make a distinction between *his* mediatorial throne, his government exercised as Mediator, and his *Father's* throne, the government of God absolute, not exercised through the Mediator, and how he could promise to him that overcometh that he shall reign with him as co-regent and judge, in that modified sense in which it is possible for a creature to put forth his efforts in the line of his Creator's royal agency, and have the honors which his Redeemer has gained reflected back upon himself. For if the redeemed and glorified saints are to be co-regents, they are also to be priests with Christ. Rev. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6. What portion of his sacerdotal work can they literally share? Is it his atoning and interceding work? If the latter, whom will they intercede for when the number of God's elect are gathered in? For they are to be priests, as well as kings, forever. These writers say that "as the priestly and kingly offices of Melchizedek were exercised in the *same* sphere, so Christ must be literally a king where he was literally a priest," and therefore must reign as king in this lower sphere of earth. But as a royal priest, he has passed into the heavens, and as a priest after the order of Melchizedek, intercedes for us there, where he also reigns as king, and as David's "greater Son." Nor, though we believe that his kingdom *has* come, does it at all prevent us from offering the petition, "Thy kingdom come." His kingdom is a kingdom of living subjects, an immense army. Its vanguard has reached their destination; not till the last of God's chosen ones have emerged into being, and been glorified, will it have fully come. The Lord's prayer is the prayer of every age, till the morning of the resurrection.

According to the theory of the book before us, Christ, when he comes, is to have his metropolis in the city of Jerusalem, the city of the great King. Yet it is not necessary to suppose that he will always confine his personal presence to that metropolis. Since he is visible, and has a material form, we may suppose that there will be some visible material modes by which he will make his royal progress from place to place. Say they, "The

nations too, (probably by their representatives,) will flow to the metropolis, or multitudes go, as wave follows wave, to see the king in his beauty." Pp. 219, 348. On this occasion, too, sacrifices will be offered in the temple which will then be there. Pp. 253, 263. And we would ask, (for these authors have not expressly declared their opinion,) who is the Prince, on their theory of interpretation, who is to rule over the land, and to have sons; to have reserved for him the central portion of the holy land, next the Levites; to go in through the east gate reserved expressly for him, to worship, to eat bread before the Lord, and to offer his burnt-offering and his meat-offering? In chap. xxxvii. 25, David is declared to be "their Prince forever;" also, in chap. xxxiv. 24, and in Daniel ix. 25, we read of Messiah the Prince, who, in chap. xii., is called Michael, the Great Prince, and, in the New Testament, the Prince of Life, the Prince of the kings of the earth. Is *he* also to offer mnemonic, eucharistic, and symbolical offerings in the millennial times? The book is silent on this point, and we pass on.

"The apostles," under the Prince, we suppose, "will rule over the twelve tribes." P. 242. And the glorified co-regents of Immanuel will reign over the nations, together with the saints alive upon the earth at his coming, who will be transformed and changed from mortal to immortal, though the risen saints will be more exalted, and have a more extensive sway.

Rev. xx. 4-6 says nothing of the resurrection of any thing but the *souls* of martyrs, and it is said of them that they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. This has commonly been believed to be a resurrection, not of the bodies of the martyrs, but of their spirits. For how can the living of *souls* mean the literal resurrection of their bodies, and where else in the Scriptures is a literal resurrection spoken of in such terms? And since souls are immortal and never are extinct, and *these* souls are not in *spiritual* death, what can their *living* be but the reviving of their spirit to live and reign in other saints, as the spirit and power of Elijah lived in John the Baptist; exerting its influence in connexion with Christ's spiritual energy and providential government over the earth during the millennium?

At the same time, we are not unaware of the idiomatic use of the word *souls* to which these writers refer. To them it is the resurrection of the *bodies* of all the glorified saints at the commencement of the millennium, concurrent with which is the transformation of the saints living on earth at that time, all of whom will be co-regents with Christ. A vast multitude of contemporary kings, especially if all those who die in infancy are saved, and should reign with them! Yet they will reign over the nations. How the literal government of these literal kings is to be administered, whether the earth is to be partitioned out among them, and each rule over an infinitesimal district, or they are to be constituted an immense college of kings, whom the earthly sovereigns are to consult when needful, we might well doubt. These writers take the latter and more rational of these hypotheses.

Of one thing they are *certain* (?) that Christ will also, at *that time*, be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, to those on earth who are his enemies; that the day of judgment will then begin and cover the whole millennial period; that the anti-Christian powers will be swept with the besom of destruction from the face of the earth, (p. 271); that these anti-Christian powers are the hierarchical establishments of Christendom, whether in Italy, France, Russia, or England; Papal and Protestant alike; all of whom are the "Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth." We too, if this *parousia* should only come upon us *now*, will be swept away, for "the part which pastors and people of all denominations below Mason and Dixon's line have played in the atrocious rebellion of the South, is a sad stain upon our American Christianity. History will show that this rebellion has been largely indebted to the spirit and influences of Southern pulpits. Such the state of the visible Church is about to be. When the Son of man cometh, will he find faith on the earth?" P. 277. We are beginning to be much alarmed in very deed. Will the three thousand clerical petitioners of the North, we anxiously ask, will the hundreds, perhaps thousands of preachers there, who, actuated apparently by bitter political hate, have been hounding

on the late cruel war, and, abusing their mission as ministers of peace, have been doing their best, in effect if not in intent, to destroy the government as left us by our Revolutionary sires,—will they all “be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye,” and made co-regents on this renovated earth, and we destroyed?

But the time is not yet. These anti-Christian powers will be found embodied at that day under the Beast, which symbolizes the rulers of the ten kingdoms who wear out the saints of the Most High; the false prophets, *i. e.* Popery, and other Antichrists. All will be led on by the Man of Sin, who is yet to arise; who will be a Jew, a false Messiah; and “whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.”

The evangelized inhabitants of the earth, who shall be living when Christ has come, shall then be judged (Math. xxv. 31—46) in the several territories where they reside, and those of them who have resisted him will be cast into everlasting fire, into which Satan and his angels will eventually be hurled. But previous to this, seized and bound by the holy angels at the command of Christ, and cast into the bottomless pit, these shall be there imprisoned till the thousand years are accomplished. Meanwhile, “the nations unevangelized at Christ’s coming, sanctified by the Spirit of the Father and the Son, with their unglorified rulers, are to be the subjects over whom the glorified saints, under Christ, are to reign.” P. 331.

It is not *our* duty to reconcile these particulars with what is said on page 144, in reference to 2 Pet. iii. 10, as to the heavens and the earth being reserved unto fire; when “the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein be burned up.” The passing away of the heavens is there explained to be the currents of the atmosphere, in a furious tempest and roaring tornado, rushing over and around the earth. The elements melting with fervent heat, is the fusing of mineral matter in the bowels of the earth, which is sent forth, as occasion requires, by volcanic eruption, burning up the works of men and

destroying "the grossly wicked,"—discriminating lava, therefore, which *seeks out* the objects of divine vengeance, and does not, as now, burn up the righteous and wicked together. The earth meanwhile will be renovated, and inhabited by happy nations, who shall multiply and increase, not for one thousand literal, but for one thousand symbolic years, *i. e.* for three hundred and sixty thousand years, upon its surface. P. 230. A prodigious population will therefore teem upon the earth, for there will be no more death, they "will still live in the natural body." And since not much is to be expected from missionary labors, (pp. 292—357,) and there will be a large unevangelized population to begin with, our poor globe must become as thickly peopled all over as the most crowded quarters of London; and how can these "natural bodies" be fed, unless it shall every day rain down manna from heaven! It is indeed said, (p. 355,) that though these bodies are still "mortal," the leaves of the tree of life will "cure their mortality;" but will it be food and medicine alike?

But after the one thousand symbolic years are over, Satan is to be loosed and go abroad and deceive the nations. How he can do this is, they say, as easy to be conceived as how he could deceive our first parents in the garden. Those born in the millennium are born in original sin, but are sanctified from the womb. P. 360. But for ourselves, we see quite a difficulty, which these brethren must also see, if they have not forgotten their Calvinistic faith, and that they have not, we may well believe, for "millenarians are strongly orthodox on the doctrines of grace." P. 126. Is any one saved who is born in sin, except as he is represented in the second Adam, and justified by his righteousness? "It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" Is the act of justification ever recalled, or do the saints not persevere unto eternal life? Shall a doctrine of the Church be sacrificed to carry out an interpretation of Scripture?

Nevertheless they say Satan and his angels shall deceive the nations, Gog and Magog; that is, Russia in Asia and Europe, now put for the more distant nations of the earth; these will join in

furious battle with the saints, and will be vanquished; and the devil that deceived them will be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast, and false prophet, and the impenitent of the evangelized nations that were alive at Christ's coming, already are. Then will come the resurrection of the wicked dead, (Rev. xx. 11—15,) who will be judged and cast into the lake of fire, and "the smoke of their torment ascendeth forever and ever."

After all this, "the heavenly *state* shall again invest the earthly *place* of man's habitation. The world shall again be pronounced *very good*. All creation shall shine in her pristine glory." As if our *capacious* earth were not sufficiently peopled by teeming myriads during the millennium before, and as if our Saviour had not said that "in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven," "man regenerated shall realise the second publication of the original command, 'Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and have dominion.' Generation after generation of a holy and happy race shall multiply forever and ever; all saved, all rescued. This will be the unspeakably glorious result of the atonement, whose blessed Author, in the midst of them, shall see of the 'travail of his soul and be satisfied;' and the world of God's workmanship repaired, and set a going as at first, shall roll on forever, amid joy unspeakable and full of glory." P. 375.

This is indeed an amazing scheme, and this is that *certain* result which is wrought out by the *right* interpretation of the prophetic Scriptures!

We had intended to show how the ordinary view of prophecy, viz., that in its several progressive periods, the costume in which it is clothed is taken from preëxisting states of the Church,—as, for example, from the promises made to Abraham and his seed, especially respecting the promised land; from the deliverance out of Egypt; from the institution of the law with its ritual; from the establishment of the kingdom; from the period of the restoration; and from the advent of Christ; how this gives a general figurative air to almost the whole of prophecy, under the influence of which specific figures are in their measure modified.

When we add to this that, by divine arrangement, the precedent events of each dispensation are, to a large extent, types and adumbrations of those which are to follow, we have different elements of interpretation for the Bible from any that are found in any other writing in the whole compass of human literature. Even these writers feel it. They do not expect David to arise from the dead and figure in these future scenes, though this is more often predicted than the reappearance of Elijah the Tishbite—a fair break-down, as it seems to us, in their theory. They quote with much zest the anecdote related by McNeill, who says that “after discussing this subject with an evangelical clergyman, who denied my (his) millenarian views, I (he) ceased to occupy the defensive position, and asked him his view of several passages of Scripture which are the turning points of the whole debate. The substance of his reply, on each of these occasions, was: *The passage is very important; very important, indeed; but I have not made up my mind as to its meaning!*”

No man should be inattentive to any portion of the Holy Scriptures. Yet we are not sure that the clergyman was not the wiser and humbler man of the two. To pronounce dogmatically on the minute import of prophecy before its fulfilment, has never been attended with happy results on either the temper or piety of men. To ascertain its general drift, to receive its abundant consolations, and the grand doctrinal truths it always implies, are of immediate and constant use to the people of God in every age. The most sealed book of all the Scriptures, the Apocalypse of John, has most sustained the faith of the Church in every age succeeding it, consoled it in adversity, and given it some of its most certain assurances of its final victory, and eternal blessedness, while its specific predictions have been enveloped in mystery.

Ecce Deus. Essays on the Life and Doctrines of Jesus Christ. With Controversial Notes on “Ecce Homo.” Boston: ROBERTS BROTHERS: 1867: pp. 363, 16mo.

This work owes its origin confessedly to “*Ecce Homo*,” but it is, in our judgment, a far abler work; and a much better book,

though by no means altogether sound. The author is unknown to us. He has a high admiration for the writer whose work he especially controverts; says that he has "rendered inexpressible service to the cause of free religious inquiry by his magnificently intellectual discussions of fundamental truth;" and returns him thanks "for the intellectual stimulus and moral inspiration which he has derived from a repeated perusal of its instructive and stimulating pages." P. 318. But this work is intended to be, and it is, a complete and triumphant reply to the errors of that one respecting the true and proper Deity of Christ, and also his atonement for sin. It is indeed a magnificent contribution to the argument for the truth of those great and fundamental Christian doctrines. And this is one result of the publication of that shallow but dangerous book. Out of evil, good has thus been educeed. "*Ecce homo*, Behold the man!" has led to the answering outcry, "*Ecce Deus*, Behold the God!"—an answering outcry, uttered in a yet more eloquent style, with greater beauty of language, and more remarkable richness, and vigor, and originality of thought. Both of these terms, "*Ecce homo*" and "*Ecce Deus*," express truth—that is, each expresses half the truth. Put them together, "*Ecce Deus homo*," and you tell the full truth concerning the *person* of Christ. And then, if, with Anselm, you will inquire "*Cur Deus homo?*" the proper answer will present the whole truth respecting his *work*.

The author of this book says that "in reading '*Ecce homo*,' our chief dissatisfaction arose from the fact that the author did not recognise the mystery of the Incarnation." P. 347. Besides this great central truth, as it includes both the divinity of our Lord and his atonement, that work also discards the doctrine of the Holy Ghost and of the inspiration of the Scriptures. On all these questions, except the last one, *Ecce Deus* is sound. We can recall now nothing to object to on these questions, but very much to admire, and which is suited to edify. Respecting the divinity of Jesus Christ, the book abounds with most striking and cogent argumentation and appeal. It contains many passages and even whole chapters of unsurpassed force and beauty, setting forth this great truth. The same may be said to some

extent concerning the atonement. As to inspiration, we do not know that the English language contains anything finer than almost all of the second and third chapters, on "The Written Word." Yet sometimes we cannot accept his statements on this point. Moreover, he is very much against creeds, as appears on pages 33, 86-9, 122-5, and 131. But his chapter xiii., on "These Sayings of Mine," is most excellent, and so also is chapter xiv., on "Eternal Punishments." The author, also, is by no means ashamed to profess his belief that there is a personal devil, man's great and terrible enemy, and also a dreadful hell.

But if the book is sound in its *Theology*, using that term in its restricted sense, as referring to the Godhead, it certainly can not be so accepted by us, as to its *Anthropology*. The author is neither Arian, Socinian, nor Unitarian; but it will hardly be claimed that he is not Pelagian or Arminian. The proofs of this allegation may be found on pages 15, 31-34, 40, 102, 116, 117. Indeed, he expressly disclaims being a Calvinist on page 292. And yet, with magnanimous frankness, he utters his admiration, on the next page, of the Calvinistic devotion to true ideas of liberty.

This author could not have expressed himself in terms of such high commendation of *Eecce Homo*, had he been a perfectly sound thinker himself.

Did our space admit of it, we should like to copy the beautiful passages on pp. 72-76, on the "Mighty Works of Christ;" the humiliating yet just picture of the present weakness of the Church, on pages 152-4; the admirable contrast of the Galilean peasant as a teacher, with the Greek philosophers, pages 192-196; and the touching account of our Lord's behavior to Simon Peter after his resurrection, pages 312-14.

The Giant Cities of Bashan; and Syria's Holy Places. By the Rev. J. L. PORTER, A. M., Author of "Five Years in Damascus," "Murray's Hand-Book for Syria and Palestine," "The Pentateuch and the Gospels," etc. New York: T. Nelson & Sons, 137 Grand-street. 1867.

One hardly knows whether to be glad or sorry that the author of so delightful a book is announced as the writer of so many
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others. On the one hand, it is a pleasure to imagine that there are more to enjoy; and on the other, that exquisite pleasure which is due to the feeling that the book has *grown*, instead of being made, is damaged more or less by the knowledge that so many *have* been made. Part of the difficulty disappears, however, when we learn that so large a part of Mr. Porter's life has been spent among these scenes, and that this book is simply a handful of choice excerpts from his diaries.

It is thus not exactly like any other of the countless works on Palestine and its adjacencies which have been poured upon us from every quarter and of every spirit—from Robinson's "Researches" to Renan's "Life of Jesus." It perhaps more nearly resembles "The Land and The Book," of the Rev. Dr. Thompson, than any other with which we are acquainted; but the differences between them are marked and large.

They have topics in common, but each has also topics peculiar. The one is a systematic geographical progress through "The Land," and a travelling commentary on all of "The Book" that proves germane to the places and incidents of the journey. It is the ripe fruit of twenty years of study and incident, full of learning, fresh, vivacious, devout. The other is a choice *bouquet*; has no learned discussions, no set attempt to instruct, no system at all, but to show you what is to be seen, and remind you, most aptly and briefly, of what the prophets have said in the premises.

But, to pass at once by many minor matters, the vital difference lies in the manner of presenting the theme. One maps and catalogues most faithfully all he has gathered; and you read with instruction and gratitude what he is ready and most able to teach. The other leads you to a sort of magic window, and you see the landscape, while he talks a moment, feelingly, naturally, and in admirable taste, of the scene you are gazing upon, and the microscopic accuracy of the history delivered beforehand by God's messengers. In a word, in the one case you have "Views of the Holy Land, exhibited by Mr. Porter;" in the other, "The Holy Land, as seen by Dr. Thompson."

The style of the book before us is pellucid, fluent, quiet, manly;

not compact, but a traveller's style cannot be compact without the sacrifice of more important virtues. His power of sketching by words is singularly high. We rise from the perusal of the ride through Lebanon with a strangely vivid sense of having heard the roar of waterfalls, and watched the glimmer of far-off castles, and smelled the perfume of vines and groves.

The electrotypes are of that description for which "Nelson & Sons" have for some years been so distinguished. They are peculiarly, and therefore of course faultily, tinted; but the *relief* is such, that it irresistibly suggests the stereoscope as the only means by which it could be obtained.

The great fault of the book—and it is a very serious one, indeed unpardonable—is the lack of maps. No book of the sort requires them more; and yet it has not one. We have found none so beautiful and satisfactory, which can be procured at moderate rate, as those in Kitto's "Scripture Lands." And we would take this occasion heartily to recommend those maps, as a companion, not only to this work, but to the Scripture itself.

Passing now to the subjects treated here, we find a region almost absolutely unknown before, viz., Bashan, occupying the first pages. And really, Mr. Porter's protest, that he is not borrowing from the Arabian Nights' Entertainment, is not inappropriate. His story is of cities, whose houses, built four thousand years ago, and uninhabited for the last four or five hundred years—a century or two seems to make no difference—are habitable still. Even doors and windows are there, in place. The mere wonder, however, is exchanged for deep interest, almost awe, at such reverend antiquity, when the "giant cities" are described. Here is Mr. P.'s first sight of them:

"'Is there any spot,' I asked of an Arab at my side, 'where we could get shelter from the rain?' 'There is a house ready for you,' he answered. 'A house! Is there a house here?' 'Hundreds of them; this is the town of Burâk.' We were conducted up a rugged winding path, which seemed, so far as we could make out in the dark, and by the motion of our horses, to be something like a ruinous staircase. At length the dark outline of high walls began to appear against the sky, and

presently we entered a paved street. Here we were told to dismount and give our horses to the servants. An Arab struck a light, and, inviting us to follow, passed through a low, gloomy door into a spacious chamber.

“I looked with no little interest round the apartment of which we had taken such unceremonious possession; but the light was so dim, and the walls, roof, and floor, so black, that I could make out nothing satisfactorily. Getting a torch from one of the servants, I lighted it, and proceeded to examine the mysterious mansion; for, though drenched with rain, and wearied with a twelve hours’ ride, I could not rest. I felt such an excitement as I had never before experienced. I could scarcely believe in the reality of what I saw, and what I heard from my guides, in reply to my eager questions. The house seemed to have undergone little change since the time its old master left it; and yet the thick nitrous crust on the floor showed that it had been deserted for long ages. The walls were perfect, nearly five feet thick, built of large blocks of hewn stones, without lime or cement of any kind. The roof was formed of large slabs of the same black basalt, lying as regularly, and jointed as closely, as if the workmen had only just completed them. They measured twelve feet in length, eighteen inches in breadth, and six inches in thickness. The ends rested on a plain stone cornice, projecting about a foot from each side wall. The chamber was twenty feet long, twelve wide, and ten high. The outer door was a slab of stone, four and a half feet high, four wide, and eight inches thick. It hung upon pivots formed of projecting parts of the slab, working in sockets in the lintel and threshold; and though so massive, I was able to open and shut it with ease. At one end of the room was a small window with a stone shutter. An inner door, also of stone, but of finer workmanship, and not quite so heavy as the outer, admitted to a chamber of the same size and appearance. From it, a much larger door communicated with a third chamber, to which there was a descent by a flight of stone steps. This was a spacious hall, equal in width to the two rooms, and about twenty-five feet long by twenty high. A semicircular arch was thrown across it, supporting the stone roof; and a gate so large that camels could pass in and out, opened on the street. The gate was of stone, and in its place; but some rubbish had accumulated on the threshold, and it appeared to have been open for ages.” Pp. 25, 26, 27.

It seems clear, from the mention of the arch, and a Greek inscription on the lintel of the gateway, “and which bears a

date apparently equivalent to the year B. C. 306," that this latter hall is, so to speak, a modern addition of two thousand years ago, to the otherwise ancient mansion; itself a veritable "giant's den."

It is time, however, to remind the reader that this repeated reference to "giants" is not merely picturesque; it is historically appropriate. Bashan is the veritable country of the Rephaim, (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. iii. 10-14; Num. xxi. 33-35,) and of Og, their descendant, with his bedstead of iron thirteen feet long. Edrei, Salchah, Bozrah, and Ashteroth Karnaim, are all to be identified by their names, and scanned by living eyes in this age. The villages that Jair built, the cities that Joshua took, and that Chedorlaomer plundered in the days of Abraham, endure to this day! There are the images of Astarte of the double horn or crescent—Ashteroth Karnaim—after whom their oldest city was named; there are the coins, stamped with her effigy; transporting us across forty centuries, back to perhaps the oldest idol-worship this side of the flood.

There still are the "oaks," (Ezek. xxvii. 6,) the "pastures," (Jer. i. 19,) the "fatlings of Bashan," (Ezek. xxxix. 18.) The glorious mountains, (Ps. lxxviii. 15,) clothed in forests, the exuberant plains, rejoicing in their flocks and harvests—but snatching only a precarious joy in all their abundance, because of the Arab plunderers who from time immemorial have laid waste the noble fields they cannot hold—all these are there. There is Argob, the eyrie and shelter now, as it was in the time of Absalom, of refugees and outlaws; the stronghold of the Geshurites ("bridge-people," because the Jordan was bridged in their country, for the great northeastern highway); whose immense populousness amid parched, treeless, verdureless, almost waterless mountains, bore, and still bears witness to the stormy, barbarous temper of people and institutions.

It is of Argob, whose boundaries, being marked by nature, as we shall presently see, have not varied since the flood, that Moses tells us that "We took all his cities, * * * threescore cities: * * * all fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside unwalled towns a great many." Deut. iii. 4, 5. Yet Argob is

a waste by nature, and "measuring not more than thirty miles by twenty." P. 13. The statement looks almost incredible; but there they are, unto this day. "Not less than thirty of the threescore cities of Argob were in view *at one time*, on that day; their black houses and ruins half concealed by the black rocks amid which they are built, and their massive towers rising up here and there like the 'keeps' of old Norman fortresses." P. 28. This Argob is the modern Lejah, whose boundaries, Mr. P. tells us, are aptly denoted by the descriptive word *chebel*, (rope,) coupled with Argob in the Scriptures, (Deut. iii. 4 *et seq.*, 1 Kings iv. 13,) because of their standing out as distinctly as if a rope were drawn along them. P. 24. It is "a vast field of basalt, placed in the midst of the fertile plain of Bashan. Its surface has an elevation of some thirty feet above the plain, and its border is every where as clearly defined by the broken cliffs as any shore line." *Ibid.*

We would like to quote a page or two of the ensuing description, pp. 29 and 30; but the other portions of the book demand brief notice. A sketch of the "Mountains of Bashan" must close our excerpts from this division:

"Leaving Kureiyeh ['manifestly an Arabic form of the Hebrew Kerioth, (p. 83,) Jer. xlvi. 41,'] I turned my back on Moab's desolate plain, and began to climb the mountains of Bashan. Bleak and rocky at their base, they soon assume bolder outlines, and exhibit grander features. Ravines cut deeply into their sides; bare cliffs shoot out from tangled jungles of dwarf ilex, woven together with brambles and creeping plants; pointed cones of basalt, strewn here and there with cinders and ashes, tower up until a wreath of snow is wound round their heads; straggling trees of the great old oaks of Bashan dot thinly the lower declivities; higher up, little groves of them appear, and higher still, around the loftiest peaks, are dense forests. Our road was a goat-track, which wound along the side of a brawling mountain torrent, now scaling a dizzy crag high over it, and now diving down again till the spray of its miniature cascades dashed over our horses. For nearly two hours we rode up that wild and picturesque mountain side. We passed several small villages perched like fortresses on projecting cliffs, and we saw other larger ones in the distance; they are all deserted; and during those two hours we did not meet, nor see, nor hear, a

human being. We saw partridges among the rocks, and eagles sweeping in graceful circles round the mountain tops, and two or three foxes, and one hyena, startled from their lairs by the sound of our horses' feet; but we saw no man, no herd, no flock. The time of judgment predicted by Isaiah has surely come to this part of the land of Israel: 'Behold, *the Lord maketh the land empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof. The land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled; for the Lord hath spoken this word.*' Is. xxiv. 1-3." P. 87.

The following parts of this book lead us across well-travelled ground. They sketch for us, successively, "The Jordan and the Dead Sea," "Jerusalem and its Environs," "The Land of the Philistines," and "Galilee and the Sea-Coast;" leading us thus back to "The Northern Border-Land," which adjoins Bashan. But everywhere there is the same freshness, the same marvellous descriptive power, unsurpassed in our reading, save only by John Ruskin, and the same apt, unforced, most impressive and constant reference to Holy Writ.

We select another paragraph or two, ere taking a reluctant leave of this delightful book. Take the landscape about Lydda:

"As we looked from our commanding position over that wide landscape, we could not but admit that there was a charm in it independent of all its hallowed associations. On the north lay the vast plain of Sharon, variegated with green meadows and yellow cornfields; for, though only the end of April, the fields were 'already white to the harvest.' In the far distance, we could just distinguish the pale blue summits of Carmel. On the east, the view was bounded by the long range of the mountains of Israel, their rounded tops now tinged with the ruddy evening light; and the deep purple shadows of their ravines, throwing out in bold relief the old ruined cities and modern villages that crown nearly all the projecting cliffs. On the south, a swell in the plain concealed Philistia; but that swell was clothed with the orchards of Ramleh, whose tapering minarets and tall white tower shoot up from the midst of the dense foliage. On the west, beyond the gardens, there was first a stretch of brown sandy plain; then a narrow dark belt, traced by the orange groves of Joppa; and then the Mediterranean, gleaming like a mirror of burnished gold beneath the setting sun." Pp. 193, 194.

Touching this same dark belt of orange grove, we have a most

vivid sketch, in few words, of "the tall palms"—"the road, covered deeply with red sand, lined with orchards, in which we saw orange, lemon, peach, pomegranate, and carub trees, intermixed with the palm, walnut, and sycamore; and the whole enclosed by huge hedges of cactus, whose luscious fruit, clinging quaintly to the sides of the great thick leaves, was now almost ripe." P. 192.

Here is another picture of a very different order, but equally removed from the traditionary ideas of Palestine :

"My little guide led me to the western base of Tabor, within sight of the village of Debûrieh, which nestles in a quiet nook on the side of the great plain [Esdraelon]. There he wheeled round, waved a polite adieu, and was out of sight in a moment. I turned my horse's head up the zig-zag path that leads to the top of the hill; but soon, wearying of the windings, I left my horse in charge of my servant, and clambered up straight to the summit. It was a rash act. On my way I saw several jackals, and heard sundry barks and growls which made me feel somewhat uncomfortable. The summit is broad, strewn with ruins, and covered with thickets of dwarf-oak and prickly shrubs. I entered a narrow opening, and was proceeding along a beaten track, when I was startled by a loud snort, and a huge boar, with head down and mane erect, brushed past me, and was followed by a sow and a litter of young. I scarce knew what to do. The place was quite different from what I expected. * * * * After some time and trouble, I discovered water at the bottom of a large dark vault or cistern. A rude staircase once led down the side, but it was now in a great measure destroyed. * * * Holding by an overhanging branch, I began the descent, when suddenly a panther bounded out from an obscure corner, and turning round, growled at me from the opposite side. I could do nothing except look steadily at the beautiful but dangerous creature. Gradually it shrunk back, and at length disappeared in a thicket.

"In all that painful, fearful desolation on the top of Tabor, the finger of God was visible. Prophecy was fulfilled before my eyes. Every object I saw was an emblem and a result of the curse—ruins, thorns, and thistles, wild beasts, a deserted stronghold. What a commentary upon the words of the ancient prophets! "I will destroy your high places. * * * I will make your cities waste, and bring your sanctuaries into desolation. * * * *Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns and briars; yea,*

upon all the houses of joy in the joyous city; the forts and towers shall be for dens. Lev. xxvi. 30, 31; Is. xxxii. 13, 14." Pp. 246, 247.

Then there are *handfuls* of those scraps of knowledge which everybody wants, but which travellers and teachers so constantly forget our ignorance of. The wood of the cedar of Lebanon is tried by a skilful workman, and "pronounced to be of the first quality—almost as hard as oak, with a grain as close as box." Its appearance does not differ much from pine; but its color is deeper and richer. It retains its fragrance as fresh and strong as when first cut." P. 297.

Again, we have one of the names of Hermon illustrated. "As I looked on that western barrier of Bashan, the first sunbeams touched the crest of Hermon; and as they touched it, its icy crown glistened like polished steel, reminding me how strikingly descriptive was the name given to that mountain by the Amorites—*Shenir*, the 'breastplate,' or 'shield.' Deut. iii. 9." P. 30.

But we must break off, tendering our hearty thanks to Mr. Porter for one of the freshest books, and the most vivid sketches of "The Land" we all love. Robinson's laborious "Researches," and Barclay's "City of the Great King," with their elaborate and minute measurements and placings and discussions, are invaluable to the student; but these beautiful word-etchings make "old Canaan" *live* to us; they fill its mountains and vales again with the echoes of the trumpet of the prophets.

A Complete Manual of English Literature. By THOMAS B. SHAW, M. A. Edited, with notes and illustrations, by WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D., Author of Bible and Classical Dictionaries, and Classical Examiner in the University of London. With a Sketch of American Literature, by HENRY T. TUCKERMAN. New York: Sheldon and Company, 1867. 12mo. 540 pages.

English literature has no epic poems analogous to those of Homer in the Greek tongue, to the *Æneid* of the great Roman poet, to the grand exponents of the age of chivalry produced by

Ariosto and Tasso in soft Italian, or to the *Lusiad* to which the concise Portuguese owes its place amongst literary languages. But it has a Milton to match against Dante. It has no Corneille and Racine to answer to the three great dramatists of the Hellenic race, no Molière to compare with Aristophanes. But it has a Shakspeare, more wonderful in his "many-sidedness" than them all; while, though below them, yet not very far below, it has a great wealth of humor and pathos in too many of the Elizabethan dramatists to permit our naming them in this scanty space, sparkling and luxuriant wit in the dissolute comedy that flourished on the restoration of the house of Stuart, and in succeeding generations the pleasant humor of Goldsmith and the epigrammatic glitter of Sheridan's wit. Hence in the drama, this literature is more copious and varied than any other, and may be truly described as without a rival. In subtle and delicate prose-humor, such names as Sir Thomas Browne, Thomas Fuller, Sterne, Addison, Steele, and Charles Lamb, show its superiority to all other literatures in quantity, while in quality those adorned by Cervantes and Jean Paul Richter respectively, can alone claim preëminence. In the departments of history, biography, criticism, and oratory, there is a richness which will bear comparison with the treasures of any other tongue. In theology, it would be safe to say that no rival exists. In science, Bacon and Newton alone vindicate sufficiently the claim of Anglo-Saxon thought to the gratitude of the human race; and the hosts of their worthy followers need not even be named. In metaphysical speculation, Locke and Sir William Hamilton may play the same august part. While, from Chaucer down to Tennyson, exclusive of the drama and of epic song, we have had sweet notes of melody revealing to the soul that essence of beauty and truth in all created things which the rude machinery of the senses cannot grasp—notes more varied in scope and power than any other language can supply. Besides all this, the English tongue contains a treasury of fiction, enriched by legacies from the genius of the past and unceasingly supplied by living masters of this wonderful creative art, which excels in solid worth and elegant decoration any similar collection in the languages in

which this ore has been worked. From Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, to Bulwer, Thackeray, and Dickens, the time has not been long; but the art-pictures have been almost thousands in number, and masterly in beauty, taste, and dignity.

With all this height and breadth of excellence, it is manifest that English literature deserves the closest study in our schools and colleges, that the youth who were born to speak the tongue in which its riches are stored may easily learn to know something of its extent and of the relative importance of its several parts, with a view to their guidance in subsequent and more profound attention to some chosen department. That such a survey may be made by the student, it is needful that some preparatory book like the present, reviewing in a cursory manner the whole ground covered by the subject, should be put into their hands.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, Charles Lamb, Hallam, and such biographical essayists as Sir Walter Scott, Lord Macaulay, Bayne, and Henry Rogers, besides Hazlitt and Thackeray in their Lectures, have with graphic skill and copious affluence of critical taste and feeling illustrated many detached portions of the literature of their native tongue. Leigh Hunt also has in his sprightly but somewhat flippant manner aided in guiding the footsteps of the moderns through the charmed spots haunted by the spirits of the elder race of writers; and scattered through the works of Coleridge, that strange store-house of all lore, of whom John Wilson speaks as "that rich-freighted Argosie tilting in sunshine over Imagination's Seas," are many precious bits of criticism transcending in value many pages of elaborate disquisition proceeding from minds of less vivid sympathy with genius and of coarser grain.

But most of the books devoted to the history of our Literature from its gradual rise to the age in which we live—which *complete* work is the *desideratum* for educational institutions—have been merely meagre skeleton outlines, lacking artistic proportion, deficient in finish, and utterly destitute of the vital breath that should warm the reader into interest and sympathy. Schlegel and Sismondi, despite their peculiar faults, are both excellent;

but the field they cover is too vast to enable them to do complete justice to that portion of it to which the present work is confined. M. Philarète Chasles, in his *Études*, has displayed such catholicity of taste, such warm appreciation of the powers of the English mind, and such fine critical acumen, that, had he undertaken a work so thorough in its treatment as this of Shaw's, it would assuredly have been a worthy rival. In him, in Cousin, and in Guizot, French criticism shows a great advance since the days of Chateaubriand in knowledge of the English people and their literature.

But the work under review has amply supplied the want of a thorough critico-historical abridgement of the whole subject. It was published in its original form by Thomas Budd Shaw, under the title of *Outlines of English Literature*, some twenty years ago. Some important additions have been made by that eminent classical scholar, Dr. William Smith; but the bulk of the book in its present shape is still Shaw's. It is no dry summary of authors and their works, but a most valuable and gracefully written history, in compendious form, of the rise and progress of a noble literature, animated in diction, and entertaining from the variety of subjects touched upon, at the same time that it is thorough in its treatment of each important era or most distinguished writer, comprehensive in its scope, and compact even where most full of matter. Yet the style is so easy and the flow of narrative so unconstrained, the grouping so natural and the criticism so luminous, that its succinctness is totally free from any stiffness and cramped confusion such as indicates an approach to mere catalogue-making. It conveys rather the impression of a series of tasteful essays, felicitously grouped so as to guide the reader from one magnificent art-gallery to another, until the entire suite of apartments has been traversed.

The style in general is rich and full, with a graceful copiousness of choice language, and, like all good English, idiomatic enough to preserve it from that stilted uniformity of structure which makes each separate sentence look like a soldier on drill and gives the whole the air of a wearisome mechanical movement. It seldom exhibits either marks of carelessness on the one hand,

or of turgid over-embellishment on the other. Ideas are freely borrowed, with admirable good sense, from such able essayists as may have worthily elaborated any branch of the subject under discussion.

Instances of the judgment shown in the selection of themes for fuller disquisition than usual, and of skill in the treatment of them, may be found in the opening chapter, which sketches the growth of the English language; in the ample space given to Chaucer, the father of English poetry; in the able analysis of Bacon's inductive philosophy; in the neat essay on the origin of the modern drama; in the warmly appreciative chapter on Shakspeare; in the chapters devoted respectively to Milton and Sir Walter Scott; and in the fine account of the functions and peculiarities of the novel, that thoroughly modern form of fiction. In treating of this last, however, some mention should have been made of the earliest efforts in prose fiction known, Lucian's strange satire, from which both *Cyrano de Bergerac* and Swift borrowed so much; the Byzantine romances; the immoral but witty writings of Apuleius and Petronius Arbiter, from which Le Sage, Boccaccio, and even Cervantes, drew hints; and the huge, bewilderingly labyrinthine satire of Rabelais. Still, for the compass of the work, the sketch is very complete.

Subjoined to each chapter are *Notes and Illustrations*, which sketch briefly the works of the minor writers belonging to the age of which the preceding chapter treats. These give completeness to the work, while, being thrown into the form of an appendix, they do not operate as an embarrassment to the mind of the reader in its endeavor to grasp a continuous view of the great stream of English literature.

It would be a difficult task to determine which period is treated of with greatest discrimination. At each great epoch, Shaw seems to rise with his subject, and his manner kindles at once into warm enthusiasm, tempered by ripe and scholarly taste.

There is one blot, however, on the impartial character of the book—a blot, which we greatly deplore, so high is our admiration of the work as a whole. We allude to the frequent sneers in which the author indulges when referring to dissent from the

Established Church. It is painful to find sectarian rancor revealed in the midst of such hearty and tasteful sketches of the great dead and living children of their genius, in such bitter and illiberal expressions as "the fanatical gloom and mysticism of the Calvinistic extreme," "the rampant violence of sectarians," and other harsh and unjust epithets of the like nature.

In the sketch of American Literature, appended to the work and written by the accomplished essayist, Tuckerman, we find traces of a somewhat similar spirit, the bigotry and Pharisaic pride that will not believe in any good thing coming out of Nazareth. The blemish of political spite is plainly visible in the surprising statement that "Calhoun was eminently sophistical:" while Legaré, an essayist inferior to none living or dead, and greatly superior to modern English essayists as a writer of pure English, is disposed of in one line at the end of a roll-call of names.

The only omissions we detect at present in Shaw's book are comprised in the failure to mention Sir Thomas Urquhart's admirable translation of Rabelais, and also the writings of Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, whose epic poem "Joseph" and curious "Letters from the Dead to the Living," had no small reputation in their day. Some slight reference, too, should have been made to such minor modern writers as Allan Cunningham, John Sterling, and Macnish; and Edward Irving, that strange erratic genius, as an eloquent pulpit orator deserved some notice.

Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac. A Critical History of Operations in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, from the commencement to the close of the War, 1861-5. By WILLIAM SWINTON. New York: C. B. Richardson. 8vo. 640 pages.

We have seen no book on the events of the late war by either Confederate or Federal partisan so valuable as an approximation to the truth, so interesting in its narrative of many events heretofore little understood, or so excellent in its criticisms, as this history of the war in Virginia, by an army correspondent of the *New York Times*. Associated with the Army of the Potomac

from an early period, anticipating the production of such a work, and apparently in familiar and friendly relations with its officers of all grades, he has lacked for no information of their operations which their candor was sufficient to supply. He also quotes freely from the private papers of Mr. Lincoln, from Confederate official documents, from the archives of the Federal Departments of War and State, and from conversations since the war with many prominent Confederate officers. Ample sources of information, however, are not alone sufficient to insure a truthful narrative, and we have yet to mention Mr. Swinton's chief claims to our respect. He has not only brought to his work an amount of personal experience in the army which has generally enabled him to detect and reject the Munchausenisms which soldiers are so apt to impose upon their historians, but he deals out both fact and criticism with a candor and boldness which is certainly reckless of the consequences to any individual reputation, and in many places no little damaging to the fair fame of his only hero, the Army of the Potomac itself. It must not be inferred, however, that there is absolutely no misstatement of fact or no partiality of praise in all the details of the book, for such it is not given to man to write; and from our own very limited knowledge, we can point out several instances of each. But the general tone of the whole work convinces us that these are usually the result of disingenuousness in his authorities, and not in the writer himself. Indeed, as we have read many of Mr. Swinton's pages, we could not but wish that his pen might some day undertake the story of the "Barbarities of the War," and tell the sober facts about Andersonville and Elmira, Point Lookout and the Libby, Ould and Butler, and the massacres of the negroes at Fort Pillow and the Indians near Fort Lyon.* It could not but be sufficiently

* See Congressional Report of Committee on Conduct of War, 1865, vol. 3, pages 1-108, for official testimony and details of most ruthless, wanton, and deliberate massacre of one hundred and fifty peaceful Indians, the great majority of them squaws and children, who had placed themselves, and been received, under the protection of the United States volunteer troops, who committed the massacre. Not one was spared, from the warrior who sat quietly in his lodge awaiting his fate, to the three-year old left by his moth-

near the truth to enable the judges of "Comparative Civilisation" to strike a balance of which we should not complain. For it is a fact that, in spite of sentiments otherwise happily harmonised by the war, the *comparative* questions seem by no means settled, and are doubtless still prominent in the minds of many readers, both at the North and South. And it is another fact, more widely felt than published, that, after all, the right of secession was perhaps but a minor question with the masses on both sides, and the real issue of the war was "who can whip." The North modestly asserted that, having the odds of twenty to seven, she felt equal to the task; while Dixie, somewhat extravagantly perhaps, offered to whip five to one. As the issue has been strangely overlooked in the terms of peace both as offered by Grant and subsequently modified by Congress, each survivor is still at liberty to investigate and decide the question according to the evidence before him, and we can recommend no more interesting witness in the matter than Mr. S. As we have already said, he is sometimes, however, incorrect in statements, and, not unfrequently, partial in his praise; but, although a few illustrations which we subjoin will show that his inaccuracies are always upon points which involve the prowess of his hero, Mr. S. must stand acquitted of all intentional unfairness.

In his account of the battle of Gettysburg, he has for once been imposed upon with a very palpable fable, but one which enjoys a wide popularity at the North. In the account of the charge of Pickett's Division on the 3rd of July, he says: "It happened that the division on the left of Pickett, under command of Gen. Pettigrew, was, in considerable part, made up of North Carolina troops comparatively green. To animate them, they had been told that they would meet only the Pennsylvania militia.

er toddling in the heavy sand, or the sucking babe at the breast; and when there were none left alive, the whole command made merry *with more horrible and disgusting mutilations of the dead bodies than the Sepoys ever dreamed of.* (See page 88.) The hero of the massacre was Col. Chivington, of Denver City. Gov. John Evans, of Colorado, was privy to it; the press applauded it; and the present universal Indian war is the result of it.

But when, approaching the slope, they received the *feu d'enfer* from Hays' line, there ran through their ranks a cry, the effect of which was like to that which thrilled a Greek army when it was said that the god Pan was among them—'The Army of the Potomac.' Thus suddenly disillusionised concerning their opponents, Pettigrew's troops broke in disorder, leaving two thousand prisoners and fifteen colors in the hands of Hays' division." This incident (?) is frequently published at the North, and was doubtless given to Mr. S. in a much more extravagant form; but notwithstanding his modifications, it remains a self-evident absurdity that the Army of the Potomac ever bore such a terrible name in the Confederate ranks that to pronounce it was to scare even a "North Carolinian comparatively green." Were it necessary to prove this, we could readily indicate more than one encounter between the very greenest North Carolinians and the Army of the Potomac, in which the willingness of the one to meet was certainly no less than that of the other to be met.

In the account of the battle of Fredericksburg, the extent and the influence of the Confederate fortifications is very much exaggerated, as, in fact, is the case in most of the Southern accounts also. There were but eleven small pits for one gun each, and these but half finished at the time, which had the slightest influence on the result. On page 270, also, the extent of the Confederate fortifications existing at the battle of Chancellorsville is greatly magnified; and in connexion with the same subject, on pages 296 and 297, a very incorrect idea is given of the capture of Marye's Hill on the 3rd of May. The Confederate force which defended it, is represented as two brigades and three batteries. It was really but about seven hundred men (the 18th and 21st Mississippi regiments,) and eight guns, (parts of four different batteries). This small force repelled several assaults in which two strong *divisions* were engaged, after the last of which Col. Griffin, in command, allowed a flag of truce to approach his line and remove the wounded; and his weakness was thus discovered. A force of not less than twelve to one was immediately afterwards hurled, simultaneously, on his whole front and flanks, and

nearly the whole command was thus captured, after having killed nearly double their number of the enemy.

In the account (page 452) of the capture of Johnson's division at Spottsylvania on the 12th of May, it is stated that the successful progress of the attack was stopped by "a second line of earthworks," half a mile in rear of the first. This is a favorite excuse for an unsuccessful ending of a good beginning; and is found again in the account of the assault on the Confederate lines at Cold Harbor on the 1st of June. There was no second line in either case; in fact the Confederates never built a second line, except in the fortifications around Richmond and Petersburg. The success in the first place was due to a partial surprise of a very bad location, when the artillery was not in position; and in the second case, a strong column came through a wide gap where a swamp ran through the Confederate position, and falling on the adjacent flanks, took a very small portion of each before the troops in them could change front. In the account of the assault on these same lines two days later, they are again spoken of as "impregnable works" to excuse the prompt repulse which was suffered. The term may be applied to the thin ranks which defended them, but was never more inappropriate than when applied to the works themselves. They had never been regularly laid out, but were commenced by the troops of their own accord just where they happened to be halted. The trenches were principally dug with bayonets and tin cups; there were no obstructions in front, no flanking arrangements, a horse could be ridden over them anywhere, and in several places the assaulting columns had but a hundred yards to traverse to reach them.

There are several other places where the impression is conveyed very erroneously that the Army of the Potomac fairly drove the Army of Northern Virginia from portions of its lines; but we have only space for one more example of the sort, and select an account of a small affair at a bridge over the North Anna on the 23rd of May, 1864. On page 475, it is represented that "a part of McLaws' division" was assaulted "in an extended redan with a wet ditch in front" and driven out by an assaulting column of two brigades, moving over "a tongue of

land," "a bare and barren plain." The "part of McLaws' division" was one small regiment; "the extended redan with a wet ditch in front" was a little affair built a year before to repel cavalry, and the ditch was only wet, like all other ditches, when it caught rain water. The "tongue of land" and "barren plain" are purely ideal features, put in to add to the desperate character of the fighting. The ground really afforded such excellent cover that the assaulting column got so close to the redan before it was discovered that some guns on the opposite bank were scarcely able to touch it before it reached its goal.

In the comments upon Grant's overland campaign, Mr. S. says (page 489): "The Army of the Potomac in one pregnant month fought its way to the Chickahominy." "And although the illustrious valor of the Army of the Potomac more than once plucked victory from the jaws of hell and bayoneted an unyielding enemy in the very *enceinte* of his citadel, the Union commander was never able to crush his opponent, who, thrown again and again in the mighty wrestle, each time rose quickly to his feet. Foiled in the effort to force a direct issue, Gen. Grant, at the end of each combat, initiated a movement to turn the hostile front; and these flanking movements were executed with much address, throwing the Confederates necessarily out of the positions at the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, and the Pamunkey." This is all pure fiction, and is by no means borne out by Mr. Swinton's own narrative. The way of the Army of the Potomac to its position on the banks of that delectable stream, the Chickahominy, had never been opposed in the least, and this position does not seem to have been highly appreciated, even after it was attained. All the *fighting* that had occurred, had been on the road to *Richmond*; and although the Army of the Potomac had left in that road more than sixty thousand dead and wounded men, it had never crossed one of Gen. Lee's barriers across it, and it had only gone, by its flank, where it might have been carried by water without firing a gun. The "direct issue" was always offered it, and was exactly what was fought for, on every field. In the Wilderness, the Confederates repulsed all attacks without any intrenchments whatever, and themselves

attacked Grant within them. And although Gen. Grant led 141,166 men, and Gen. Lee but 52,626, Grant never remained unintrenched a single night. The only foundation for the remark about bayoneting the Confederates in their very citadel, is the capture of Johnson's division at Spottsylvania, of which we have already spoken. We have only space to add that the position was an extreme salient so unimportant that the Federals soon abandoned it and the Confederates did not reoccupy it. If either party was thrown again and again, and each time rose quickly to his feet, it was certainly Grant, whose enormous losses were fully compensated, if not exceeded, by enormous reinforcements; whilst Lee's killed and wounded were double his reinforcements. It would be much more ingenuous for all historians to sum up all these discussions in the quiet words of Gen. Jackson, who said on his death-bed: "My men *sometimes* fail to drive the Yankees from position, but they *always* fail to drive us."

The true figures showing the comparative strength of the two armies will be new and interesting to many readers, and we select the most important. They indicate the "present for duty" of all arms.

DATE.	ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.	ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA.
January 1, 1862, - - -	200,000*	62,112
June 26, 1862, - - -	115,102	80,000*
Sept. 17, 1862, - - -	94,000	36,000*
May 1, 1863, - - -	132,000	55,000
July 1, 1863, - - -	not given.	70,000
May 1, 1864, - - -	141,166	52,626
May 31, 1864, - - -	140,000*	44,247
April 1, 1865, - - -	160,000	37,000

These figures reflect queerly on one of the closing sentences of the book, in which Mr. Swinton speaks of the review in Wash-

* Not given by Swinton, but based on official records.

ington City, where "the citizens with great rejoicing welcomed home the men whose valor had won the peace that now reigned over the land." While no one will dispute their valor, it would be fairer to state that their numbers had also a great deal to do with it. Had Gen. Lee commanded 160,000 men on the 1st of April, 1865, instead of 37,000, Mr. Swinton himself will admit that a very different "peace" would have prevailed.

On the subject of peace, we find the following very significant language on page 495, in commenting on the situation after Gen. Grant had "fought his way to the Chickahominy:"

"Now, so gloomy was the military outlook after the action on the Chickahominy, and to such a degree, by consequence, had the moral spring of the public mind become relaxed, that there was great danger of a collapse of the war. The history of this conflict truthfully written will show this. The archives of the State Department, when one day made public, will show how deeply the Government was affected by the want of military success, and *to what resolutions the Executive had in consequence come.*" (The italics are ours.)

This language means a great deal, and it is interesting to inquire what were these unfortunate military successes. The only important ones were Sherman's successful approach toward Atlanta, and Grant's capture of the outer works of Petersburg; and in his account of the latter affair, Mr. Swinton covers up the shame of the Army of the Potomac, and detracts from the fame of the gallant defence by Gen. Beauregard and his handful of troops, as well as reflects upon the prestige of Gen. Lee's army, by asserting that the latter took part in the defence. The facts are briefly as follows:

On the 12th of June, Grant moved from Cold Harbor for Petersburg, with his whole force. On the 13th, Lee moved to Malvern Hill, and ordered Hoke's division, which had been at Cold Harbor for two weeks, to return to Beauregard. On the 15th, Grant's advance, 18,000 strong, assaulted the works around Petersburg, defended only by Wise's and Dearing's small brigades, and some old men and boys from the city, the whole force not exceeding 2,000. About sundown, a small part of the line was captured from this force, and, about the same time, 20,000

more of Grant's troops arrived, but attempted no further advance. During the night, Hoke's division, 4,500 strong, reinforced Beauregard, and a new line was taken up a short distance in rear of the one broken. Seeing this, on the 16th, Grant waited for the rest of his army to arrive, and, at 4 p. m., renewed the assault with overwhelming numbers, by mere dint of which Beauregard, at dark, had been forced back a short distance. During the night, the worn-out Confederates improvised a temporary line, and reinforced again by Bushrod Johnston, from Bermuda Hundreds, with 5,500 muskets, made a bold front on the morning of the 17th, while Gen. Beauregard and his noble old engineer, Col. Harris, selected a new line on better ground in rear, which afterwards became the permanent Confederate intrenchment. On the 17th, Grant renewed his assaults at an early hour, and bitter fighting, without material result, was maintained until after dark. As soon as it ceased, the troops were withdrawn to the new line, and spent the night in covering themselves on it. On the morning of the 18th, Kershaw's division, at the head of Longstreet's corps, reached Petersburg, and relieved a part of Beauregard's worn-out troops; but the greater portion could not be relieved by daylight on account of their exposed position. That afternoon, Grant made his last effort, and ordered a general assault by his whole force. The fight had been so taken out of his whole army, however, by their three days' contest with one-twelfth of their numbers, that there was hardly a show of it left, and Kershaw reported only a demonstration resulting in some skirmishing. During all of this time, Gen. Lee had lain at Malvern Hill, expecting Grant's advance on the north side of the James, and had refused Beauregard's urgent appeal for reinforcements. Had even one half of his army reached Petersburg on the 16th, as Swinton intimates that the whole did, instead of a partial success, the lines of that city would have been the scene of the bloodiest defeat that the Army of the Potomac ever met, and we might then have known "to what resolutions the Executive had in consequence come." We do not murmur at these events, because so plainly the ruling of Providence; but we do claim from his-

tory the verdict that Providence here seems signally to have interfered to *prevent a fair fight*, by allowing Gen. Lee to be deceived, as he never was before or since, at the most critical period of our fortunes, and thus paralysed the Confederate right arm when it had its only opportunity of dealing a fatal blow.

Many of Mr. Swinton's admirable criticisms on prominent Federal generals will be read with interest and surprise, but we have no room to present any of them fully. Their frankness, however, may be inferred, when we state that he emphatically contradicts Gen. Grant's official statements in more places than one, and that he sums up Gen. John Pope's character in the significant remark: "He had the misfortune of all men to be the most *disbelieved*." [Italics his own.] The burning of barns and farming implements by Sheridan in the Valley, he rather mildly terms "indefensible," and the excuse "not sufficient." We hope to live to hear history pronounce both *cowardly*. He states truthfully the enormous odds and disadvantages against which Early fought, with a dauntless courage and determination which shall yet receive its high meed of praise, and expose the shallow foundations of Sheridan's fame.

He speaks rather favorably of the humbug Dahlgren, and says nothing of the nefarious orders found upon his body; although he confirms a fact we have before heard on excellent authority, which stamps the brutal character of the man. Swinton says, page 400: "A native of the country had undertaken to lead the party to a ford not far from Richmond, but through ignorance or treachery, he missed his way and conducted the column to near Goochland C. H., a full day's march from the intended point. The guide was hanged to the nearest tree." This "native of the country" was a *negro lad*, who had been frightened into undertaking to find a ford which only existed in Dahlgren's imagination. Had Dahlgren's pluck equalled his cruelty, his chances to take Richmond were still as good as ever, and the retribution which overtook him was only due to his timidity.

Of his most excellent and accurate maps, both of battle-fields and campaigns, of his judicious military criticisms, and of a few

well-deserved tributes to the conduct of the Army of Northern Virginia, we have no space to speak.

We have dwelt at much more length than we intended upon the self-complacent vein of Mr. Swinton's book, but must plead as our excuse the sublime effrontery of the North in its blatant claims to a superior civilisation and a higher courage as decided by the war, and which claims, the example of Mr. Swinton indicates, *they are absolutely beginning to believe themselves.* While, therefore, we by no means advocate the blowing of our own trumpets, we do feel indignant at all falsification of facts, and somewhat unwilling, also, to have them even forgotten.

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ARTICLE I.

Right and Wrong; or, A Check to Atheism: Being a Review of a Work by Rev. ALBERT BARNES, entitled Faith in God's Word.

We were seated with a young ministerial brother one summer day, by a chalybeate spring on the side of a hill in Tennessee. While enjoying the pretty valley below, and the cold water trickling from its orange-like deposit into a marble basin, he said: "Doctor, is it not easier to believe, with the atheist, that all things have their nature, truth, and right, from the *law* of an impersonal power, than that there is an *eternal personal God*?" We answered: "No. The atheist is guilty of a blunder in this notion. First, he is *conscious* that he is a *personal self*. Secondly, he is equally *conscious* that his *ideas* of power, nature, law, truth, right, are the *creations*, (*before they are perceived*,) of *his personal mind*, under effort of his *will*; and that every thing he accomplishes, is merely giving outward expression to these *free conceptions*; and he knows that wherever he sees law, truth, right, in the things other men have made, these things had their

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origin also, from the same personal free conception and corresponding act. Hence, the atheist, if he did not contradict what he knows to be true of himself, and other men, would believe that all law, truth, and right, which he sees in works *not of man*, have their existence from a *personal being* higher than man, and that that *being* is GOD."

Atheism, then, is nothing better than a depraved blunder, tested by the highest authority of the human mind, that is, *consciousness*.

We thus reason, from the conscious *I am*, of my personal *self*, up to the uncreated I AM, the eternal God. This, indeed, is mere process of thought. But the Scriptures reveal, above all argument, that HE IS, and *what HE IS*. How important, then, the proof that the Bible is the Word of God.

A book has recently appeared which asserts that God is not the *creator of right* ; but that there is a distinction between *right* and *wrong*, in *the nature of things*. Its scope is, that God, in the beginning, looked into his eternal nature, and saw there, all possible truth and error, right and wrong, in perfect mode, before the action of his will. That, then, under the guidance of these eternal verities, he made the universe. And that, since the beginning, all things in creation and providence have their distinction of truth and error, right and wrong, in their immutable nature. Man, therefore, it is affirmed, must decide for himself, in the *highest*, as well as in every subordinate sense, whether the Scriptures, claiming to be a revelation from God, are such, by bringing them to the test of certain maxims or settled principles, which, it is assumed, he already knows to be among such eternal realities.

In reply to this idea, we affirm the following scriptural truths.

1. That God is the *creator* of all truth, and is the *perceiver* of it only as it exists in his *eternal conception*. Hence, when he causes things spiritual and material to exist in time and space, they are *reproductions* of that higher creation which was previously in his own mind. Before we write more, let us say, by *conception*, we mean, according to received definitions, "*The act,*

or faculty of the mind, by which ideas are originated." Again, "Conception is the forming and bringing of an image or an idea into the mind by an effort of the will."

2. Man, being the image of God, is *the maker of his ideas*; and is, therefore, the *perceiver* of them only as they exist in his *conception* of them.

3. When God speaks to his intelligent creatures, *his word* is itself the *highest proof* he can give of its truth.

4. The *highest proof* in intelligent minds of the truth thus uttered, is *faith in God's word, before and above all reasoning.*

5. *This faith is direct divine impress on such minds.*

6. *All other faith is secondary, and lower proof of the word.*

We will now sustain these affirmations.

First truth. God, we have said, is the creator of truth in his own mind; and perceives truth only as he thus creates it.

He so reveals himself. He proclaims that "he is light." John i. 5. That "he thinks." Ps. xxxiii. 11. That "he plans." Eph. i. 11. That "he sees the end from the beginning." Acts xv. 18. That he is "free": "does what he pleases." Ps. cxv. 3. That he "worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." That his "mind is his own, and that he is his own counsellor." Eph. i. 11.

God is "free." Then his mental state is his will. He sees no idea as a self-evident thing existing in his nature before he wills it. He thinks it, *i. e.* he creates it, and makes it truth. He is light in his eternal will. He makes one and one to be two. He perceives them such, because he made them such, in his most wise and free thought.

To say that mathematical truth is perceived only, and not made to be such by God, is to affirm that all other truths are only seen in the divine nature, irrespective of God's will. It matters not whether it be said that this unwilled truth was in the divine nature, or in the nature of eternally existing atoms. It is equally atheism. It is *that*; for, if God sees any unwilled truth, always existing, no matter where, then all ideas constituting the universe are eternal things, higher than the conception of God, and only seen as such by him as the necessity of his

nature. Then, all ideas embraced in the world of finite spiritual beings, are things which God read first in the book of eternal self-existing facts. It matters not a jot, we repeat it, whether that book be called the divine nature, or the book of the impersonal law of atheism. Then, all ideas of matter—its laws innumerable—God studied in that book which he did not make in the pleasure of his will. Then, all ideas belonging to the six days of creation, and the rest of the sabbath, were truths obligatory upon God from that book of fatality, setting forth what he had to know, and what he had to do. Then, all ideas constituting the wisdom there is in the structure of the body and the soul of man, were eternal verities, which God saw above his free thought, and had to create and proclaim very good. Then, all ideas in the kingdoms of providence and grace, were truths tied together in eternal fitness of things, which God had to bring to pass: Adam, Eden, the fall, the promised seed, Abel's altar, Noah's ark, Sinai, Calvary, Olivet, the second coming, the throne, heaven, hell, were all seen of God as one great chain of eternal truth, stretched out in his mind, every link of which existed perfect before his will, and which he had, of necessity, to reveal in a moral universe. Then, Christ's character, and its image in the Christian, were images—eternal archetypes, pictures existing of necessity, ready-painted on the canvass of the divine nature—while God, in his will, was only a sort of living lens, through which the glory passed into the heavens, and down to the earth.

If, then, an axiom is not divinely originated thought, of course all other truths are not creations of the mind of God; for mathematical verities are not more eternal than other truths. The atheist, then, speaks and says, "What need of God? for if it is admitted that God never made ideas, but only saw them as self-existent truth, then I affirm that the law of this unwilled truth is itself the power of the universe; and is ever moving without agency, or need of a personal God."

But if God gives birth to one thought, then he gives life to every idea. Then, he wills his own absolute truth, and all modes of truth, and all ways of right, wherever truth and right exist.

Then, from all eternity he did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own free will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass. Then, in the beginning, he created the heavens and the earth, according to the good pleasure of his will. The beginning, first in his mind, and afterwards in immensity, was of his own thought. The earth without form and void, the spirit upon the face of the waters, the first evening and morning, the firmament, the gathered waters, the dry land, the grass, the herb yielding seed and fruit-tree yielding fruit, the lights in the firmament to divide the day from the night, and to be for signs and for seasons, the stars also—all this inanimate and inorganic matter was but giving outward existence to the creation already in his mind. And all moving creatures brought forth of the waters, and fowl in the open firmament, and great whales, cattle, creeping thing, and beasts of the earth, were of the same free conception. And when he said, "Let us make man after our likeness," and male and female they were so created, and dominion given, they were but images of himself. And when he had thus made the earth and the heavens, and seen every thing to be very good, and blessed that rest of the seventh day, and sanctified it, his hands had only completed the previous work of his mind. And when he placed man under law, in the relation then constituted between himself and his creatures, with its covenant of life and death, RIGHT and WRONG were then *first MADE to be*, in the PLEASURE of *his WILL*; the thing commanded was right, because he willed it to be right; the thing commanded not to be was wrong, solely because he willed it to be wrong. When, therefore, he called Abraham, gave him the promises, made him his friend and the father of all the spiritual children who were to possess the heavenly Canaan, he did his mere pleasure. And when he spoke to Israel from Sinai, and ordained the law in ten commandments, to fit the ten relations he then established between himself and man, and man and his neighbor, that law was of his own conception of right. For those ten relations, with their good and evil, were such in his mere pleasure. And the changing conditions of those relations were simply what he made them to be. The law then, suited to

those relations and their varying conditions, was rule of right, thus suited in the wisdom of his mere pleasure and will. Finally, when God gave his Son, and his Spirit, and his promise of life, and the first and every call of salvation to the world, all was of his free love. Heaven, then, is of his pleasure. Hell is the infinite wisdom of his will.

Let it be observed, that the point to be settled is not whether God could have ideas of number, and certain similar relations of received truth, other than he has: for he has made these things to remain unchangeable to us. But the question is, whether he has these ideas as mere perceptions of eternally perfected truths, seen as such in his nature, or has them as free creations of his thought, according to his inscrutable self-will. The difference is all-important to the right understanding of this subject; for, according to the one affirmation, all ideas are higher than the will of God. He only perceives them, and must be controlled by them. According to the other affirmation, God freely creates all his thoughts. His thoughts, then, are just his pleasure. And, as such, he reveals them to man. Man, then, does not learn truths which are higher than the conceptions of God, and having therefore claim of obligation upon him above the mere will of his Maker, but he himself, when he conceives ideas, makes them, after his finite resemblance to the divine Creator of thought, and has, therefore, all truth binding upon him, simply as truth, made to be such in the mere will of God. This train of thought is unbroken; and may be thus condensed, to wit: The nature of all things is only known to us in its results; that of the diamond, in the realised precious stone; that of the oak, in the perfected tree; that of the animal, in the matured living creature; that of man, in the self-generated idea, and that idea, then made his, with all its responsibilities, in the self-determined pleasure of his will. This is all we know of nature. Back of that perfected result, it is a thing of mere potentiality to become that gem, tree, living thing, or the intelligent, moral mind. And thus, as we can only go up from earth to heaven, and from man to God, in any possible notion we can form of him, we hold, God's *nature* is, so to speak, without form and

void, until it is *will*. This must be; for, from eternity, God reveals it to be known only in his will.

Second truth. Man, being the image of God, conceives his thoughts, and then perceives them.

In the conceptions which come through the senses, the pictured retina does not send ideas along the optic nerve. Neither does the tympanum vibrate thoughts. No. The mind makes ideas, as to things of sight and sound, when the eye and the ear are in certain conditions. It thus conceives, generates, gives existence to thought, by incomprehensible spontaneous power of the personal self, the working of its nature, when the senses act. It then perceives its own conceptions; and, thereafter, continues to perceive ideas which it freely makes. Mathematical truths are not exceptions; for numbers are not self-evident truths, perceived as such. They are made: *i. e.* the idea of *one* is a mental creation. And the combination of one and one to make two, is process. It is reasoning. And the mind perceives the combination as the result of its own action, and its pleasure. The bird pecking its cherry cannot count one. It sees the cluster, yet it cannot enumerate three. The boy, too, cannot as yet count. An apple is in his hand. But he has no more idea of one apple, than the bird has of one cherry. How, then, does he get the idea of one? You teach him to make it. You set his mind to work, and he presently has the conception of one: that is, he thinks as you think. You then teach him to make the notion of two, and the after combinations. This, every body knows, is hard work for the boy. He may, the next time you question him, have any sort of idea except that it is one apple. After a while, indeed, he reaches these first ideas easily, and associates them so rapidly, that he perceives the additions without conscious effort; and then believes, forsooth, because his teacher instructs him so to believe, that it is self-evident one and one make two. But it is no more self-evident to the boy that one and one make two, than it was self-evident to the astronomer that a new planet caused the vibrations of Uranus. The philosopher made his calculations, and conceived the idea of another planet. The boy reasoned, and created the result that one and one make two.

Ideas, on all other subjects, are, in like manner, *created*. The man of science makes them when he examines facts which were (as said,) the previous conceptions of the divine thought. Yea, he lives in a world he has fitted up, as really as God. The architect makes his first conceptions, and then all the combinations of his structure. The poet, the musician, the painter, the sculptor, makes, each for himself, a heaven of thought. The physician conceives ideas of life and its preservation. And the lawyer creates his notions of right and wrong, of law and justice.

In this view of the human mind, well may we *reverence* Homer, Virgil, Shakspeare, Milton, Bunyan, Bacon, Newton, as highest finite creators. So, too, we honor the minds from which were revealed to the world the Parthenon and St. Peter's. We offer incense to the power which gave birth to the sculptured Apollo, and pictured Transfiguration. We pay homage to the conceivers of diseases and their cures. We look up in awe to minds unfolding in the temple of truth their counsels of right. And thus, while the humblest may ascend Alps of thought, climbing to comprehend the stars of intellect, all may rise above the universe, and be partakers of the divine knowledge, when they conceive the words spoken by inspired men, and have the wisdom of salvation.

The sum of the truth advanced is this: God, from eternity, freely conceives all thought, and makes it his infinite wisdom, in the self-determined pleasure of his will. Man, like his Creator, spontaneously generates ideas; and makes them his, in the same self-pleasure of will.

This, we think, is the Bible revelation as to God and as to man. We give the fact. The argument on self-determination will be in its place.

We only say, in anticipation, a word, viz., that we are familiar with the strongest things which have been written to sustain the notion that motive decides the will, thus making man the mere creature of necessity. And we affirm the theory to be utterly without proof from the Bible, from human consciousness, or the common sense of thinking men. Its seeming plausibility is entirely from the analogies of physical causation; but it is as

absolutely false and delusive as Berkeley's denial of the existence of matter, and far more mischievous—an argument which nobody has ever disproved, and yet nobody but a fool has ever believed.

To avoid misconception, we add, in this place, that we do not maintain, (but reject as, to us, unmeaning,) the doctrine of the self-determining power of the will, as a distinct faculty of the mind. No. We simply believe, that I myself, the personal man, the responsible free agent, do determine the choice, in the mere pleasure of my will; or, if the phrase be preferred, in the mere will of my pleasure: and that this I do, with the absolute certainty in my consciousness, that I, at the moment of such decision, can please to consent to the motive I reject. Of course, then, we hold that motives have no causative power, either moral or physical, whatsoever; for that they are, and were meant to be, merely the occasions, the solicitations—or, as the case may be, the temptations to choice; while the choice itself, is always the self-determination of the man. The Scriptures so teach, in all they say of God's claim on man's love. Our consciousness, we are sure, is in perfect harmony with that word. And all mankind, as a matter of fact, do agree that this is the truth, whatever theory they may hold as a thing of speculation. Yea, there is not a man upon the face of the earth, who, left to his common sense, ever did, or ever could, imagine himself a sinner against God, or a transgressor of any law, in the sense of being entitled to praise, or held to blame, upon any other belief. It is impossible to resist this view of the subject, except by denying the proof from consciousness, as well as from the Scriptures. This the infidel does, as the only way to rid himself of the fact of human responsibility. See, for illustration, Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England*. And listen, any day, to the sensible sceptic you meet in the walks of life. Truly you will find, that this notion of the law of cause and effect, this law of necessity, gives the power to the hatred of the gospel in all their hearts. And sorry we are to know, that these men are fully vindicated in their infidelity by the philosophy (brought so falsely to sustain God's claim of sovereignty,) which teaches the sophistry, that *motives control of necessity the will of man.*

Third truth. When God speaks, his word is itself the highest proof he can give of its truth.

God affirms this in the Scriptures. He everywhere takes it for granted that his *word* is the highest evidence of its own truth. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Gen. i. 1.

In that first word, God assumes that his word contains in itself the highest evidence of the truth that he is, and is the Creator—that all of himself, and all of the heaven and the earth is therein said. And that all, therefore, man could ever know of him from his works, would be infinitely below the *all* which is contained in the words: "*God*"—"Beginning"—"*Heaven*"—"Earth"—"*created*"—as spoken by him.

Let us hear him further. "There is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." 1 Cor. viii. 6. "The Lord is the true God, he is the living God." Jer. x. 10. "God is a spirit." John iv. 24. "He is the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only true God." 1 Tim. i. 17. "The Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." Jas. i. 17. "He maketh all things after the counsel of his own will." Eph. i. 11. "God is love." 1 John iv. 8. "He is merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, and that will by no means clear the guilty." Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7. "I fill heaven and earth." Jer. xxiii. 23, 24. "I am the Almighty." Gen. xvii. 1. "Only wise." Rom. xvi. 27. "Holy." Is. vi. 3. "I am that I am." Ex. iii. 14. "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased." Matt. iii. 16, 17. "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Matt. xxviii. 10. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." Mark xvi. 16. "The Lord is the God of truth." Ps. xxxi. 5.

This is the Bible condensed. And we see that in every part it gives its own mere word as highest proof, *from* GOD, as to his

being, character, and works. Of course, then, he has made all other testimony to be lower evidence, and infinitely lower. This must be so, for all other evidence which can be realised in the minds of created intelligences, as to the being, attributes, and actions of God, is derived from processes of thought, as to mental facts, real or imaginary, or from examination of the things made. But none of this testimony can be absolute proof of the Godhead to finite minds, even if they were perfect finite minds; for beings of such wisdom and goodness, can only find the proof which their faculties reach in reasoning. Every research, then, made by fallen and degraded man, must be still lower testimony for God. His word, then, takes for granted that it is its own highest proof. And the Bible, beyond question, presupposes this, in all it reveals in its narratives. It tells us that God made himself known to the first man in word, and nothing more. That he entered upon no reasoning with Adam. That he gave him at once his command. And when he fell, he went into no vindication of his right to punish, but forthwith tried and condemned him.

The Scriptures, then, in these facts, as to the first man, teach that God so made him, that his word had to be highest proof that he, the speaker, was the Creator; and that all after knowledge was to be the mere explanation of the revealed word.

And, in this highest sense, God has ever honored his word. Thus he made it proof of itself to Noah, to Abraham, to Moses, through Christ to the apostles. And so it would be now, if God were pleased to make a revelation to one of us. The man, we will imagine, stands by a burning bush. It is not consumed. A voice calls. It says, I am God! Is that voice from God? If it is, then, what is the most satisfactory proof he can give, from himself, to the man, that that voice is his utterance? I reply, the word itself; for, what more perfect evidence can God give? He only knows who he is! And consequently, when he speaks, his word must be the ultimate witness for himself. He might, indeed, and would, refer to other evidences; but his mere word would be infinitely above all other proof, that he is, and what he proclaims himself to be.

How that testimony would be made correspondingly the highest faith in the man, will be seen in the examination of our fourth and fifth positions.

Fourth truth. The highest proof, in intelligent minds, of the truth of God's word, is faith in that word above all reasoning:

The Scriptures teach this. We read thus: "Through *faith* we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear. Heb. xi. 3. Again: "Without faith it is impossible to please him; for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." Heb. xi. 6.

Here God tells us that simple faith in his word—that he is, and is the Creator, and is good—is the first and the highest; for, in such faith the creature takes his Creator's word, while, as yet, he understands nothing save the fact as spoken.

The history of faith shows this affirmation to be true. Adam's belief was his simple reception of the word of God. The narrative of his creation makes it certain that his trust in God was not founded on reasoning; for it was before he knew anything from reasoning, of himself or any created thing. Mere trust in God's word was, then, necessarily, instant in the order of time, because it had to be first; it was also, in value, being the eminent honor of God in the mind of man.

This unalloyed faith was Abel's. However the *promised* "seed" may have been explained to him, his reliance was mere trust in God's word. He could have tested its truth in no way whatsoever. God spake. He believed. Noah's faith "in things not seen as yet," was pure unmixed honor to the word of the Lord. Abraham, when called, obeyed, and went, not knowing whither he went. When tried, he offered up Isaac. His faith rested solely on the word of God. No reasoning was allowed. God commanded it to be above the thoughts of the flesh, and it was so. Moses in his highest regard for his Maker's will, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and forsook Egypt. Prophets, when called and inspired, had this pure unmingled impression on their minds, that the word was God's, and was

true, however unknown in meaning to them. Christ called; Peter believed, and followed him. His mere word, strange, unexplained, was instantly received as the truth of God. Christ said to Saul on his way to Damascus, "Saul, Saul;" he, at once, knew it was the Lord, and believed. So John, when in the Spirit on the Lord's day, believed, when he heard the voice of the Alpha and Omega.

Fifth truth. This, the highest faith, is immediate divine impress on the mind.

Thus we are told that "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." 2 Tim. iii. 16. "For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." 2 Peter i. 21.

Inspiration, therefore, is idea from God, conceived in the mind, and then the belief of such idea impressed on the soul by the Holy Ghost. This belief is thus made, by such impress, to be above all reasoning. However the idea may have been given, whether in vision, in dream, by word, by suggestion, or in any inconceivable way, the idea is known to be from God, by movement of the Holy Spirit directly on the soul.

The first man had his supreme faith in such inward teaching of the Spirit of God. And this was the power which gave the word, and the corresponding faith to all inspired men, before, and when the word was written.

This immediate divine impress of belief was granted, also, to men who were not holy. This is broadly taught in 1 Cor. xiii. 2: "And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."

Balaam had this gift of faith. He believed and obeyed, undoubtingly, the command of God. He prophesied, and knew the truths he proclaimed. He admired the glorious destiny of Israel which he was taught to unfold. Nay, he desired to die the death of the righteous. Yet he lived and perished the enemy of God. Saul had the Spirit of the Lord to come upon him. And in that, he received from God another heart; not the heart

of the renewed nature, for that he never had given to him ; but the heart, like that of Balaam, to receive the word—to know the truth, as simple fact from God, and also (in the case of Saul,) the heart to govern.

These gifts of the Spirit, conferring prophecy, faith, (intellectual merely,) and knowledge, were in divine sovereignty. The faith of the new heart, might or might not be granted, in such cases, as God saw fit to give or withhold it. Hence the spirit of the Lord which came upon David, and the wise and understanding heart given to Solomon, were the spirit and heart to receive the word of the Lord, and to obey him in the government of Israel. But the heart unto righteousness, in David and Solomon, was the added grace of salvation to them, and which sanctified the other gifts of the Spirit.

The Scriptures, then, being this word of God, thus once, and once for all, impressed by inspiration on holy men, the term inspiration is confined to this first communication of divine truth. Hence, while we do not teach that they who read and believe the Bible are inspired, yet we do mean to say that all who have this highest faith are now, as ever, impressed by the same immediate agency of the Spirit of truth, breathing in them simple trust in the word, just as he gave faith to the men of old when he first moved them to know the thoughts of God.

Sixth truth. All other faith is secondary and lower proof of the divine word.

I. Because all other faith than that which receives the word from the immediate touch of the Holy Spirit, is founded on human reasoning, and is therefore of lower character. Such faith comes under the following gradations: faith, resting on miracles, including prophecy; faith in the authenticity and credibility of the Bible; faith from the internal evidences; faith arising from the works of creation and providence.

The reception of the Scriptures upon proof given by any of these witnesses is result of thought.

Thus, to illustrate. Suppose a miracle to be wrought in fact, to attest a message affirmed to be revelation from God. The thing done is real, and not doubted by the many who see it; and

they reason thus: "God only could have done this work; it is wrought to sustain this word; God would not do a supernatural thing to sustain a false message; therefore this word is true; and hence we believe it."

Such faith has its proper place in the mind. But it has not the dignity nor the certainty of the first and higher type. Truly those who saw any one of the miracles of the Bible did not know that it was from the hand of God, inasmuch as there were false miracles which these very persons believed to be true; just as now there are thousands who cannot discover that the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, in Naples, is not the power of the Almighty. And multitudes would be equally incapable of resisting the claim, if put forth, that a telegram is sign from heaven. Hence, faith resting on a really supernatural work of God, was necessarily the mere inference of reasoning; shaken, too, in its foundation, by human ignorance of the extent of man's ability to act, naturally, or supernaturally. Indeed, such has been, and is, the power of science, to say nothing of imposture, that it may be truly said that God himself must always tell what things he only can, and, therefore man cannot do. This he did in the olden time. He declared that his wonders were wrought only by his power. The highest evidence, then, that the miracle was such rested at last on the word of the Lord. And so it would have to be, if a miracle were performed now. Valuable, then, as the testimony of reason, founded on miracles, is, as ground of faith, such belief is below, and infinitely, the simple reception of the word impressed by the Spirit.

Again, the authenticity of the Scriptures is only reached after examining the mass of reading belonging to the subject. But if the book be from God, its own testimony is its highest authentication.

So the credibility, whether founded on the character of the Scripture writers, or on that internal evidence, in all its appeal to the inner man, is the result of human reasoning, which, being very untrustworthy, is to be received with an humble sense of its measureless inferiority to the "thus saith the Lord."

Faith, too, resting on fulfilled prophecies has its place. The

inference, also, for infinite wisdom, power, and goodness, from the works of creation, are sublime results of thought. But the word, "I am that I am, the Almighty; I am the first and the last; I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold, I am alive forever more. Amen;" this *word* is worth more, beyond measure, than all these inferences. And lastly, arguments from providence do sustain the Bible. Yet, that testimony, good as it is, is nothing to the book itself, saying, "God worketh all things after the counsel of his own will;" and the Spirit saying in man, Amen. This faith resting on reasoning, is often brought before us in the Bible, and always with less approbation than simple trust in God's word. Nay, sometimes with rebuke: thus, when God commanded Moses to go to Pharaoh, and bring forth his people, he said to him: "The people shall hearken to thy voice." But Moses was timid, unwilling to go, and therefore lacked therein the highest faith in God's command. So he answered and said: "Behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice." In saying this, he required God to give him other proof than his word, that the people would believe him. The Lord then gave him miracles, and satisfied his doubts on every point of his scepticism. Moses believed. But this trust, thus resting on proof of miracle, and this hearkening to God only after all his improper scruples had been met, was not that nobler faith in which he esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. Nay, while the Lord condescended to overcome his unbelief, and to convince him, his anger was kindled against him, that he asked such vindication of his word.

Gideon's faith was of this lower character. He required sign after sign before he would trust the Lord. And his hesitation was so great, and so long continued, that he himself was at last afraid of the Lord's indignation for his pertinacity in seeking further miracles to assure him. The Lord was pleased to bear with him, as he bore with Moses, and resolved all his doubts. But every reader of the narrative feels at once that Gideon's faith was far below that of Abraham, not only in degree, but in that whereon it rested. The one received the mere word on its own evidence. The other believed the word upon his own rea-

soning on the proof furnished by miracles. The faith of both, it is true, was impress from the Holy Spirit; yet, in Abraham, it was honor to the word alone; in Gideon, it was belief of the word only after the Spirit had helped him to reason himself out of his incredulity.

Christ affirms, in many ways, the truth we are teaching. Take the case of Thomas. He refused to believe the word of ten good men, and required to see for himself. Jesus satisfied his unbelief, and then rebuked him, saying: "Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are those who have not seen, and yet have believed." John xx. 29. In this censure of Thomas, Jesus declares that the faith which receives the mere word is more esteemed of him than that which rests on miracles. John the Baptist's higher faith was shaken when he was in prison; perhaps from the things unexpected by him in the manifestations of Christ's Messiahship; therefore he sent two of his disciples, and said unto Jesus, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another? Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." Matt. xi. 2-6. Christ was pleased to allay the doubts of John, yet with a mild censure in the last sentence; for Jesus knew that he that sent John to baptize with water, the same had said to him, that Jesus was the Son of God, before the Spirit descended in the form of a dove, and before the voice was heard saying, "This is my beloved Son:" and therefore, that John had *believed the word of God*, when as yet he knew not Jesus, having never seen him. John i. 29, 34. The rebuke was, that John had faltered in his highest faith, was therefore "offended in Jesus," and sought proof he ought not to have asked for.

Again, Jesus' reproof of the Jews for desiring a sign, shows that he required them to regard his works secondary, as ground of faith, to the word itself. "Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign

from thee. But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas; for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Matt. xii. 38-40.

This is clear to our point. The scribes and Pharisees were told that, had their hearts been open to the truth, they would have heard the word of Jesus, and not have sought for a sign to sustain it. This saying of Jesus also teaches that an evil heart of unbelief is the thing which always rejects, or hesitates in receiving, the word itself, and seeketh after a sign. The holy in heaven believe when God speaks. The good on earth have their supreme righteousness when they receive the word alone.

Moreover, Christ, in the passage before us, refused to give a sign while he lived. He only promised that he would rise from the dead, and thus attest his truth. But his word itself had to be taken as its only proof that this sign of the prophet Jonas would ever be given; for none, in fact, had the proof while he lived, but those who simply believed his word.

Another scripture reads thus: "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me; or else believe me for the very works' sake." John xiv. 11. This is Christ's authority for considering faith, under the two conditions we are affirming: first, mere belief in his word: secondly, belief in his word for his works' sake. As if he had said to Philip: "My word ought to be received, because spoken by me. But, if you have not the heart to receive it without sign of its truth, then believe me for the works you have seen."

There is one illustration from the Old Testament, and another from the New, which are conclusive on the point we are establishing. The first is a remarkable passage in Deut. xiii. 1-5: "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer

of dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul. Ye shall walk after the Lord your God, and fear him, and keep his commandments, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him. And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, to thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in. So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee."

Here it is taught that a false revelation might be sustained by miracle, or at least, sign or wonder having the effect of a miracle on those who saw it; and yet God commanded his people that they should not hearken to that prophet, if his sign or wonder did come to pass, but should walk after the Lord and obey his voice. Why? Because his word was the only true voice, and must be believed before any other word attested by miracle. Will it be said that God maintained his word in Egypt, in the wilderness, in the promised land, by miracle; and therefore he required the people to regard these wonders as so much greater proof for his word than the signs of the false teacher, that they should not, for that reason, hearken to the word of that prophet? To this, we reply that God required the Israelites in Egypt to believe his word through Moses, before he gave them the sustaining sign. Nay, he commanded Pharaoh, at first, to let the people go, on his mere word. And signs were given and wonders wrought because the people were unbelieving, and Pharaoh's heart was hardened. Had his heart been ready to hear, he would have believed the word of the Lord. Had the people been open to receive it, they would have trusted in the message of Moses; for God, in Egypt, in the wilderness, and in Canaan, ever magnified his word above all his name: first, in itself; next, in signs following, to explain it, or to vindicate it in the unbelieving or doubting heart.

The passage in the New Testament is this: "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than

that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Gal. i. 8. An angel from heaven would be a miracle. And a gospel preached by him would, of course, have other supernatural attestations. Yet Christ, through Paul, here tells us that this angel should be accursed. This is conclusive; for a message claiming to be from God, sustained by miracles, has the highest proof which can be given to the reason of man. If then, an angel from heaven should preach another gospel, thus sustained, and there be no higher proof than reason founded on miracles, the angel would have the same claim on the faith of men that Christ has, if Christ has no higher; and we do not see why such angel should be accursed.

But if the mere word of God is its own highest proof, then another gospel, by an angel from heaven, with all attending miracles, would be infinitely unworthy of belief, and the angel justly accursed.

The final result is, that if the testimony of reason, based on miracles, when brought against the mere word, is thus to be rejected, then such testimony to sustain the word is utterly inferior to that of the word itself. And, of course, all evidence lower than miracles, is entitled to still less regard.

II. The Holy Ghost, when he renews the nature, and changes the heart, always gives to the word alone his first and the highest impress. When he regenerates the infant, no truth is present to the intellect, and, of course, no faith is given. But in all higher conditions of mind, whether in the youngest who can believe, or in the oldest and most ignorant, or in unbelievers of greatest attainments, or in the unrenewed, having already intellectual faith, the Holy Spirit ever influences them alike, the child and the philosopher, to give the heart, first, last, highest, to the word alone.

He begins in conviction, and makes the word his hammer and fire to break the rock. He makes it his sword, quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Heb. iv. 12. The Holy Spirit with this sword makes the sinner know

himself to be just what God says he is; while he makes all other convictions lower impressions of guilt. And when he changes the sinner's heart, he seals the word as Christ speaks it, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He makes himself the witness; for he that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself. 1 John v. 10. Thus, the Spirit makes the Christian hear the two immutable things, the promise and oath of God, in which he feels it impossible for God to lie; and that he hath therein strong consolation in the hope set before him. Heb. vi.

In this impress of faith, the Spirit takes the converted soul above all testimony of miracles, all result of reasoning, all proof from examination of Scripture, all evidence from providence, all learning of science, all intuitional consciousness. In giving the love of Christ, he gives highest trust in the truth of Christ; for he who loves light will draw near the sun, and lose sight of the stars. When, in the progress of his work, the Spirit teaches the Christian how to pray, he guides him to ask for all truth, and highest, that his eyes may be opened to see wondrous things in the word. And when he answers the prayer he himself had inspired, and leads the heart to be most holy in its faith, he makes that heart to be as the little child's heart in its humble reception of the word. He writes, it is true, holiness upon all its knowledge; yea, he speaks from the hyssop out of the wall, the lilies of the valley, the cedars of Lebanon, the great mountains, the lower parts of the earth, the wide sea, the secrets of the deep, the stars in their courses, the human body so cunningly fashioned, the life crushed before the moth, the soul so fearfully made; all this knowledge he makes indeed the true wisdom; but the love which takes in the pure word, he gives to be holier than all the emotions which rise up when even he teaches the man how to reason about the things that are made. And when he leads the Christian through the valley, and the shadow, and the waters of the river of death, and when faith, formed from all things other than the sayings of Jesus, fades away, oh, then Christ, the Word, is the last glorious conception in the soul just entering heaven. And finally, when the Christian sends

the word to every nation without commentary—to the Nestorian, to the Mahometan, to the heathen, he is sure the Spirit will make it the word of life to these dead men, just as he impressed it on minds of higher intellectual and moral cultivation; that, while he will explain it, through the preacher, and the school, in all fitting examinations, yet, when he has enabled the missionary to say all in the way of argument, he will then impress on the man of China, Japan, Arabia, Egypt, Congo, the isles, and the poles, that the book itself is its own best witness for God, and in him. Yea, the Christian is willing to give, in this way, the Bible to the man who believes the Koran of the Prophet, or the teachings of Zoroaster, or the writings of Brahma, or the words of Confucius, and say to him: "These books all claim to be highest truth from heaven to earth. But which is the only truth, way, life? Take them all. Read them all. And you shall know that this book is the word of God." The Christian can say this; for he knows that the Spirit in his sovereignty will be witness for the Bible.

It will be said, we are aware, that each one of these men professes to have the same highest faith in his book; but that neither can impress it on the others; and therefore, each must come down from such belief in his scriptures, and meet the others upon the field of reason, where only, all of them may have some admitted truths as starting points, without which no one of them can ever convince, or expect to convince, the other. We admit the fact, that neither of these professed believers in a supernatural impress of the truth of his scriptures can, by possibility, convey that faith to the others. But that fact does not disprove the position that such faith is given, and that he who has the word of God has this impress to its truth. He who has eyes cannot, indeed, give sight to the blind; but he sees. Yea, he who has the truth on any subject, may be wholly unable to give his knowledge to the intellectually blind; but he sees. Much more he who knows any moral truth, may be utterly incapable of giving his assurance to the morally blind; but he sees. And he is, in such faith, on rock as eternal as the word of God. Hence, it is clear, that he who has the sublime truth,

that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, from his birth of the Holy Ghost, and his growth in grace, while he is not able to give this his conscious life to the dead of the world, knows that this, his highest faith, is in the witness of the Spirit.

Nay, the atheist himself must admit this; for, while he vainly holds that the highest reason rejects the idea of God, yet he knows that the inferior mind, (as he would have us think,) has ever believed in a Supreme Personal Jehovah; nay, in gods many. He will then say, that those who thus believe must needs receive the supposed word of their God, as itself its highest proof that he speaks; and, also, that such men are bound to hold that the highest evidence in man that God has so spoken, is the witness of the Spirit of the Lord to that simple word. The atheist, we affirm, must admit this. The only question, then, between us, is whether his denial of a God is, or is not, the highest reach of reason. That question has been, and will be, met in its place.

ARTICLE II.

THE VALUE OF THE CHRISTIAN PULPIT.

Novelties in the discussion of a theme so frequently handled in our religious newspapers and periodicals, and so familiar to the larger part of the readers of this Review, the writer of this article has not the vanity to promise, nor the presumption to attempt. There are, however, it occurs to him, signal advantages to be reaped, at least by ministers of the gospel, in the frequent review of a subject which, although familiar, very nearly concerns themselves, and is of never-failing and stupendously practical importance to the race.

An exhaustive treatment of a subject so prolific, and which has filled volumes now deservedly occupying a high place in our religious literature, is not attempted in this brief essay. Yet,

in justification of the mere outline-view to be presented, may be urged this common experience of preachers of the truth. It is sometimes found to be more effectual to present a rapid, imperfect, as to detail, yet complete resumé of a subject, than to discuss thoroughly each of its component parts at successive periods separated by considerable intervals of time. What appears to be lost in the former method, through the necessarily imperfect treatment of each subordinate topic, is more than compensated by the increased momentum imparted to the whole, and the concentration of force at the same instant, upon the same object, and in the same line of direction. It is just the difference, to illustrate our meaning, between attempting to reduce a fort by broadsides, with numerous guns of lighter calibre, and endeavoring to batter it down with a single Columbiad, fired at long intervals, and giving the besieged time to repair the damage after every discharge.

Without further delay, then, we proceed to discuss the value of the pulpit under three aspects of it: its relations respectively to intellect, morals, and religion.

1. And first, of the pulpit as an educator of the popular mind. Its importance as such, although but feebly recognised, can scarcely be overstated.

Without staying to inquire into the cause, it is abundantly evident that there are widely prevalent among us in this practical age, opinions in regard to the nature and ends of education in general, plainly erroneous and extremely pernicious. The *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of these views is the belief that man's chief end is the creation of material values—of something exterior to himself, which shall add to his individual convenience and comfort, and to the general wealth. Accordingly, that, and that only, is esteemed a right education, which developes, exercises, and thus perfects some particular faculty or set of faculties, and fits them at once to be set to work in the field indicated. Hence, it is frequently asked, "Why should our youth spend so much time in mastering the classics? The lawyer may need a smattering of Latin to enable him to comprehend his legal phrases; the clergyman, some acquaintance with the Greek; but for the rest,

let our boys concentrate their energies upon living tongues, and upon such practical studies as arithmetic, book-keeping, surveying, civil engineering, etc. Then the scholar will pass with credit to himself from the school to the counting-room, and the student emerge from the college hall at once equipped and fully prepared to commence producer, and to add to the general capital by measuring land, building mill-dams, erecting factories, constructing railways, and developing the mineral resources of the country."

Now, that one end of education is to perfect the mind as an instrument with which we may work upon the material world, and convert and subsidize its resources to the manifold uses of life, none will attempt to deny. But this is surely not the only, and, as Sir William Hamilton has conclusively shown, not the main end of education. Its chief design should be the full and symmetrical development of all the faculties and powers of the mind itself, and for its own improvement and enlargement.

Those who adhere to the theory of education upon which we have animadverted, will be slow to discover any particular value in the pulpit as an educator of the popular mind. It has no direct influence in training a hearer for any specific employment; it teaches none of the principles or rules of any art; it imparts no instruction in any of the applied sciences. But assume the more dignified theory of education to be correct, and the value of the pulpit as an educator of mind becomes immediately apparent.

It educates by the truth which it projects into the mind of the hearer. Truth is the nutriment of the intellect, the food upon which it thrives and grows. No one who has not reflected deeply, has any adequate conception of the immense body of truth that the Book of books contains, and which it is the duty of the pulpit to expound.

The pulpit—we of course speak throughout of the educated and Christian pulpit—educates in purity of thought and expression; and this for the reason that the preacher's ideas and words must take shape and be largely colored by that Book which the most eloquent men have studied for the improvement of their oratory. The pulpit educates, that is, calls forth and trains, all the mental faculties and powers by the diversity of the subjects

of which it treats. Now the scenes depicted call into exercise the imagination, now its sharp delineations of truth and falsehood, of sin and righteousness, develope and strengthen the discriminating faculty, the judgment, etc.

The very topics, too, in which the pulpit deals, are of such transcendent importance, that they take strong hold upon the intellect, rouse it from its lethargy, and withal are of such a breadth and length and awful sublimity, that in the very effort to grasp them, the mind is consciously enlarged and invigorated.

The pulpit educates the mind to think and reason by the force of example. The weekly spectacle of an intellectual gymnast, bringing into visible play every mental and moral muscle, teaches those who look on, in a measure, the art displayed. It is natural for birds to fly, yet they learn the art by imitation. It is natural for children to talk, yet they acquire the art by mimicking their elders. So it is natural for all men to reason, yet the ratiocinative powers are stimulated and developed by example. It is impossible to estimate the influence which an educated ministry has had in exciting the mind to think and reason for itself. Intellects that have shone resplendently at the bar and in the halls of legislation, have taken their first lessons in argumentation and oratory from the Christian pulpit. Lord Chatham studied Barrow's sermons until he could repeat many of them by heart. It is said that Patrick Henry caught the fire of his impassioned oratory from the lips of that eminent servant of God and eloquent preacher of righteousness, Samuel Davies.

Once more; the pulpit educates the mind, by the demand which every properly constructed sermon makes upon a concentrated and sustained attention. Every such discourse has a beginning, a middle, and an end; there is a constant progress in the thought from first to last, and a culmination of the ideas in the production of some practical result—the conviction of the understanding, the moving of the affections, or persuasion of the will, or all these combined. Sermons proceeding from educated intellect have a natural tendency to assume this form. Now, when the hearer's attention is arrested at the outset, and he is held to the subject during the entire progress of the dis-

course, his powers of concentration are necessarily strengthened, and his mind disciplined to that habit of patient or continued thought in which Sir Isaac Newton could find the only difference (if difference there was,) between his own intellect and that of ordinary men. A practical proof of the correctness of these views may be found in the general intelligence of those communities whose principal means of intellectual culture has been the pulpit. An instance occurs to the mind of the writer of one who, in her earlier life, enjoyed the most limited educational advantages; yet this deficiency was scarcely apparent in her speech, and in the workings of a mind of more than usual vigor and sprightliness. Her life-long teachers had been an educated ministry living and dead. The writings of the one she perused with avidity; the living voices of the other ever found in her an attentive and interested listener.

2. Passing to another view of it, the Christian pulpit is invaluable to mankind as a teacher of morals.

Morals and religion, it is true, cannot properly be divorced, either in the practice of the individual, or in the instructions of the pulpit. In pagan theology, a wide interval separated them. In Christian theology, they are one and indivisible. There can be no genuine piety where there is no pure morality. The converse of the latter proposition, however, is not deemed by some demonstrable. It is held and believed that there is a morality apart from religion, prompted by different motives and sustained by other principles: that there are moral as well as Christian men. Taking the word morals, therefore, in the sense it bears in common parlance, we affirm that inculcating all the virtues which constitute such a character, (although upon higher grounds,) the pulpit is invaluable to a community as a teacher of sound morality. The Christian pulpit lends all its powerful influence to the promotion of those individual and social virtues, which constitute the cement of society, and opens all its batteries upon the vices destructive of human happiness and of social order and progress.

For example, it teaches truth and honesty. Now, confidence in the word and promise of our fellows is essential to the very being of society. It is felt to be vital, even to an association of

thieves. False to the world, they feel the necessity of being true to each other. Sow broadcast the seeds of mutual distrust, and of necessity society disintegrates, its adhesive power is gone. The pulpit, by the most potent considerations, enforces truth and honesty between man and his fellow-man.

The Christian pulpit is the earnest advocate of temperance. It would be hard to single out any one vice which has inflicted as wide-spread ruin and woe upon the race as intemperance. It need not occasion wonder, therefore, that the best means of removing this monster evil, has been a subject profoundly interesting to the philanthropic mind. The confessed failure of many efforts which have been made, demonstrate the unsoundness of the principles on which they were founded and conducted. Now, while the Christian pulpit cannot and will not lend its countenance and influence to those temperance reformers, who, wiser than their Maker, would invent a morality in advance of, and an improvement upon, Scripture ethics; while it dare not say, as some of them have said: "The Church of God will never do its duty until it banishes wine from the communion table;" as the exponent of divine truth, it must ever be the faithful advocate of temperance in all things, and the stern uncompromising foe of intemperance in every form.

Humanity—including benevolence, sympathy, charity—is another social virtue directly fostered by pulpit instruction. Aside from the express precepts with which it urges the performance of this class of duties, it lays a broad foundation for them, in the doctrines which it promulges of a common origin, a common ruin, and a common salvation. It teaches every man to recognise in his fellow, of whatsoever race he may be, a brother, inheriting the same fallen nature and ruined prospects for immortality, and capable of the same redemption.

The pulpit directly promotes the peace and order of society by teaching obedience to magistrates.

When political questions are in dispute and men honestly differ as to the question, "Who is Cæsar?" it does not undertake to decide the controversy; but leaving it to be settled at the appropriate tribunal, it contents itself with the inculcation of

obedience to the powers that be—the *de facto* government over us. Yet within this, its limited province, it is a powerful conservator of the public weal.

A like office it discharges by the sanctity its teachings impart to an oath.

Oath-taking seems to be considered indispensable to the successful operation of the machinery of government in all its branches. The occasions on which we are called upon to swear, are almost innumerable. A high authority has said, "An oath is for confirmation, an end of strife." Now, it is not with the majority of men, perhaps, so much the fear of prosecution for perjury, as a religious sense, which holds them to an oath-bound promise. Almost every one has sufficient light and conscience to dread false-swearing. Now, the pulpit, by the awful disclosures which it makes of the essential truth, justice, holiness, and power of the Great Being to whom we appeal in every oath, invests it with a dread sacredness which men fear to desecrate by falsehood.

And this leads to the observation that the pulpit exerts a powerful constraining influence over crime, by adding to the penalties of human laws, the tremendous sanctions appended to the divine. The death-penalty is the highest punishment which human law can inflict; and in executing this, it puts the criminal forever beyond its jurisdiction. Now, divorce death from all that follows it, and many would welcome it as an inestimable boon, and its very nature as punishment would for them be altered. Just where human law fails, the divine comes in with its denunciation, against the obstinate offender, of unending wrath in the life to come. Death for the criminal now comes invested with all the terrors of that eternal retribution to which it summons him. The pulpit, by keeping constantly before the minds of men the certain and awful consequences in the world to come, of misdeeds, which are at once sins against God and offences against society, renders a most important service to human welfare. Jacobin as he was, Robespierre saw and felt that the truths which it is the office of the pulpit to proclaim, are indispensable to the very existence of society.

Allison reports him as having said: "If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent his being. The idea of a Supreme Being who watches over oppressed innocence and punishes triumphant crime, is, and ever will be popular."

When, therefore, its true character is preserved, its dignity maintained, when it faithfully echoes the divine oracles, the pulpit is indirectly the palladium of constitutional and regulated liberty; it promotes the peace, order, and prosperity of individuals, families, neighborhoods, and nations, and interposes a solid break-water to the raging floods of licentiousness, infidelity, and fanaticism, when they threaten to overwhelm and destroy all that is valuable or desirable in society. But these are the incidental blessings which the pulpit confers upon mankind; the charities which it scatters by the way, as it proceeds on an errand of mercy of infinitely greater importance to the human family.

3. The chief value of the pulpit to the race, consists in its relation to the soul and to the world to come. The pulpit is God's grand instrumentality for the eternal salvation of lost man.

There are other instrumentalities, valuable and useful, to the same end, and which have the stamp of divine approval in their success. Much has been accomplished for human salvation, through the agency of the printed page—the religious newspaper, tract, book, and above all, the blessed Word itself. The entire capability of this kind of instrumentality has never been fully developed. Scatter, we say, these leaves of the tree of life among the nations. But beyond a peradventure, God's chosen and chief instrumentality for the redemption of our fallen race, is the living voice of a converted ministry—a voice echoing the written word, "translating it into the current forms of thought and speech," and tremulous with the tenderness, or ringing with the vehemence, which a consciousness of forgiven sin and sympathy for the erring, or indignation against guilt, and zeal for God's glory and a Saviour's honor, can never fail to impart. Paul felt this to be the only hope for the heathen, when he accumulates question upon question in that stirring appeal in their behalf to the Church of all ages: "How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of

whom they have not heard? and *how shall they hear without a preacher?*" Salvation through a preached gospel was the successful plan destined to take the place of man's miserable gropings after saving truth. "For after that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, *by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.*" And when the great Head of the Church looked down from the mount of ascension upon a lost world, and along the track of all coming centuries, he commits to the Church general, assembled by her representatives, this one weapon, and with it bids her conquer the world for her Lord: "Go ye into all the world, and *preach the gospel* unto every creature."

It has been said that the pulpit has been shorn of much of the influence which it once possessed, by that wonder of modern times, the press. It is very true that the pulpit does not now occupy, as formerly, a position of conspicuous and solitary grandeur, as almost the only teacher of religious truth to the masses. There has sprung up beside it a gigantic power, more nearly ubiquitous than itself. Still, in the matter of influencing mind savingly, there is, and can be, no rivalry between the pulpit and the press. The foreordained plan determined upon in full view of all the occurrences of time, has not been altered. Search the Church records, and the preached word will still be found, we doubt not, to be the main instrumentality by which the lost sheep are being gathered into the fold. Certainly all the grand impulses by which the Church of God has been urged onward in her high career since the days of inspiration, (to go no higher,) stand forever identified with the names of living preachers of the truth. Such names as those of Wiclif, Huss, Luther, Calvin, Knox, Whitefield, Wesley, Tennent, and Edwards, mark religious epochs in the history of the cause of God, in the old and the new world. Look to pagan lands, and mark where the light of the gospel shines in the moral darkness; and there you find the religious press busy in disseminating truth, the Christian school by the very science which it teaches undermining the credit of systems of religion irreparably wedded to a false cosmogony; but in and over all, and controlling and necessary to all, you

will discover the self-sacrificing missionary of the cross, without whose continued presence the territory gained must be speedily lost, and the few sparks kindled by his efforts would quickly expire, and leave those regions of darkness in even deeper gloom.

The chief aim, then, of the pulpit, is not to educate mind, or teach earthly ethics, but to fit and train immortal souls for eternity. It rings out perpetually on the ear of a slumbering world its warning cry; it thunders against the obstinately guilty the anathemas of a violated law; it anticipates, in its vivid portrayals, the tremendous scenes of the final day; it judges character in advance of the decisions of the judgment bar; but it startles, alarms, warns, and judges, only that it may prepare men thankfully, joyfully, to receive the proclamation of divine pardon to the penitent; it takes up and echoes that glad message of the angel to the shepherds: "Fear not; for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people; for unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." Its one central grand theme is Christ and him crucified; its one glorious message to sinners: "Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins." And evermore, as with the peal of a trumpet, it stirs and cheers on to victory "the sacramental host of God's elect." On the wall, over against each pulpit, might well be written this sentence, as indicative of its high design: "The glory of God in the conversion of sinners and sanctification of the saints." It is such views of its nature as these, which invest the Christian pulpit with transcendent importance, and clothe it with such awful majesty as should overwhelm with terror him who enters it without the support of a well-established divine appointment, and might well fill with unaffected concern the mind of him who believes he has been called of God, as was Aaron, and force him, under the burden of its responsibility, to cry out with the apostle, "Who is sufficient for these things?" with him only to recover courage, and gather confidence from the blessed assurance, "Our sufficiency is of God."

ARTICLE III.

THE CHURCH AND POLITICS.

[CONCLUDED.]

There will probably be some objection to the views we have presented, in the minds of many, arising from a superstitious notion of the Church, (which superstition also affects the idea which many entertain of the State,) which is very prevalent among Christians. We shall therefore endeavor to show that it is without foundation. No doubt this superstition arises from mistaking, and it seems to us strangely mistaking, Scripture.

We will first state what the Church is not. No one body of Christians with unity of organisation does, in the opinion of evangelical Christians, contain the whole Church visible or invisible. No one will dispute this, we suppose.

We may now discuss the superstition referred to.

Men are so much in the habit of personifying corporate bodies like Church or State; and the Church (as well as nations,) is so often personified in the highly figurative language of Scripture, that men have come unconsciously to consider these figurative representations as literal truth; and even when not using poetical language, seem to regard these corporate bodies as persons and as moral beings.

The wild idea has even been advanced that Churches and States are persons in a literal sense. Surely those who advance these views have forgotten the most common metaphysical idea of personality. A Church or a State is a collection of persons, not a person. God gave the Spirit to the churches; but this does not mean that the churches have any common soul or personality to which he gave that Spirit. He certainly could have given it only to persons, only to the individual persons who together form the collection or aggregate of persons of which each church is composed.

Now, so far as the superstitious idea that the Church universal or any particular branch of it is a person, helps to sustain the view that the churches have, as a part of the Church universal, a right to decide the moral law, (or have any other vague right contrary to reason which is never acted on except in cases which every one condemns, except the actors,) it is evident such a claim must be abandoned.

Let us ask what the churches really are in fact; not what people fancy they are or ought to be, but what they are. We think they do actually answer to the following description. They are associations of individuals for combined action in enforcing the moral law; for receiving the sacraments and providing for their administration; and for having the gospel preached. The power to decide on the combined action necessary for these purposes, is intrusted to majorities of the men composing legislative bodies consisting of one or more houses. If, therefore, the right to decide moral questions can in any way be exercised, it must be exercised through these majorities. Now, will any one say, that such decisions could either bind conscience, or add to its support? Suppose it be said, however, these legislative bodies are all more or less directly elected by the majority of the regenerate church members whom they represent. Whether the moral question to be decided by them as representatives of the church is considered in the election by which they obtain their seats, (in which case the decision is really made by the majority of regenerate persons,) or whether the moral question was not considered in the election, (in which case the majorities of the legislative bodies make the decision,) it is evident that it is the opinion of barely those persons, and cannot possibly have any further weight. But suppose the majority do make such a decision, in the expectation that it will be (under cover of the superstition,) accepted as the conclusion of the Church. If there is a minority in the least interested, does not every one see they will let it be known this decision is not the decision of the whole Church, but only a decision of a majority of the aforesaid persons? Perhaps some one may say, "But the decision ought to be binding on the members of their church, since they

have joined it." Now, we ask any and all intelligent members of our evangelical churches, if, when they join them, they do so with the understanding or agreement that they are, in matters of right and wrong, to submit their judgments to those of a majority of the church? We opine they will answer, only in things innocent and necessary to the combined action of the church.*

It may be said we have greatly reduced the field on which the church's one weapon for the preservation of her purity, excommunication, can be properly used. This is true; but we have only laid down in theory what the church first put in practice. Excommunication was once supposed to be a remedy sufficient to cure all the evils of the body politic, to set to rights everything under the sun. The efficiency of the weapon was almost entirely marred by applying it to things for which it was never intended, and on which it produced no effect, but which brought it into contempt. By confining it to those cases to which it is properly applicable, its limited efficiency is restored.

The churches have latterly so persistently given any individual accused before them the benefit of the doubt in point of law or fact, that they have very generally, through misunderstanding, been accused of laxity of discipline.†

* We intended just here to say something about the State as a supposed moral person, or as bound to enforce the moral law. The subject, however, is one to which justice cannot be done in a note to this already extended argument; and it is therefore best not to undertake its treatment.

† Some further considerations on this topic of purity, we place in a note so as not to interfere with the main body of our argument.

It is quite true that the wise rule adopted by the churches, of not punishing by deprivation of the sacraments where there is any doubt either in point of law or fact, has caused guilty persons to go unpunished, and so has occasioned some scandal on the part of a world which loses no opportunity of charging God's people with wickedness and conniving at wickedness. But this apparent laxity merely arises from the fact that all governments of men are imperfect. Far more scandal would be occasioned if the church undertook to punish where guilt was doubtful. It is doubtless also true this imperfection of government by men, which sometimes lets the guilty go unpunished, rather than risk punishing the innocent, has countenanced weak officers of the church and weak churches in allowing powerful offenders to go unpunished, where there could have been no doubt about law or

Before entering on the latter part of our subject, viz., the application of the foregoing argument to the question of the churches and politics, we will take occasion to say that we are very far from supposing that we have laid down a principle which will render it impossible for those who adopt it, (as the evangelical churches do in the main practically adopt it,) ever to encounter any difficulty in settling cases of communion and excommunication. We are far from making any such claim.

We now come to the application of the foregoing reasoning to the question of the Church and politics.

On what ground can we base a prohibition to the Church from making decisions of political questions which are also moral

fact. Sometimes, where the Church seems lax, and even to wait for the condemnation of the State before she punishes, it should be remembered the State has the power, which the Church has not, to subpoena a witness; and the latter is therefore at a considerable disadvantage in detecting guilt.

The worst scandals usually arise from the difficulty of proving facts, and not from difficulty in interpreting the moral law, which is sufficiently well understood for its application and enforcement in all ordinary cases of violation. The sort of questions which we have been considering, could occur only under unusual circumstances, when men's minds are under the influence of excited passions; and the deeds done under such influences are generally afterwards repudiated.

If God ordered that men shall receive the sacraments upon a not obviously false profession of faith in Christ, we should do well to leave consequences to him. If, however, it were as distinctly understood in theory, as it is certainly almost universally acted on in practice, that men should neither be denied the sacraments nor excluded from them except for acts, clearly proven, which show them to be either unregenerate or backsliders, it would lessen the scandal which after all arises a good deal from the world's disposition to rejoice in the supposed inconsistencies of God's people. But we do not think God intended excommunication to be the only or perhaps even the chief safeguard to the purity of those bodies which we call the visible Church, and which do, to our eyes, with more or less accuracy, represent the vast body of the regenerate. A great safeguard arises from the position in which he placed the churches, and in which we should endeavor to keep them. When the churches occupy their true position, false professions will but seldom take place, because there will be no temptation to make them. We should be careful, for the sake of the purity of the churches, to keep them from entering into any alliance with power, wealth, fashion, or even intelligence, since these add a reflected lustre which puts a premium on a

questions, and from enforcing them by exclusion from the sacraments?

If the churches are only entitled to assume (in order to enforce,) such decisions of the moral law as are the united decisions of all regenerate persons who have ever come to any conclusion on the subject in question, it is evident that all decisions of political questions are by this rule excluded. It is in the very nature of questions of party or international politics that there are two sides on which the regenerate are ranged, and therefore neither side can carry the weight of the whole body of the regenerate.

To our settlement of this case, it may be objected, that, in making the ground of the prohibition to be the doubtfulness of

profession in their communion. Such alliances simply tend to draw false or mistaken professors into the Church. That this is a result of connexion with the State, has long been demonstrated; and those who value the purity of the Church should shun such alliances as dangerous in the highest degree. It is very hard for zealous professors of religion always to remember that it does no good and a great deal of harm, to try to place the churches in such a relation to people of wealth, fashion, or talent, as that the influence of these possessions shall reflect lustre on the churches and draw people into them. Of course, rich, fashionable, and talented people, have souls to be saved, and are entitled, when regenerate, to the sacraments. It is best for the purity and enlightenment of a local church or any of the churches at large, that they shall comprehend both the educated and the uneducated classes. If they include the first only, the prestige of association with them puts a premium on a profession; if the last only, the standard of sentiment will be narrow. Some people are greatly pleased to belong to a fashionable or aristocratic church; but these, if Christians at all, are weak Christians, who do not prize purity above all things. Fashionable and aristocratic people are of course sometimes regenerate, and so entitled to the sacraments. Though a church cannot well prosper without educated members, and even wealthy people are of some use to it by *paying* for benevolent enterprises, it can without any injury to its prosperity be without the fashionable or aristocratic; and if it be composed chiefly or exclusively of such, it is injured, since the association with such persons but attracts false professors. No one can have observed the world in large cities, without seeing that joining a fashionable church is one efficient way of rising in the social scale. Of course this is a premium to false professors.

such decisions, our principle does not sharply enough separate questions on which the churches ought, and those on which they ought not, to assume such decisions. It might be thought that in some such cases which would come up, it might be doubtful on which side of the line they lay, there being in fact no certain and positive line.

It is true this line cannot with certainty be anywhere placed, within fixed definite points. Nevertheless, its proper position can always be approximately determined, and it is certain that political questions do lie so far towards the centre of that region of doubt which the line is intended to bound, that there need never be any supposed reason for wishing to determine them. Whether the slavery question be regarded as a moral or political question, it is evident in either case that as an abstract question it belongs to a region which makes the guilt of the slaveholders at least so doubtful that there should be no interference with their rights of communion based on it.

It might perhaps be urged, that after any political contest, which especially involves a question of right and wrong, (and such are, in all cases, those where the sword is drawn,) the question is no longer doubtful, since the will of God is determined; and therefore the churches have a right to excommunicate those who do not repent of now established guilt.

To this, it is easily rejoined, that both parties agree on the only point of practical value after the contest is over, viz., whether the rights for which the war was waged shall ever be claimed again in the future. The defeated party agrees to give them up, but may not at all agree to give up the question of the justice of the claim in the past. To say that the consequences of an action determine its innocence or guilt, is to say that no man can tell whether he is morally entitled to perform certain acts until after he has performed them—an absurd and monstrous doctrine. If our adversaries should tell us this is true, and that since it is impossible to tell whether a war is a rebellion or a revolution, justifiable or unjustifiable, until accomplished; and therefore men ought not to venture on doubtful acts, we would reply that the rule, to be a good one, must work both ways. If

impossible to tell whether a war is revolution or rebellion until the event, it is also impossible to tell whether the government opposed, is waging a righteous warfare or carrying on a war of unjust aggression, and therefore the said government should not venture on acts of doubtful innocence.

It is true the people apply the words rebel, rebellion, so as to try to sustain their views, and heap contempt on adversaries; but this mode of attempting to settle such questions authoritatively, has not a particle of effect. The name of "*the great rebellion*" is, in English history, applied to a contest in a case in which many who use the epithet would fix at most only a small part of the guilt, some even none, on the so-called rebels. This use of the word never changed anybody's opinions who had real opinions; but has only made the word lose a great part of its former odious significance. To attempt to make John Milton, or any other man of high and noble character, odious by affixing to him the nickname of rebel, has no other effect than to make the word rebel glorious. The very fact that we apply the words rebel, rebellion, only to those who are unsuccessful, even when intending no imputation, often accompanying the application of the words with a smile and comment on the variable nature of the words rebellion and revolution, is a proof that the world has not yet in every instance sufficiently agreed as to what constitutes a rebellion for any sweeping sentence of moral condemnation to be passed on supposed delinquents, whom only one side considers as delinquents, and sympathy with whom divides the whole world into parties.

The question is evidently a branch of another undecided question, which specially stands in the way of Mr. Cobden's project for settling international questions, viz., how far those associations of individuals which we call communities, peoples, nations, have a right to decide with what other communities, peoples, nations, they shall combine under one government. Such questions were for a long time decided without any consideration (or very little) of the wishes of the people, by kings, on the now defunct "balance of power" principle, the injustice of which was so strikingly shown by the settlement of the case of Venetia.

Yet the principle of the "balance of power" was better than no rule of settlement, though it certainly was a very rude one.

In common with all candid and fair-minded persons on both sides, we are ready to grant, that the fact that no impartial and authoritative adjudication of guilt or innocence can be had where there is guilt in God's sight on one or both sides, as in the case of all warfare, has had an undoubted tendency to make men look lightly and carelessly on warfare, and almost forget there is any guilt in war. It is fearful to think, while the tumult of passion and guilt is going on here as if there were no sin and guilt in wholesale violence, God's unchanging justice weighs to each one his exact share in the guilt. But it would not remedy the matter to have a so-called authoritative decision by the Church on either side, which after all is no decision at all. Such a decision has no effect but to bring into contempt the influence of the Church.

If it be said that the existence of these grave wrongs is a scandal to the Church, and therefore she should try to settle them, we reply that no one will blame the Church for what in the nature of things she cannot help. Only those will blame her for failing to assume infallibility who desire her to decide in their favor.

However, a more detailed examination of political questions supposed to involve moral questions, may help to show the reasonableness of our rule, and convince our readers that the churches can have no ground for assuming a decision in such matters.

The question between Southern evangelical churches, and those bodies at the North which do virtually, if not really, excommunicate us, can be settled by the general principles we have laid down; but perhaps it is well to examine them a little more in detail and show that those principles do really apply. The evangelical churches of the North have erected tests of communion which are a virtual, though not actual, excommunication of the Southern churches, until the latter repent of the "sins of rebellion and slaveholding." The opinion of a part of the whole regenerate body carries the weight of the whole with it, only when there is no body of the regenerate holding a different opinion, and when there is no self-interest or personal prejudice to bias their opinions in the matter.

Take the two counts in the indictment separately, and begin with "rebellion." The Northern churches are only a small part of the regenerate of all ages, and cannot in any degree be supposed to represent that body in giving this opinion, since they are not only parties interested in the matter, but there are bodies of the present day who hold no such opinions regarding what is called the "rebellion." If the "rebels," so-called, sinned against God, all evangelical churches of this day have as legitimate an interest in discountenancing it as the Northern churches, while they are devoid of personal bias in the matter. If they would concur in this decision, they give no evidence of it. On the contrary, if the proposition were now under consideration in any of the Scotch, English, or Continental evangelical churches, for union with the Southern churches, or if members of our churches were to go among them and ask to be received, there is no reason at all to suppose they would be required as a preliminary to repent of the sin of rebellion.

Let us now take up the second count in the indictment—the sin of slavery. Here, doubtless, our opponents think they have the advantage over us, since many Christians of the present day, perhaps the large body, condemn what they call American slavery. But it is not by any means so clear that they would make the sin of holding slaves, (whom we did not enslave,) a ground of excommunication; and if they would, we appeal to the large body of the regenerate of all ages, and especially to the inspired apostles, who did not make the holding of slaves a test of communion.

Nay, we call in our opponents themselves against themselves. Before they call on us to repent of the sin of slaveholding, we call on them to repent of a complicity in it. If it is a sin now to admit unrepentant slaveholders to communion, it always was a sin. Had our opponents gone out from us years ago, because it was a sin to commune with slaveholders, they would not be at a loss for a defence. They could say, "We think communion with you a sin, and a regard for our own right and duty of communion made us leave, since it is our duty to commune together, and only thus can we exercise that duty." They could have

said, "We leave in order to exercise our rights without depriving other people of their rights." But they never acted on this principle. Their principle always was to maintain ecclesiastical union, and make that union a basis from which to undermine our position. Some of the Southern churches, under this mode of warfare, were forced to leave their Northern associations in order to avoid a pecuniary support of benevolent enterprises which were turned against themselves.* Among Protestants, to those who are conscious of being in the right, excommunication has no terrors.

The question now seems naturally to come up, Does this action on the part of the Northern churches, this prostitution of the Church to serve, not merely purposes of State, but party, afford a valid ground for unwillingness to unite with them? A formal bar, it interposes, to union on the part of the present generation, and to intercommunion to the extent to which they are disposed to carry it out to its logical consequences; but our children will not be affected by it. A bar to intercommunion on the part of our posterity we trust it may never prove. The thing has been done in an excitement which may calm down, which the next generation may not feel. But they may never repudiate and disavow the principle involved in it. It is not easy to get men to make a formal recantation; and they may simply consider the matter dead, and no one think any practical harm can come of it. But some day, when some future contest between other sections arises, and men's passions again become aroused, this may be the precedent for a like proceeding.

We know not how posterity may regard it; but we are very much mistaken if ecclesiastical union can ever be brought about without some security against the use of this ecclesiastical action as a precedent. Not that we would wish to excommunicate them, as they virtually excommunicate us, and would refuse to

* It is not strange that people who had the experience many of the Southern Christians had, of how unions to which adherence was voluntary were persisted in for the purpose of using them against the adherents of the union, should mistrust an adherence to a union with precisely the same people, adherence to which was declared to be involuntary.

unite with them till they "*repent.*" All we would ask is security that this action may not be a precedent. What we are entitled to ask as a preliminary to ecclesiastical union, we have already granted them in our own case. As a people, we have given up the right of secession, and acknowledge that it would, for the future, be wrong to attempt a secession from the United States on the ground of it. We do not think it was wrong to make the attempt in the past; but since we have pledged ourselves against claiming the right of secession, it would be wrong in future.

We will now conclude with a discussion about what is called "political preaching," which requires a settlement of the question (thus far undecided,) whether the Church should permit or require her ministers to argue in the pulpit such political questions as are, or as they fancy to be, also questions of morals.

Possibly it might be said, that, if the Church could not decide a controverted point of right and wrong, it would be wise to lay the reasons before her people, and let them judge and decide for themselves. But, in this case, if the Church should be disposed to do this, her ministers should impartially give the arguments on both sides, and as they are usually engaged in feeling on one side or the other, it would be impossible for them to be impartial. Besides which, if the question is an open one, between two rival and excited political parties, they are keenly interested to publish, and doubtless will publish, all the arguments on both sides, so that there can be no reason for engaging in this work; while there are many for not doing so. The Church has plenty of legitimate work, and more than she finds time, money, or agents to do; and she would have to neglect it in order to engage in this doubtful business. Besides, the passions of irreligious men are so much engaged on one side or the other, that ministers and churches will almost certainly impair their influence for good who attempt to "meddle with politics" in this way.

It is currently charged upon the churches of the North that political questions are discussed in their pulpits, and this especially before elections. The charge comes chiefly from Northern

sources, though it is repeated with great eagerness here. There are many reasons which incline us to think the frequency of this thing at least has been greatly exaggerated. It is the sort of charge irreligious people like to circulate against Christians. We would, as far as consistent with the truth, reject such evidence against those whom, though greatly alienated, (and we say the word in deep sadness,) we must still call our Christian brethren. But it seems difficult to doubt that many ministers are persistently and habitually guilty in this respect, of whom the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher may be taken as the type. But we are not at all concerned with the sins of our brethren in this paper, only so far as they condemn us; and there we must, in self-defence, retort the charge upon them.

It may, perhaps, be wisest just here to say what is not political preaching, as doubtless both Northern and Southern ministers have been accused of it when the charge was not justifiable.

It is, of course, no meddling with politics for any private member of the Church, or minister, to vote. It is the right of all Christians, either singly or collectively, to pray for the success of any party whose principles they may conceive to be right, and calculated to promote the prosperity of the country. Therefore, in our opinion, it is perfectly their right, (though not as a church,) to hold prayer-meetings to pray for such success.

As we have shown, neither the whole Church, nor individual ministers, nor church members, singly or in bodies, should use their influence or positions, as such, to settle political questions; and, therefore, no one should ever *argue* such questions in meetings for religious purposes. Nor, on the other hand, must they assume any decision of them to be certain enough to ground ecclesiastical censures upon them, or interference with the rights of any individuals in the Church, or any regenerate person out of it. But where they consider any decision to be certain enough to ground individual action as citizens upon it, they may also assume it to be true enough, and certain enough, for them to apply to themselves the consolations of religion, when it is unsuccessful, and the encouragements of religion, when it is successful, as well as exhortations to duty based upon it. Since they may do

this, as individuals, they can combine in doing so. Of course, combination in doing this, can only be used by those who can agree in making the assumption, on the same side, since a man would not accept consolation for the failure of a cause from those who thought it a bad cause. On this ground, are justified the prayer-meetings and Fast and Thanksgiving days on both sides; and thus are justified those ministers and Christians who took part in them. Where they did not argue the right or wrong of the question, (in which case the meeting would cease to be a religious one,) but simply assumed the decision to draw religious consolations, exhortations, or encouragements from it, they were perfectly justifiable. Doubtless, a Southerner at the North, or a Northerner at the South, would have felt much offended with the warmth of the assumption; but they were on both sides entitled to make it for the religious purposes of consolation, thanksgiving, exhortation to duty. Probably we, (the very writer of this article,) would have been much offended, could we have attended a prayer-meeting at the North, where such an assumption was made; but passion and prejudice apart, we are forced deliberately to say there is nothing wrong whatever in using the assumption (by those who could make it,) for such purposes.

Nor is the use of the assumption for such purposes any irreverent or presumptuous assumption towards God. Without assumptions of the kind, we could offer no prayers, private or public. It is customary for Christians always to imply, and often say, "but nevertheless, thy will be done." It was said hundreds and hundreds of times at the South; and where unsaid, all Christians would have said they intended to imply it. We doubt not, among true Christians at the North, it was often said and always implied.

But this Christian liberty which we have laid down should have one limitation. It is the duty of Christians to refrain from even innocent things which would either lead them into temptation, or cast an imputation on their character, either singly, as individuals, or collectively, as a church, which would make them or the church lose influence. For this reason, where communities

are divided, and the relations of a minister are with people holding both sides, it is not wise for him to take a prominent part in such meetings; and it is not wise to conduct them in the church buildings. It both tempts a minister, who is a fallible man, to slide from his legitimate business into using his position for political propagandism, and injures the influence of the church. But in all those cases, North and South, where the churches and communities were sufficiently agreed in the assumption that they were right, to base action as citizens upon it, it was not wrong for ministers to make that assumption a basis from which to deduce religious exhortation and encouragement. It would, however, probably be wisest for individuals when assembled in any of the church courts, synods, conventions, etc., more especially to restrain their Christian liberty in this respect, since they might both be tempted to overstep the mark, and would affect the influence of the Church at large which has relation to other than the united communities.

We were at the South during the whole contest; were in South Carolina until she seceded; and were at various times in various communities; and being subject to no military duty, were enabled to attend church every Sunday, and on every Fast and Thanksgiving day; and we also attended daily prayer meetings in nearly all parts of the country. We never, in any case, heard any political question argued on any such occasions, unless one doubtful instance be excepted. On a Thanksgiving day, a minister who had lived much in the North, gave us a sermon which had nothing of thanksgiving in it; but was an utterly irrelevant defence of slavery from charges on moral and scriptural grounds. All the intelligent part of the congregation united in thinking it wholly inappropriate. If any cases can be adduced where Southern ministers have argued such questions, we are certain they are very rare, and would be condemned. General charges are easily made; but we invite those who make them to specify place, time, minister, and things said.

We will take occasion to say here, that exhortations to the direct duty of supporting the Confederate government were very rare indeed. We do not remember hearing a single one from

any minister or layman whatever. The assumption was made the basis chiefly, (and, so far as we remember, almost wholly,) for consolation, and encouragement, and not for exhortation to that duty. This may seem such a very strange statement, that it may be hard to believe, unless we add that it was probably owing to the fact that we took great pride in our remarkable unanimity, and took it for granted nobody needed such exhortations, which indeed they did not. To particular branches and acts of that duty, individuals needed exhortation; but not to the general duty of supporting the Confederate government.

If any ecclesiastical legislative body or church court went beyond assuming that we were right, as a basis for exhortation to duty, we do not know it. It would have been wiser, had they restrained their Christian liberty in this respect, in the few instances where they went thus far; but it is to be said in their defence that this whole question of what the Church is entitled to do, and what not, and the other question of how far it would be right and wise to restrain Christian liberty, has never been thoroughly settled. Very certain we are, if a line can be wisely laid down, our Southern churches will be glad to keep on one side of it in the future.

We are far from intending to say that our ministers or private Christians said nothing which was wrong in their prayer-meetings. While there were noble instances of Christians and ministers who tried to soften the horrors of war, there is undoubtedly a sin of omission lying at their door. A few religious papers, a good many ignorant people, and a few people of intelligence, were guilty of sins of commission in this respect. Where ministers or people of intelligence were guilty, it was often the case that the offender was under excitement, and so said what, when cool, he would have repudiated. We knew a minister of the gospel, one of the most amiable and kindly men we ever knew, a man of a noble nature, as chivalrously incapable of doing anything to aggravate the horrors of war as any knight of romance, and also a sincere, devoted Christian. He one day had a discussion with a person who thought that war was always wrong; and that principles of passive obedience were always to be adopted. He came

to prayer-meeting, and reading one of David's imprecatory psalms, commented upon it in a way which would inferentially have encouraged severities from which we know he would have shrunk with horror.

We have also heard several ignorant men, and one or two men of some intelligence under great excitement, read chapters of the Old Testament, and comment on them in addresses in which they began by assuming that Christians succeed the Jews as God's people, and are entitled to the promises of the Old Testament; but, somehow, before they concluded, they would contrive to get things mixed up; and first, Southern Christians would be substituted for Christians in general, and then the Southern people were substituted for Southern Christians. If these conclusions had been set directly before them, they would very generally have repudiated the idea, which indeed they never directly advanced or even argued. The only thing they did was to apply to the Southern people encouragements and promises applicable to Christians alone, and to Northern Christians as well. All this was done with that ingenuity of sophistry which observant persons have noticed is possessed in so high a degree by those who are themselves deceived, and which enables them to weave a web with a cunning which they never could attain if consciously attempting deception. Whenever we heard such things said, we generally tried to find out what the audience thought of it; and almost invariably, without regard to shades of devotion to the cause of secession, we found that not merely the intelligent people, but the people of plain sense, regretted that the speakers should say such things.* We once heard a very forward and ignorant man, (though a good man,) read in a prayer-meeting that chapter in Matthew in which the expression occurs, "and shall he not avenge his own elect," "I tell you he will avenge them speedily." Immediately afterwards

* The writer for one acknowledges that the tendency was a strong one to misapply the glowing language of the New Testament to cases to which it was not applicable. There were parts of the Bible to misapply which was so almost instinctive that we ceased reading them to avoid presumption and irreverence.

this person offered a prayer, in which, waxing very warm, he said, "O Lord, thou hast promised to avenge us of our enemies, and that speedily." The feeling of all, except the very ignorant part of the congregation, was a mixed one of horror and amusement; and he was much ridiculed for what he had said, by members of all churches.

Another thing not very uncommon was to hear the assumption that we were right accompanied by the assumption that success was certain for us. This was very seldom directly said, and yet we have heard long addresses which were *pervaded* by it without positive statement. In no case was the sort of sophistry above referred to, more ingenious than in this. It was almost exclusively confined to ignorant men. We knew one or two educated men who were guilty of it; but they were under some excitement, and when the inference was stated to them they repudiated it.

But these things, though false and injurious teaching, and wrong, were not "preaching politics" or "meddling with politics." Of course this can be denied; for people can call anything by any name they please. If the phrases "preaching politics" and "meddling with politics" mean anything, they mean that he who does it, discusses a subject neither side of which he should as a minister advocate. But it is evident that to take the other side, to say the Southern people as a body were not God's elect, and that right is sometimes unsuccessful, would be perfectly legitimate topics. Of course the application of the expression "preaching politics" may yet be wrangled about, and becomes a mere dispute about a word. Those who fight about its application to these cases, wish to use it to draw off attention and animadversion from what is political preaching in an objectionable sense.

We of the South have at least desired to do right. We have needed a discussion and settlement of the principles on which we desired to base our actions; and for want of this, we have perhaps in some instances forgotten or seemed to forget these principles. But in every such case, if they can be clearly shown to have been contravened, we think we are willing to acknowledge it was at least an error.

But we are certain that the charge cannot be brought against us that we professed principles which we have plainly and habitually violated in practice. If others deny this, we invite them to make good their charge by specifying one or more ministers who habitually or often violated these principles and precisely how. Our brethren have been misled by a very few jaundiced reporters who were too warm to discriminate.

If we have been, to a great extent, free from the scandal of political decisions made by churches and erected into tests of communion, we are free to acknowledge it has been partly due to the fact that we were not greatly tempted to make such decisions. We were so united in the cause which we thought right that there was not so much temptation to support it by such decisions.

Thank God, from whatever cause it arises, that we have no more sin in this respect. *Non nobis decus, Domine!*

ARTICLE IV.

THE TISHBITE AND THE BAPTIST.

Four centuries before the first advent of the Messiah, the volume of Old Testament prophecy concluded with the remarkable predictions of Malachi. In the present day, when the light of later Revelation, and the known fulfilment of many glorious promises, enable the Bible student to explain much that was then obscure, a great part of this last prophecy may be understood. The concluding sentences of the book, however, do not seem to refer to events that occurred in the days of our Lord's personal ministry, or to any portion of the Church's history up to the present time. On the contrary, every part of the prophecy in the last chapter may very accurately foreshadow events yet to

occur in the last days of the present dispensation. Indeed, the salient points in all the schemes of millenarian expounders, seem to reflect the light that streams from this ancient book; just as the rays of the setting sun are reflected from the loftier spires upon earthly temples. The effulgent glory of that "Sun of righteousness" has not yet gladdened the eyes of God's people. Those healing beams will not be shed upon the earth until he comes with clouds. Most of the old prophecies contain passages from which the assiduous efforts of spiritualizers have not extracted all the light and glory; and conspicuous among them is this latest prediction of the Ancient Canon.

It is an open question whether any part of Malachi refers prophetically to the first advent of the Redeemer. That the immediate disciples of the Lord, in common with the whole Jewish nation, understood the closing prophecy to have its fulfilment in the ministry of John the Baptist, is perfectly clear from the record. To endeavor to ascertain whether the text will bear this application, is the object of the present inquiry; and a brief examination of the whole book is necessary to a clear understanding of the discussion.

To confine this examination within the narrowest limits, it is proper to observe, first, that the threatenings in the first two chapters, are naturally connected with the sins enumerated by the prophet. They are not so much predictions, as the reiteration of the general law that obtains in God's government connecting punishment with sin. In the next place, the prophecy in the first part of the third chapter, seems to have a primary application to the first advent, and also a distinct secondary reference to events yet in the future. By three of the evangelists, the promise, "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me," is applied to John the Baptist. Accepting this application, the succeeding prophecy of the "coming of the Lord to his temple," must of course refer to the personal ministry of Christ. Yet the immediate context enumerates acts of the Lord, "the messenger of the covenant," which are elsewhere enumerated as the acts of the same Lord when he comes to take vengeance on his enemies. In the progress of this inves-

tigation, the double application of Old Testament predictions concerning the person and work of Christ, will, perhaps, be more apparent. The only point to be made just here, is the suggestion that the coming of "the messenger," partly fulfilled in the birth of John the Baptist, may have another and *fuller* reference to events to occur hereafter. It is well known that some of the millenarian expounders boldly predict a second appearance of John, to precede the second coming of the Lord. But while the foundation upon which this theory stands is insecure, the theory itself is not necessary to the establishment of their distinctive doctrines.

Whenever the day in which the Lord of hosts shall make up his special treasures, is to arrive, it has not yet dawned upon the earth. The clear insight into the characters of men, the infallible discernment betwixt the righteous and the wicked, is not yet the property of his Church. The thought and the speech of them that fear the Lord, are recorded in his book of remembrance; which book will remain sealed until the great white throne is set up, and the earth and the heaven are fled away. For the dread sentences that fall from the lips of the seer of Patmos, though separated by an interval of five hundred years, are so true an echo of those last words of the Old Testament prophet, that one is forced to believe them a description of the same terrible scenes. The day—the great and dreadful day—when the wicked shall be as stubble before the devouring flame, predicted by Amos, and Joel, and Malachi, is also the day of which Peter speaks, when the heaven and the earth shall be dissolved; the day of the Lord, which, according to Paul, shall overtake the wicked as a thief in the night—this day so full of dismal portents—was surely *not* the day ushered in by choirs of rejoicing angels, singing "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men!"

It is apparently just before this day of doom that the coming of Elijah is predicted. No extended argument is needed to prove the close connexion between the sending of Elijah and the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord. The particular work of this man, who never tasted *bea^b*, is not easy to explain;

it is sufficient to observe, that he will be the inaugurator of a new epoch. From the account given by Malachi, independently of all other revelation, no one would suppose that this work had been accomplished by John the Baptist. The pomp and circumstance described or implied in the old prophecy did not attend or succeed the preaching of John. Setting aside the New Testament commentary upon it, the Church would probably never have sought for the fulfilment of this promised work of the Tishbite in the short ministry of the Baptist.

If the reasoning thus far has been tolerably clear, it may be said that the greater part of the original prophecy refers to a future period in the Church's history. And if this be true, it does not seem probable that the concluding sentence of the book can refer to the era that began with the birth of Christ; and therefore, it would appear (still ignoring the Gospel commentaries,) that John the Baptist could not have been in the eye of Malachi when he wrote the prediction concerning Elijah. For the reasons before stated, such an inference would seem highly improbable, if not wholly impossible.

Before the examination of the testimony of New Testament writers, it is proper to notice the dissimilarity apparent in the character and work of these two men. Krummacher's History of Elijah the Tishbite is probably as accurate a description as could be made from the Bible account of this very remarkable personage. Considering the date of his ministrations, the peculiar condition of the kingdom of Israel, and of the small remnant "reserved according to the election of grace" who had not bowed the knee to Baal, it might be supposed that a more elaborate account of this prophet would have been given. But in the wisdom of God, precisely the contrary is the fact in the case. He is suddenly introduced at the culminating point of Ahab's atrocious apostasy, announcing the approach of God's severe judgment upon the land. Always austere and stern, he seems to fulfil his mission best in the utterance of awful threatenings, or in the execution of the wrathful sentence of an angry God. Even in the few cases in which the power of Elijah is exercised in mercy, one fails to discover in the man any token of human

sympathy. When he invites his apostate countrymen to return to their allegiance, the invitation is couched in terms of scathing sarcasm and scorn: "If Jehoyah be God, follow him: but if Baal, follow him!" In his petition for the restoration of the widow's son, the argument proceeds upon the obligation resting upon him, as the woman's guest, and the implied obligation resting upon God, so to speak, to avert evil from her household on that account. Very little, if anything, can be found in the record, to indicate Elijah's sympathy with, or love for his kind.

To compare the illustrious testimony of John the Baptist—"Behold the Lamb of God!"—with any sentence uttered by the old prophet, will be the readiest way to show their total dissimilarity, and to suggest the argument upon this point. If the second appearance of Elijah occurred in the first century, his character had certainly undergone a wonderful change. The object of this brief comparison, however, is merely to indicate this essential difference in the natural characteristics of these two historic persons, without detracting from the glorious reputation of either. They were both men whom God highly honored. In reading the history of Elijah, one is strongly impressed with the native dignity of the man, the utter blamelessness of his recorded life, his burning zeal for the honor of the Lord of hosts, his sublime courage and constancy. And, reasoning upon mere probabilities, it does not seem credible that so eminent a saint, a man of such distinguished grandeur of character, should terminate his career, as the Baptist terminated his. He who had escaped Jezebel, could hardly fall a victim to Herodias. The improbability is more striking, when it is remembered that the murder in the prison of Herod occurred a thousand years after Elijah had been translated. And it is far easier to imagine some other fulfilment of the prophecy in Malachi, than to suppose that the grand old prophet who had ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot, should return to earth to suffer an ignominious death at the hands of a drunken tyrant like Herod, and at the prayer of a dancing girl. He who had braved the wrath of Ahab with impunity, could hardly perish under the wrath of the contemptible tetrarch of Galilee.

If John was only to “go before the Messiah in the spirit and power of Elias,” he could not thereby meet the requirements of Malachi’s prophecy. Because, whether the prediction of the bright rising of the Sun of righteousness be interpreted as referring to the first advent or not, it doubtless promises the coming of the Lord himself. It is not the prophecy of a coming type or representative. It is the glorious King of kings, and no meaner personage. Not Melchisedec, not David, but the Lord Christ. If this be so, it requires a considerable stretch of imagination to suppose the prediction concerning Elijah in the immediate context, could be fulfilled by a typical or representative person. The coherence and symmetry of the entire passage are impaired by the supposition. No matter how deeply imbued with the “spirit of Elias” John may have been; no matter how strikingly he might have manifested the “power” of the old prophet; nay, no matter how closely he might have resembled Elijah in character and word, he was still *not* Elijah, and therefore did not accomplish that which Malachi foretold.

Thus—to begin the examination of the Gospel testimony—John himself very distinctly denies his identity with the Tishbite. It is perfectly certain, since the Scripture Canon is complete, that the question, “Art thou Elias?” is founded upon the passage under consideration, as there is no other sentence in the book containing the remotest hint of his appearing. Neither is it possible that the priests and Levites could have expected the reappearance of Elijah, independently of Malachi’s prophecy. The question propounded by the apostles, after the scene upon Mount Tabor, has the same undoubted reference—“Why say the scribes that Elias must first come?” And the circumstances that induced this question, with the reply to it, may be found to favor the general drift of the argument, when they also shall come under examination.

It is worthy of notice that John, in his final answer to the interrogatories of the priests and Levites, quotes entirely from the book of Isaiah: “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness.” While the Lord applies directly to his forerunner the words of Malachi—“Behold, I send my messenger, and he shall

prepare the way before me"—it is very remarkable that the Baptist should have denied, with apparent emphasis, a like application, offered by the query of the Pharisees on the banks of Jordan. All of the four evangelists apply Isaiah's prediction to John, and three of them, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, also quote the first verse of Malachi's third chapter, whose dual application has already been suggested. As recorded by Matthew and Luke, the Lord himself fixes this application to the Baptist.

Therefore, if John's denial proves anything, it demonstrates that the last two verses of the Old Testament contain a separate, distinct, solitary prophecy which thus far has had no fulfilment. It is so far from being a repetition of the promise in the third chapter of Malachi, that John himself, who fulfilled this promise, utterly repudiates the application of the latter predictions to himself. He was the "messenger" of Malachi, and the "voice" of Isaiah; but neither the one nor the other was Elijah.

We are thus brought to the only real difficulty in the way, to wit, the words of our Lord, "This is Elias which was for to come." As the accounts given by the three evangelists are substantially identical, it will only be necessary to examine one of them. Matthew's record seems to be the most elaborate, and in this Gospel the apparent application of the prophecy to John occurs in two places, and under different attending circumstances. Reserving the eleventh chapter for the final argument, the only remaining passage requiring examination, is in the seventeenth. The parallel passages are in the ninth of Mark and the ninth of Luke; and as they all describe the transfiguration of Christ, there is no doubt that this wonderful occurrence in the life of the Lord was the immediate occasion of the question, "Why say the scribes that Elias must first come?" The question was entirely appropriate and natural upon the millenarian hypothesis, and upon no other. It is difficult to give any satisfactory explanation of question or answer, if the personal reign of Christ upon the earth is denied. The "coming" of the Son of man, in the glory of his Father, with attending holy angels, is the subject of the preceding context, in all three gospels; and the promise of this coming, the announcement of this culminating

catastrophe, in all three cases, is closely connected with the transfiguration. As the immediate inauguration of the visible, glorious, and personal reign of Messiah, the setting up of the veritable KINGDOM OF GOD, of which the first advent, with all its glorious results, was but the type and promise; of which the reign of grace in the individual soul was but the feeble shadow; of which the whole dispensation of faith and hope was but the faint reflexion and foretaste; as the establishment of this Kingdom was to be the conclusion of the "mystery of God" in the days of the voice of the seventh angel; *therefore*, the gracious Master gave to three of his chosen disciples a brief glimpse of that indescribable glory. "There be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in His Kingdom."

Not so much for the instruction and comfort of those immediate followers, as for the instruction and comfort of his Church in all subsequent ages, was this manifestation of his glory given. In speaking of the event in after years, Peter explains the intent and promise of the marvellous exhibition. "We have not followed cunningly devised fables," he says, "when we made known unto you the power and *coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ; for we were eye-witnesses of his majesty in the holy mount." The hope of the Church was in this "coming," of which the transfiguration was the earnest and pledge. The Old Record ends with the clear prediction of it, where it is likened to the bright rising of the Sun of righteousness. The New Record closes with the longing cry of the Church, for the fulfilment of the same promise: "Even so, Come, Lord Jesus!" And it is worthy of notice that the figure is the same in the three places. Malachi tells of the Sun of righteousness; Peter, recounting the scene on Tabor, bids the Church to await the rising of the day-star; and in the concluding sentence of the Apocalypse, he who calls himself "Alpha and Omega," "the root and offspring of David," adds this other title, "the bright and morning star." To this one luminous focus—the sure pre-millennial "coming" of the Lord—do all these brilliant rays converge. Through the dense media of rationalistic schemes,

through the more attenuated and diffusive theories of purely spiritual expounders, these heavenly rays are equally refracted, and their beauty and brilliancy equally impaired.

Nothing can be plainer than that the disciples expected the "kingdom to be restored to Israel" under the reign of King Jesus. It was a hope, a confident expectation, that they never relinquished. All the Gospel narratives concur in making this fact apparent. When he foretold his death, "they knew not" what was spoken to them. The two sorrowful disciples on their way to Emmaus, compress the whole story of their anguish in one short sentence: "We trusted it had been He which should have redeemed Israel!" And the very last words addressed to him, on the eve of his final departure were, "Lord, wilt thou at *this time* restore the kingdom to Israel?" Matthew begins his Gospel with the announcement that it is the book of the generation of the "Son of David; the Son of Abraham" not only—not mainly the promised Seed, in whom all nations should be blessed,—but, primarily, the royal Son of Israel's noblest monarch, and the undoubted heir to his throne. It is not possible to examine these passages, and to compare the Lord's replies to these various questions, and yet evade the conviction that the first advent was *in order* to the second. "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into his glory?" The ordained path to the last was through the first. The throne, although his rightful inheritance, was accessible only through the portals of the grave. At Thessalonica, Paul alleged that Christ "must needs" have suffered and risen again from the dead. And the Jews, inflamed with the same zeal for Cæsar that has cursed the Christian Church in modern times, complained that Paul proclaimed "another king, one Jesus!" The offence was the same, and the outcry identical, in cause and consequence, in A. D. 53, and in A. D. 1866.

In all this, no one will imagine that the blessed work of redemption is underrated. The story of the cross will doubtless be the glorious theme with which the lofty arches of the New Jerusalem shall resound. The eternal song of the just made perfect will be: "Thou art worthy, because thou hast redeemed

us." Doubtless, throughout those endless ages, the glorified saint will be constantly reminded of the central act in God's great drama, by the ever-present vision of the scars of the conflict, which the Captain of salvation received on Calvary. The whole intent of the preceding comparison is to suggest that if the first advent, when he came with a sin-offering, was glorious, surely the second, when he shall come "without a sin-offering" to those who look to him for salvation, shall be "rather glorious!"

The application of the foregoing imperfect discussion to the argument in hand, may be apparent, when the grand scene upon Mount Tabor is more closely scrutinized. In Luke's account, the famous confession of Peter, "Thou art the Christ of God," introduces the discourse in which the promise of the transfiguration occurs. The same connexion is found in Matthew and in Mark. Probably there is no case in which the sequence of the narrative is so remarkably similar in three separate Gospels, as in this very instance, and there is no apparent evasion of the force of an argument founded upon this manifest connexion. The next step in the discussion, therefore, is the statement of its probable logical value.

"Thou art the Christ!" Therefore, all that the prophets have spoken touching the glory of Israel under the reign of Messiah, will be fulfilled in thee. The establishment of the throne of David upon immovable foundations, the deliverance of Israel from every foreign yoke, the full possession of all this Canaan, from Jordan to the sea, the land promised with an oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and hitherto not given to any one of the three—all of these, and more, are promised, when the Christ of God shall come.

Instead of confirming this just expectation, he straitly charged them that they should not make his regal person known; because he must *first* suffer many things, be rejected of priests and elders, be killed, and rise again the third day. This astounding announcement provoked the expostulation of Peter. It was a hard saying. To relinquish the high hopes he had entertained, of the visible glory and majesty of that kingdom, required a kind of faith that Peter never got until Pentecost.

But the time for the establishment of that kingdom, whose magnificence should swallow up all preceding reigns, had not arrived. The wonderful mystery of the "sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow," the angels desired to look into. And the mystery was two-fold: first, that the Son of God should suffer at all; and secondly, that the glory should follow as a consequence. If those high intelligences, who had lived in communion with God since their creation, could not unravel the mystery, what marvel that Peter should fail!

The three Gospels agree also, in the record of the clear exposition the Lord then gave of the distinguishing characteristics of that intermediate, ante-millennial dispensation. As he himself should be first set at naught and rejected and slain, so his people should live lives of self-denial and daily cross-bearing. In the midst of an evil generation, their great business should be to witness for him and to glory in his cross, by which they were crucified to the world, and the world to them. They were warned of the consequences, if they should be ashamed of him or of his words; and reminded that the event for which they longed and waited, though delayed, should yet surely come. "Be not ashamed of me, lest I also should be ashamed of you, when I come in my Father's glory, attended by the holy angels. And to confirm your faith in this coming, behold, some of you shall not taste of death until you have had a glimpse of this radiant glory." Then, eight days after, he taketh Peter, and James, and John, up into Tabor, and was there transfigured before them.

Although the word "angels" is the same that is commonly applied to the unfallen spirits, yet it is possible that the personal attendants of the Lord may not belong to this class. In the Epistle of Jude, it is said, "He cometh with ten thousand of his saints;" that is, with his myriads, his special, purchased, redeemed servants. Those who shall be assessors with him in HIS KINGDOM, his Church militant, fighting a fight in which the angels take no part, winning a victory in which they have no share, and finally, having overcome all of his and their enemies, sitting down in his throne, to which the angels have no access; these are they who shall swell his train, when he comes in the

glory of the Father. It is the Mediator and Redeemer who shall be enthroned; and the unfallen and unredeemed spirits may not supplant the redeemed of earth—the just made perfect. And as expounded in Thessalonians, there are two classes of these attendants who shall participate in these inauguration ceremonies—those who sleep, and those who shall be changed when the Lord comes. Accordingly, there appeared Moses and Elias, each representing a multitude, which no man can number, of the elect of God: the first, whose death and burial are carefully recorded in the last chapter of Deuteronomy, the representative of all of those who sleep in Jesus, yet whom “God will bring with him” when he comes with clouds; the other, whose miraculous translation and ascension are as carefully recorded in the second chapter of Second Kings,—the representative of all those who shall be alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, and who shall be “caught up” to meet him in the air.

No Christian reader supposes that this story of the transfiguration is a myth. To Peter, it was the very substance of things hoped for. It confirmed the sure word of prophecy. It corroborated the promise of Malachi concerning the rising of the Sun of righteousness. No candid reader will believe that Elijah and Moses were unsubstantial phantoms. They were real, living men, and they talked of the death to occur on Calvary. No mere man can pretend to describe the method of their existence, or to understand any of the laws by which that existence was regulated. Paul tells of natural bodies and spiritual bodies; of bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial; but these two men, visitants from the heavenly spheres, were not invisible, and perhaps not intangible; and it requires post-millennial knowledge to assert how far a spiritual body is immaterial and impalpable. But this does not affect the present inquiry. The point to be established is merely that they were there, their feet resting upon the mountain top, their persons visible, and their voices audible, to Peter and James and John.

The revelations of psychology do not amount to much. In this case, as in several analogous cases recorded in the Bible, the physical effect produced by the proximity of these “spiritual

bodies" was peculiar. The apostles were "heavy with sleep." When they spoke of building tabernacles, they wist not what they said. Some mental aberration, some positive disturbance of the equilibrium, some form of insanity—using the word in its strict sense—was evidently caused by the presence of the "holy angels." It cannot have escaped the notice of the Bible student that a comatose condition of body is usually the result of supernal visitations; as in the case of Saul when Samuel appeared, or of the keepers of the Sepulchre, when the angel descended to roll away the stone.

As they descended, the apostles ask the Lord, "Why say the scribes that Elias must first come?" The clear implication seems to be this: "We have seen thy glory; we know that thou art that Sun of righteousness; but where is the fulfilment of the other prophecy? For Elias is to come *before* the great day."

The first reply to this question, refers the fulfilment to a future time. "Elias truly *shall* come, and restore all things." If this had been all, there would have been no controversy as to the date of his coming; but he adds: "But Elias has already come, and they have done unto him what they listed." And if his words had ended here, there could have been no further question, as "they understood him to speak of John the Baptist." But the concluding sentence contains the explanation, the key to the mystery, and the argument that follows.

"Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them." That is to say: The Messiah of God, the rightful heir to David's throne, who claimed his regal rank shortly afterwards, in the very presence of the Roman procurator, who had just manifested his glory to the questioners, upon the top of Tabor, was also destined to be rejected and slain. It was, so to speak, an offer made to humanity, to fulfil, there and then, the promise in Malachi. The Sun of righteousness had unveiled his brightness, and the throne of David might now be set up in Israel. The promised work of the forerunner Elijah, might have been fulfilled by John. But that wicked and perverse generation had rejected John, saying, "He hath a devil;" and they had also rejected the Son of man, saying "Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-

bibber." And now, as they had silenced the voice of the preacher in the wilderness, they would also kill him of whom that voice testified. Nevertheless, as the record of John himself pointed to two dispensations, he, the Lord, should surely come again. "I indeed baptize you with water," said he, "but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire;" and afterwards, "he will gather the wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable." The correspondence between this latter sentence and the various predictions that treat of the second advent is obvious.

But this offer was rejected. "We will not have this man to reign over us." His claim to the royal title was answered by the scoffs of the multitude. "Let the King of Israel now come down from the cross," they said, in mocking and scorn. And when the heathen ruler affixed the scroll over the head of the victim, the Jewish authorities remonstrated, only because Pilate thereby *endorsed* the claim of Jesus. No otherwise can their earnest expostulation be explained.

Keeping in view the double application of the original prediction, and its consequent conditional fulfilment, the explanation of the only remaining scripture is comparatively easy. Indeed, the uncertainty as to the precise status of the Baptist, is more strikingly manifest in the sentence in which the Lord applies Malachi's prophecy to him: "This is Elias which was for to come." Matt. xi. 14. That is, this is Elias, "if ye will receive it." The final pronoun is wanting in the original. Yet, the close connexion between this and the preceding verse, appears to be plain enough. The testimony of the law and the prophets, concurring with the testimony of John, pointed clearly to the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven. And the inference is equally clear, upon this hypothesis, that the *temporal* reign of the Mediator, upon the very throne of David, was the burden of all ancient prophecy.

Although the rejection and death of the Lord Christ were in accurate fulfilment of prophecy, and absolutely inevitable in the plan of redemption, yet he was slain by wicked hands. Through-

out all the gospel narratives, no fact is more clearly apparent than that his own obscure references to the event were constantly misunderstood. It was privately, to his own immediate followers, that he revealed the truth in its fulness. And even to them, his approaching demise was an inscrutable mystery. They questioned among themselves what this death and rising from the dead should mean. After his resurrection, all was plain. His command to his apostles to go forth and disciple all nations involved no mystery. He had accomplished the work, and the record was complete. But until the atrocious wickedness wrought on Golgotha was enacted, it is undeniably certain that no living man among his disciples knew that the God-man would there offer a propitiatory sacrifice for the elect of God.

During his personal ministry, therefore, what was the manifest duty of all who heard his voice? John had announced his coming, and had called upon men to "repent." His sole argument was, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." Paul's exhortation on Mars' hill has the same foundation. "Repent, because God hath appointed a day, and ordained the man to judge the world, and hath raised him from the dead, (the first-fruits,) and thereby given assurance that the world of men will also be raised to endure his sentence."

In Matt. xi. 12, the marginal translations in most English Bibles, indicate the faultiness of our version, or the obscurity of the original passage. Instead of teaching that the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, according to Schleusner the word more frequently expresses aggressive action. That is: "This kingdom presseth, thrusteth itself upon you." John announced its proximity; and from the date when his preaching began, to the date of his imprisonment, with accumulating "force and violence" had the kingdom advanced. And now, "if ye will receive the kingdom, this is Elias which was for to come."

Whether the above paraphrase is allowable or not, the assertion, "this is Elias," certainly hangs upon a contingency of some sort, and lacks the force and authority of an unconditional announcement. But if the text will bear the foregoing translation, or any similar translation, then all difficulties in the way

of a future coming of the ancient prophet are met and vanquished.

It remains to answer a single objection, probably constantly present to the mind of any reader whose patience has sustained him thus far. If the drift of the argument in the preceding pages tends to any conclusion, it is this: The acceptance of the Lord on the part of the Jewish rulers and people, would have been followed by the formal establishment of his visible kingdom, and the deliverance of Israel from a foreign yoke. If he had assumed the regal authority—his right by birth and prophecy—he could not have afterwards offered a propitiatory sacrifice upon Calvary for the sins of his elect. The fixed order of events required that Christ should *first* suffer, and afterwards enter upon his glory. And upon this theory, the whole scheme of redemption, founded upon his vicarious endurance of the law's penalty, falls to the ground. As there is no other name given among men whereby salvation is possible, and as, even by this glorious name, salvation is possible only through his shed blood, he was manifested to take away sin and its consequences by the substitution of himself. The whole gospel scheme, every doctrine of grace, hangs upon his cross. Therefore, to say that God could have had any purpose, desire, or thought, contrary to his own great plan of salvation, is a contradiction in terms. This seems to be the most formidable objection that can be urged against the general theory of this article.

Yet the answer is as true as the objection, and is as cordially received by all who hold the sublime doctrines of our creed. It is the distinguishing glory of this creed that it acknowledges and affirms the potency of God's sovereign decrees. His purposes are not affected by change or contingency. But it is his revealed will that regulates the life and conduct of his intelligent creatures, while his secret purposes are known to himself alone. And throughout this entire revelation, in so far as it is the rule of faith and practice, it is a system of arguments, motives, and appeals, that could have no logical force or value, that could devolve no responsibility upon the creature, except upon the hypothesis that the human will is essentially free. It is a free-

dom in the gyves of fate; and finite wisdom, even when aided by infinite grace, cannot unravel the mystery.

In the far distant abyss of the heavens, there are nebulous spots which later astronomical science had resolved into systems of suns. Some of them are now known to be circles of stars, corresponding, perhaps, with the great circle to which our solar system belongs. Concerning the laws in force in that remote portion of God's grand universe, the wisest of earth's sages know absolutely nothing. Inferences are possible, and it *may* be that the inferences of the learned are true. But the orbits of those magnificent suns cannot be calculated. They are too vast for human arithmetic. The positive revelations of science are all included in the simple statement that these nebulae are clusters of mighty orbs, whose periods cannot be measured. The teachings of philosophers, touching the laws that regulate their motions, are only the statements of their inferences, and serve only to manifest the helpless ignorance of humanity. Even so, the unknown providences of God, sweeping in cycles larger than the duration of time, and hidden in the mists of an eternity past and an eternity to come, are far removed from human scrutiny. Here and there, he graciously reveals a very small part of his purposes, for the comfort, encouragement, and learning of his feeble children. And as we gain a glimpse, now and again, of a point on the majestic circumference, we are prone to fancy that we have found a parallax, and may infer all that we cannot see. But no man by searching can find out God. He is the Father of lights—this Sun of righteousness; and with him there is neither parallax nor tropical shadow. When he comes, we shall be like him, shall see him as he is, shall know even as we are known. All treasures of wisdom and knowledge are with him, and throughout those endless ages to succeed his coming, shall his redeemed drink of the fountain. Until that blessed time arrives, we can but echo the closing words of his Revelation, "Even so, come quickly, Lord Jesus!"

ARTICLE V.

WHAT IS CONSCIENCE?

1. *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy.* By Hon. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH. Encyclopædia Britannica.
2. *Elements of Morality.* By WILLIAM WHEWELL, D. D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
3. *The Divine Government, Physical and Moral.* By JAMES McCOSH, LL. D., Professor, etc., in the Queen's University for Ireland.

Curiously interwoven with human speech rests the conclusive evidence that God has not left himself without a witness in the human breast. Philosophers have observed, that there is no language in which we fail to find such terms as Right, Wrong, Ought and Duty: words expressing fundamental distinctions in conduct and character; which are invariably accompanied by the idea of responsibility; which, in all their uses, involve the idea that there are things which should be praised or dispraised, practised or avoided, loved or hated. These terms, the exponents of moral obligation, form a peculiar part of the necessary machinery of thought; where thought is most advanced, their vocabulary is fullest; it is only on the verge of barbarism, that they become few in number and of meagre significance. It is even said that the downward regress of a degrading nation may be marked by corresponding changes in their moral furniture of thought; by the gradual disuse and obsolescence of those terms, without which, there are none of the corresponding ideas essential to true manhood.

These facts impart great interest to the study of conscience. They strikingly illustrate its character, vindicate its authority, and prove its universal presence. Its magisterial authority, at times, almost assumes an embodied personality; not merely in classic Greece, where the dæmon of Socrates "advises him what

was his interest;" but even in savage Africa, where "the little heart exhorts the big heart to do right, and dissuades it from doing wrong." So conscience has always stood, a sentinel faculty at the gateway of the heart, resisting the intrusion of falsehood and wrong, and keeping an open door for the entrance of "Him whose right it is to reign."

It is to revelation, however, that we are indebted for the information which enables us to understand these facts. The principles it furnishes show us how to classify and explain them. It clearly establishes the fact of Conscience. Under its light, that doctrine has become the prominent feature of every ethical system, and is universally regarded as the central doctrine of our moral nature.

Yet, among the leading writers who have given detailed accounts of this faculty, there is great diversity of opinion on many important topics which it suggests. It is so with the distinguished writers to whom we shall refer; and it will scarcely be considered presumptuous, if, in some particulars, we differ from those who differ so materially from each other.

While it is much to be lamented that their treatment of some of these questions is so unsatisfactory, it is perhaps better to spend our time in seeking to supply the omission, than in lamenting it. Those interested in this important subject will not be likely to regard with disfavor an attempt in that direction, which, though no doubt far beneath what the merits of the subject demand, may nevertheless serve to indicate such a path as shall lead a more fortunate thinker to a more complete success.

I. At the very threshold, we meet the question—

Is conscience an original faculty of our nature? The negative has been elaborately argued by Sir James Mackintosh, whose theory is as follows:

"There must be primary pleasures, pains, and appetites, which arise from no prior state of the mind, which, if explained at all, can only arise from bodily organisation. Most of the principles of human action are derived from a small number of pleasures, perhaps organic, transferred by the law of association to a vast variety of objects. We dare not utterly reject the analogy of the material world, on which the whole technical language of

moral science is necessarily grounded. The whole creation teems with instances where the most powerful agents and the most lasting bodies, are the acknowledged result of the composition, sometimes of a few, often of many elements. These compounds, in their turn, often become the elements of other substances; and it is with them that we are conversant chiefly, in the pursuits of knowledge, and solely in the concerns of life. It is impossible to confound them with any of the separate elements that compose them.

“The same thing is true of self-love, which is formed from the primary desires. The same thing is true of the secondary pleasures,—the social affections,—which are formed by the association of self-love with the primary pleasures. Now, when the social affections, sympathy, compassion, etc., are thus formed, they are naturally followed by the will to carry them into effect; hence arises habitual dispositions; these, again, become moral sentiments. Then other contributory streams present themselves, as courage, energy, decision. Conscience, then, is formed from the combination of the private desires and social affections. All those sentiments of which the final object is a state of the will, become intimately and inseparably blended, and of that perfect state of solution, the result is conscience, the judge and arbiter of human conduct. Whatever it approves is virtue, and we are justly considered under moral obligations to practise it.

“Association, by this theory, operates as follows: Association is the juncture of thoughts with emotions, as well as with each other. For example, in the case of the miser, who at first seeks money as a source of pleasure, afterwards for its own sake, and here a new sentiment is produced. In like manner, self-love, or the desire of permanent well-being, is gradually formed from the separate appetites. Sympathy is the result of a transfer of our personal feelings to others, and of their feelings to ourselves. Sympathy engenders the various social feelings, compassion, benevolence, gratitude, etc. Combined with these, it generates patriotism, and humanity. And combined with these results, it generates piety. Anger, in combination with sympathy, produces justice. The love of praise generates love of what is praiseworthy. The complacency inspired by a benefit, is transferred to a benefactor, and becomes gratitude. Then the perception of the propriety of such feelings is called into exercise, and the idea of duty is formed. In every stage of the progress, a new result appears, perfectly distinct from the elements which formed it, which may be utterly dissimilar to them, and may attain any degree of vigor, however superior to theirs.

“The gratitude, sympathy, resentment, shame, which are the principal constituent elements of the moral sense, thus lose their separate agency, and constitute an entirely new faculty. Here is the formation of the sentiment of moral approbation out of antecedent affections. The language of mankind implies that the moral faculty is *one*. Yet it is as common in mind as in matter for a compound to have properties not to be found in any of its constituent parts. The truth of the proposition is as certain in the human feelings as in any material combination.”

But, however plausible this theory of the origin of conscience may seem, we feel justified in asserting that it is entirely untenable. For—

1. If it be conceded that new faculties are formed by mutual association and reflex influence of the primary desires; yet, as such association and influence must be indefinitely various in all possible cases, it is not possible to show that in all they would produce the same result. How, moreover, could all the various results be adjusted to a common standard? To have a conscience, is it requisite to have all these higher affections, and to have them harmoniously developed? If so, many who may have them, have not brought them to such development; others have them unharmoniously developed, some one affection preponderating; some few may be so happy as to have reached that standard, but the immense majority are scattered all around and below it, some seeming to have these qualities only in germ, others having them all darkened and perverted.

It is well known that every good or bad quality affects character in proportion to its activity and strength. On this theory, the conscience must be similarly affected. What a vast variety in gradation of character between the opposite poles of moral condition! Education, temperament, and circumstances, affect every opinion and feeling. Now, if the reciprocal action of the feelings of the noblest of our race is what produces conscience, the mutual influence of the feelings of the most degraded must produce something inferior. Or, if the lowest be the standard, the higher will as largely differ in the way of superiority; unless it be admitted that there are as many kinds of conscience as of men.

The analogy of nature reveals no such result as this theory claims. Chemistry, it is true, teaches that many elements may combine and produce a different result,—as in the case of gun-powder,—but it also tells us, that it is only when in fixed, exact and definite proportions, and in similar circumstances, that such combinations will afford similar results. But this theory implies that the combination of any or many of certain qualities, in any sort of proportion, of any degree of intensity, in any kind of circumstances, will always produce precisely the same result. Hence it must be admitted, that the argument from analogy as applied to explain the origin of conscience, entirely breaks down.

2. There is another question connected with the subject which this theory can never answer: Whence the authority of conscience to command? That it does command, and by virtue of authority, no one disputes. In chemical combinations, the different product is yet kindred with the constituent elements. It is not so here. Where can this quality originate? How account for its peculiar mode of activity? Desires urge us. Affections impel us, often with force, sometimes with violence. They influence us by motives which they suggest and endorse, but they never command. They bear no sceptre; they wear no crown; the calm veto of conscience is distinctly heard above their noisiest appeals, and they recognise its supremacy. The strongest desire is only impulsive. The intensest sympathy can carry us no farther. Add all the strength of all the private desires and social affections together; combine and re-combine them as you will; they wait the bidding of that faculty which often acts without their suggestion, which often carries out its authority by doing violence to their promptings. †

If conscience, then, were originated by these qualities in combination, we should have blind and unintelligent impulses generating an intelligent faculty with indisputable capacity to control, and with such an inalienable authority to command, that to dispute its right is the same as denying the existence of the faculty itself.

3. How could this theory account for the uniformity of the

utterance of conscience? It has passed through all the confused scenes of man's perplexing history; yet no Babel has ever confused its speech. It speaks in the same tongue as it has ever done. Character is varied by innumerable circumstances, and there is an immense difference between the amount of light possessed by different members of the race; but there is no difference in the word which conscience speaks. No doubt there has been progress in ethical science. The nature, laws, and foundations of morality are more clearly understood,—strange! if it were not so, with the light shed by Revelation on man's nature and relations—yet, though as a science, under the teachings of Christianity, it is far more perfect, the facts and principles of morality existed and operated before the gospel came, and where it has never shed its light.

Mackintosh admits that the office of conscience is to enforce moral obligation. Its control is over our voluntary acts and dispositions. It says to the will, "Keep innocency and take heed to the thing which is right." It does not create standards of morality,—of this all are conscious. It simply enforces their authority. These standards may be like the law of the Lord, "perfect"; or they may be imperfect and corrupt; in either case, the sense of guilt attaches to disobedience. There must be a distinction between standards of morality, and the duty to conform to them. Whether the special requirement of conscience correspond or not to the demands of absolute rectitude, in either instance the office of conscience is the same: not to make a standard, but to enforce its claim.

In the opinion of some, there are states of moral degradation where conscience is a frightful monster, striking aimless blows by the mere explosive force of its own irrepressible energy; while there are other moral states where it is a sufficient substitute for the divine light of heaven. Hence the necessity for theories which can explain how it is at one time a blind guide, and at other times an infallible teacher. But if we regard the work of conscience as simply the enforcement of recognised obligation, it will be clear how, through the widest possible diversity of human experience, from the highest to the lowest, it

may remain identically the same quality, its function the same, its mode of expression unaltered. To all men, in all stages of moral progress or regress, it asserts one and the same fact, and there is no room for confusion or self-contradiction. It cannot be blind; it does not need to be inspired. The odium and the eulogy are equally undeserved. There is no need, then, to frame a theory to account for a great variety of phenomena in this case. The theory which does, is inapplicable to the subject. The steady blaze of conscience is not the product of all those flickering lights. The tone of its unvarying message marks it as not the everchanging result of everchanging combinations of unsteady and evanescent feeling, but as a principle which is original, simple, and indestructible.

4. This theory is self-destructive. It is admitted that the operation of conscience is indispensable to moral character. The dispositions, habits, and principles, before entering into character, must receive the impress of conscience by responding in one way or another to the claims of duty. But what is conscience? It is the final result of the development of the personal desires, through a complicated process of several different gradations; unborn till that process be completed. But these desires are blind impulses, and cannot guide themselves; and we are not creatures of instinct. Reason, then, must conduct this process of development. Hence, conscience must be regarded as a product of reason, and moral character, as a secondary product of reason. That is, there can be really no such thing as moral character, for moral character implies a moral standard, and this theory furnishes none.

But if it be said that there is here a moral standard which conscience recognises, then the question will recur, where is morality and moral obligation during the period when conscience is forming? For the forming process may be long before completed. In many cases it never can be completed.

But if it be asserted that morality is possible in such circumstances, then it will appear that conscience is superfluous. If, by the concurrence of private and social affection guided by reason, the idea of right and duty can be realised before the

formation of conscience, there can be no need of a faculty to do what can be done without it. If conscience is the principle of obligation generalised from these cases, then it is doubly superfluous; for the work of conscience would be nothing more than the application of a principle to a case already properly decided. To realise the idea of duty in this theory, one must pass the point aimed at, and then return to it. The concrete case out of which the principle is generalised, is decided by reason or instinct; the generalised principle then appears; then that principle must be applied back to the case already decided by instinct. The work of conscience would be merely to countersign, by its derived authority, what had been already decided by the original authority.

It certainly needs little argument to show that the moral condition which can create conscience, is a moral condition which has no need of conscience. This theory, then, besides embarrassing the subject with difficulties that do not belong to it, is self-destructive.

And we conclude "that from the impossibility of explaining conscience by more general laws, we are reduced to the necessity of considering it an original fact of human nature, of which no further account can be given."

II. We next meet the question, *Is Conscience a simple, or is it a complex faculty?*

Dr. Whewell (B. 3, chap. 14,) argues that it is a complex faculty, and illustrates this view by a variety of definitions:

"1. Conscience is the desires, affections, reason, and moral sentiments when cultivated. P. 359.

"2. Conscience is that faculty which judges our acts, with reference to a moral standard of right and wrong. 359.

"3. It is that cultivation of the reason which enables us to frame or accept rules agreeing with the supreme law. 361.

"4. It is our standard at the time, a fallible guide, and never fully formed; it is not a sufficient justification of conduct; it is not truly moral, but it is our duty to make it so; its object is to determine what is right. 366-8.

"5. It is the supreme law, so far as each one has been able

to discover it. Its decisions are to be obeyed at any risk or sacrifice; we must not waver. 372, 373.

“6. Conscience is a stage in our moral and intellectual progress. 361.”

As to such of these definitions as would make conscience the product of the intellect, enough has been already said. Taken in the mass, they are too irreconcilable with each other to allow of their being attributes of the same faculty; besides being open to the objection which holds good against the last definition, which follows:

“7. Conscience implies a moral standard of action in the mind, as well as a consciousness of our actions. The one is the internal law, the other is the accuser, witness, and judge; it also punishes. 360-4.”

The objections to this definition are numerous.

1. We know by experience that there is a conscience. We may be conscious of these operations taking place within us, but no one would be warranted in asserting that he is conscious that all these operations are performed by one and the same faculty. The definition is not sustained by experience.

2. Our physical capacities are associated with separate faculties: the sense of seeing with the eye; hearing with the ear. But there is no greater difference between the ideas of hearing and of seeing, than between the ideas of a witness and an accuser. There is no analogy between the distribution of our physical and moral capacities, if the definition be true.

3. Our intellectual nature affords no analogy. Comparison, memory, perception, and judgment, may be associated in contemporaneous activity; yet these different faculties are never confounded or blended. Their results are so different that they cannot be. But there is no greater difference between the ideas of memory and comparison than there is between the ideas of a witness and a judge. And the same principle which would assign them to different faculties of our mental nature, would ascribe the others to different faculties of our moral nature.

4. The idea expressed by this definition is incompatible with the terms it employs. The terms law, accuser, witness, judge,

properly imply that conscience is the exponent of a government according to law. The definition implies that it is an arbitrary and irresponsible power.

A government according to law, is realised by keeping all those different functions separate. Each one is associated with a different individual. It is agreed that the exercise of any two of these functions by the same individual is not compatible with the idea of a perfect government according to law. In other words, they cannot be blended. It is held that such a blending would tend to defeat the idea of such a government, which is the absolute supremacy of law over all. To unite all those functions in one individual, would be regarded as the destruction of such a government, and the creation of a despotism.

If conscience is the law, it is an arbitrary faculty, because it is its own authority. Its own will is its guide. If it is also the judge, it is irresponsible, there can be no superior to whom it can be accountable. If it is at the same time law, judge, witness, accuser, and executioner, it is an absolute moral despotism; for every conceivable element of moral power is lodged in its hand.

Nothing can be more opposed to the idea of a government according to law, than such a definition.

5. It does not alter the case that the government referred to is not a civil, but a moral government. If it did, we might expect to find a corresponding description in the inspired accounts of the proceedings of the moral Governor of the world. But the contrary is the case. The Judge is represented as sitting upon the throne. The law is represented as fully in possession of the assembled multitude. The testimony appears coming from another quarter when the records are opened. And the execution of the sentence introduces still another and a different agency. There is no blending here of different functions in the same individual. God is doubtless supreme, but his moral government is a government according to law, and is so administered. The question before us is simply a question of distribution of functions. In the divine government, to which conscience corresponds, these diverse functions are ascribed to a

diversity of instrumentalities. It is a matter of no consequence in reference to this point why it is so; whether, because there is an intrinsic propriety in it, or because we cannot have a right view of his government without it. The fact remains that it is so described; and that these different parts of the work of government are not only separate in idea, but they are kept separate in action; nothing suggests the idea that they are ever blended.

We deny that this definition is supported by experience, analogy, or reason. To say of any single faculty, and that, moreover, representing government according to law, that it is at the same time law, judge, accuser, witness, and executioner, is to present to the mind an idea, which is utterly inconceivable.

McCosh evidently aims to consider conscience as a simple faculty. (B. 3, ch. 1, sec. 3.) "Conscience is the faculty, or feeling, which, on contemplating the voluntary acts of responsible beings, pronounces them virtuous or vicious."

The definition is not a happy one. If conscience is a faculty, how can it be a feeling? A faculty is active, a feeling is passive. Pain is a feeling; endurance is a faculty. The two may co-exist, but no one can say that these ideas are equivalent.

The attributes of a faculty are not the attributes of a feeling. The functions of a faculty are not the functions of a feeling. A theory, therefore, founded on such a definition, to be consistent with its fundamental position, must contradict itself; or can only be consistent with itself by being inconsistent with its definition.

But whatever the definition may imply, McCosh does not conceive of conscience as a simple faculty. In the next section, he describes conscience as including a revelation of law, a judicial power, and an emotional capacity. By this, then, it appears that conscience is not a faculty, or a feeling; but a feeling and two faculties,—the perceptive and judicial faculties, and the emotional element.

The fallibility of this conception is seen when he comes to define the mode in which conscience acts. (P. 304.) "The moral feelings, or conscience, can never be employed without

emotion. It is the master power of the human soul, and it is befitting that it should never move without a retinue of attendants. These feelings are its necessary train or accompaniment in all its exercises. The conscience travels like a court of justice, with a certain air of dignity, and with its attendant ministers, to execute its decisions, and this is needful, to give a practical interest and impulses to all its authoritative decisions."

If this statement were intelligibly expressed, it would amount simply to this—that the action of conscience is accompanied by the activity of the *corresponding* moral sentiments. But by McCosh's theory, it cannot be expressed intelligibly; because, if these emotions are the result of the action of conscience, how can they be a part of conscience? But if, as is asserted, they are a part of conscience, how can they be said to be a result of themselves?

Moreover, the idea of conscience exhibited in this definition is, we think, seriously incorrect. If it be a "travelling court," its natural end will be to try cases of breach of law. But if the only or the main function of conscience is to sit in judgment in a criminal court, where shall we look for the faculty by whose benign counsels we might have avoided transgression? If this itinerant faculty be simply an immaterial Saul of Tarsus, "making havoc and haling men and women to prison," our case is sad. For we have no other guide to direct and urge us to the paths of rectitude. And the only moral illumination which could possibly fall upon our path, would be the blaze of the executioner's torch.

On page 306, McCosh says, "Conscience has a triune nature, and serves a three-fold purpose." The obvious answer to this is, that it is an elementary truth, that no single faculty can originate three different kinds of activities.

The inevitable effect of attempting to fuse this conglomeration of ideas into unity, is to plunge the whole subject into inextricable confusion,—a confusion which belongs more or less to every theory which ascribes to conscience a complex nature.

III. Having satisfied ourselves that conscience is an original

and simple faculty, we are prepared to take up our main question, *What is Conscience?*

By the conception of conscience, two ideas are always associated in our minds, the idea of right and the idea of duty. Two things coëxist in every moral act, the perception of what ought to be done, and the sense of obligation to do it. Though always associated, these ideas are fundamentally different. The one is simply the perception of a fact, the other is the practical application of that fact. And the bearing of these faculties is different, for while one affects the understanding, the other bears directly on the will.

Inasmuch as the nature and functions of these faculties differ so widely, it seems to be a matter of necessity that they be separately considered. We shall call the faculty by which man perceives the moral quality of acts or dispositions, *Moral Perception*. We shall call the faculty by which he realises the sense of moral obligation, *Conscience*, or the *Moral Sense*.

Before proceeding to the use of a new phrase, let us remind ourselves that there are different kinds of perceptions. Two men look upon the same landscape, the one a utilitarian, the other a man of taste. The one sees it in the connexion of its constituent parts, the topographical outlines and its various practical relations. It is a mere perception of the intellect, and produces no emotion. The other regards it as a thing of beauty; the details blend together in loveliness, and his heart is stirred by emotions of pleasure. We recognise here an intellectual perception, and an emotional perception; and we see that they are entirely different from each other.

There is also a clear distinction between moral and intellectual perceptions. The one discerns speculative truth, the other exclusively regards moral quality.

My intellectual conception of virtue is the result of reflection. Virtue presents itself as the logical correspondence of certain ideas, the conformity to a certain standard, the fulfilment of certain conditions; it excites no more emotion than the idea of size, distance, or power; it belongs exclusively to the understanding. But my moral perception of virtue overlooks logic

and analysis; without the help of reflection, it fixes its regards on that quality in virtue which commands my approbation as a thing to be loved and cherished, and the emotion of pleasure is at once excited.

My intellectual perception of justice goes no farther than definitions; my moral perception of it is the recognition of its practical worth and moral excellence.

My intellectual perception of benevolence may be accompanied by no benevolent feeling; my moral perception of it touches the spring which necessitates its activity.

My intellectual perception of truth is a mere idea of consistency; my moral perception of it is attracted only by its righteousness, and the intrinsic odiousness of what is opposed to it.

Moral quality is evidently an object of direct perception. It is recognised as easily and as immediately as the quality of beauty. If so, there is the same reason for ascribing it to a separate faculty. That faculty we must call *Moral Perception*.

Moral perceptions vary in many respects. Those of the savage differ in clearness, precision, and intensity from those of the spiritually-minded Christian. They have varied in different ages of the world; in different countries; in different circumstances, in the same age and country; in different social conditions; and in different moral states of the same person.

They do not necessarily correspond with the activity of conscience. They may become clearer while the sense of moral obligation does not become more distinct; they may become darker, while the sense of moral obligation does not become more clouded. Superstition is a state where the moral perceptions are untrue, yet conscience is active in enforcing moral obligation. And there are other moral states where those perceptions are definite and correct, yet the sense of moral obligation seems powerless to apply them.

On the other hand, the sense of moral obligation does not change in character. It is the sense of obligation to do what is seen to be right. It may seem more or less powerful or active; it may base the obligation on widely different data; but its

character does not change. It sounds the same key-note in every age, and in every heart.

To suppose that these two different activities are manifestations of the same faculty, is to suppose that there can be a faculty, one part of which is as inconstant as the wind, while the other part is as immovable as the everlasting hills.

All the eminent writers quoted above, agree that the chief function of conscience is to enforce moral obligation. The difference between their view and this is, that what they regard as its principal function, we consider to be *its only function*. They hold that its highest quality is the judicial; we hold that it is *exclusively a judicial faculty*.

This view corresponds with Butler's celebrated description of it. (Serm. 1, on *Human Nature*.) "There is a principle of reflection in men, by which they distinguish between, approve and disapprove their own actions. This principle in man, whereby he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, or actions, is conscience." (Serm. 2.) "There is a superior principle of reflection or conscience in every man, which distinguishes between the internal principles of the heart, as well as external acts; which passes judgment upon himself and them; pronounces determinately some actions to be in themselves evil, wrong, and unjust; which, without being consulted, without being advised with, magisterially exerts itself, and approves or condemns him, the doer of them, accordingly. ***** This principle, from its very nature, claims superiority over all others, insomuch that you cannot form a notion of conscience without taking in judgment or superintendence."

The idea we have been endeavoring to define is still more exactly expressed in the language of Vinct, (*Outlines of Theology*), "Conscience, that mysterious and divine element of our being, inseparable from our nature, which nothing explains, but which everything attests,—*conscience is that moral principle which urges us to act in conformity with our conviction, and condemns us whenever we act in opposition to it.*"

Mackintosh supposes conscience to be the result of the combined activity of all our various affections. This, it is thought,

will account for the presence of different feelings which are apparent in our moral conduct. The fatal difficulty of this theory is, that it makes moral character a product of instinct or intellect, and hence deprives moral character of moral foundation.

McCosh seeks to avoid this difficulty by making conscience an original faculty. He attempts to account for the various phenomena connected with our moral judgments by making conscience a congeries of incongruous faculties and functions; and when developed, his theory leads to self-contradiction.

The object in the mind of these writers was to account for all the moral phenomena of our experience by means of one faculty. They therefore sought to describe such a faculty as would be capable of producing them. Their maxim seems to have been, conscience must include everything, because conscience must explain everything. It is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of philosophy, that these distinguished writers failed to see that the major premise of that syllogism has never been and never can be established.

Who has demonstrated the necessity of believing that our whole moral nature consists of but one single faculty? Who can show that it is essential that all moral facts, principles, feelings, and dispositions should be referred to any solitary and all-inclusive quality? Is the faculty of conscience the sum total of our moral possessions?

Again, what is there to hinder our pursuing the same course in searching out the elements of our moral nature, which we have used in investigating our intellectual nature? In that case, all the phenomena of the intellect were investigated, classified, and referred to different faculties, under the rule that all phenomena essentially different were to be referred to different faculties. And consciousness was the guide in that investigation.

What does conscience tell us on this subject?

It tells us that all men possess the power of directly discerning moral quality as such, or moral perception.

It tells us that we are capable of certain emotions, as reverence or gratitude, elicited by moral qualities, or that we possess moral emotions.

It tells us that we possess certain affections, such as love of virtue, truth, benevolence, or moral affections.

It tells us that we have a form of consciousness which takes cognisance exclusively of moral states and dispositions, or a moral consciousness.

It tells us that there is in us a faculty whose peculiar office is to evoke the sense of moral obligation, or a moral sense, or conscience.

It tells us that there takes place within us a reflex action of consciousness, by which, in view of our conduct, we become affected with pleasure or pain, or a sentiment of moral approbation.

Any one may see how this list could be extended. The thing to be observed is, that these different experiences are not terminations of trains of thought, nor secondary results of any sort, but facts of consciousness. The same process and tests which resolve the intellect into different faculties, furnish as conclusive evidence of a variety of faculties belonging to our moral nature.

We must therefore reject every theory which proposes to explain our moral nature by referring all its phenomena to any one faculty, whatever be its name. Our moral, like our intellectual nature, is complex, though all its faculties be simple. These faculties may combine, coöperate, and, with one exception, blend. But that faculty which cannot blend, must be regarded as the simplest of all. And inasmuch as that faculty, which is conscience, is the faculty of our whole nature which stands in closest and most efficient connexion with the will, we can consistently maintain that the moral nature of man is not a product of the intellect; that it stands related to it as a higher form of rational life; and that the intellect is necessarily subordinate, and merely the instrument of its activity and development of the moral nature, as it passes along its high career of moral obligation.

IV. *And what is moral obligation?*

This question involves more than one important inquiry. It cannot be fully answered without determining whether conscience is a representative or an autocratic faculty, and whether there can be a uniform standard for the race.

1. Conscience asserts duty. What is duty? Rectitude is duty. I appeal to my moral consciousness. Why is rectitude obligatory? The answer is, because it is right. We can go no further. My perceptions recognise the right; conscience announces the authority of right. There is no attempt to explain the facts which these faculties indicate. And reason cannot tell how we come by this sense of right and authority.

Duty and right, the great lights of our moral universe, shine with the steady brightness of the stars of the material sky; but they seem as high above our heads.

Evidently, conscience does not assign itself or its own volition as the reason of duty. Duty is something "due." It is a debt; a thing we are not at liberty to withhold. The language of conscience is, "I ought." I owe something. What, then, do I owe; to whom do I owe it? What is my debt, and who is my creditor? The answer is, you owe it to right to do right; that is your debt. Right, then, stands for law, and conscience represents the authority of law.

However moral law is originated, or by whomsoever imposed, there it stands, in relations as certain, as mysterious, as law for me. Incomprehensibly high above me, its radiance penetrates my nature's most hidden depths. The moment I wake to the knowledge of its existence, my whole being bows before its authority.

It does not avail to ask why this thing is so. That does not interfere with the reality, or destroy the validity of the fact. The same question for ages perplexed the philosophy of the intellect; and men finally concluded that things seem as they appear, because they are what they seem. Why do material things seem as they do? Because they are so. Why does right seem so obligatory, and moral obligation so conclusive? We are shut up to the same answer,—they seem so, because they are so.

2. The very language of conscience implies an external standard. And if conscience belongs to humanity, as such, we may expect to find a moral law coëxtensive with the race, and to which conscience every where stands in the same relation. Is there such a standard, which, shining with the same light, speak-

ing in the same tones, demonstrates that the character of moral responsibility is the same for all?

Upon this point, Butler well observes, that however men may dispute on minor questions, yet in reality there is and ever has been one universally acknowledged standard of virtue. "It is that which all ages and countries have publicly professed to love and practise; it is that which every man you meet imitates and claims to possess; it is that which the fundamental laws of all civil constitutions declare it their object and purpose to enforce; namely, justice, benevolence, and truth."

However mankind differ on other points, it must be admitted that they hold these general principles to be right and obligatory on all, and this concurrence is all the more remarkable from the wide diversity which prevails on almost every special question. How can it be explained but by admitting that these principles form the "common law" of the race?

Little attention is needed to see that these principles are enough to control and form moral character in all the relations of life, and in all conditions of society. The lowest forms of moral consciousness do not ignore them; the highest forms of moral cultivation do not transcend them. These are the three primary colors of virtue, which blend in the hue and complexion of every moral act and quality. In the personal and domestic relations, they form integrity; in our civil relations, they form patriotism; in our religious relations, they ascend to piety. All other virtues are but the modifications of these principles in various aspects. "And there is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard."

What was the knowledge, righteousness, and holiness of our first parents, but the deep impress on their nature of these self-same principles? What is the general homage of the heathen world, but the acknowledgment of their supernatural claims? The Decalogue is the specific development of the terms and requirements of this anterior law. The gospel rule of duty, is the same law exemplified in the life of the second Adam, more amply stated, more luminously illustrated, but unchanged; and why unchanged, were it not that these principles are suffi-

cient to direct all moral progress and comprehend all its experience?

In this view, "Christianity is simply a republication of Natural Religion, with additional sanctions."

The verification of this fact is a part of human history. When Balak, the Moabite, inquired what were the principles of true religion, the answer was an appeal to his consciousness. "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?" When Socrates was asked why men should obey the requirements of virtue, he said, "These are the unwritten laws of the gods, which are impressed on every heart." When Jonah preached at Nineveh, the Ninevites at once acknowledged their accountability. And Dr. J. L. Wilson states that among the most benighted savages of Africa, where the face of a white man had never been seen, an immediate and unhesitating response was freely yielded to the claims and charges of the divine law. The farther we pursue this line of inquiry, the clearer it becomes that man has a law by which to be governed and judged; a law entitled to the most strenuous advocacy of conscience; that right is not a variable standard; that duty is not an ambiguous or arbitrary requirement. There is substantially the same law written on all hearts; the same kind of moral consciousness bearing witness. Of this law it may be said, that, by the very structure of our nature, "God hath shewed it to us." The moral attitude of mankind in all ages is substantially the same, and the question of moral responsibility is substantially the same question for the whole human race.

V. With these principles, it will suggest itself as a problem, *How shall we account for moral degeneracy*, if man possesses the elements of a perfect law, and a faculty which unchangingly enforces moral obligation? For though there are many influences operating on man to check the tendency, it is nevertheless a historical fact, that, left to natural causes, man's tendency is to degrade.

We do not undertake to solve this problem in the case of an unfallen being. If it were even possible to reproduce an exact

conception of the moral consciousness of a pure being, to set it before our own mind, and realise it as our own, and then to trace it through its downward movement till it descended to the level of our own moral condition, we should still be without the means of verifying the process; in our present state we could never prove our conclusions.

But it is obvious that a fallen creature begins his career under disadvantages. Sin tends to reproduce itself. In such a state as this earthly life presents, the merest proclivity towards evil would lead to the most ruinous results. If any principle of virtue is violated, the balance of character is destroyed and the moral condition changed. The idea of virtue, and the inclination towards it, are alike impaired; surrounded by ignorance and temptation and urged by passion, the first sin glides into the second, or precipitates it; and under the influence of the original bias, he enters upon the downward path, and cannot retrace his steps.

This bias may affect him, either through the perceptions, or through the will, or through both. Conscience stands midway between the moral perceptions and the will. There can be no degeneration through the perversion of conscience; there may be, by the frustration of conscience. The will may be affected by the evil bias. Such a bias may combine with appetite or passion to resist the authority of conscience. Conscience issues its command; but under this combination of influences, the will fails to respond. To do so once, creates the likelihood of repetition. Every failure is attended with a loss of moral power. The action of the will becomes sluggish. Habits of resisting are formed which control it, and by a well-known law, after repeated neglect to respond, it loses its sensitiveness to the impulse of conscience. The moral perceptions may be comparatively correct, but conscience is frustrated by paralysis of the will.

A similar combination may affect the perceptions. It is not the office of these perceptions to fix upon the rightfulness of virtue in the abstract, but in the concrete. The idea before them does not concern right in general. The idea is, what is right

in respect to this particular act or feeling? And what these perceptions may announce to be justice, truth, or benevolence, in this particular case, conscience must assert to be duty. Here a wide field is opened for the practice upon ourselves of every kind of self-deceit and moral dishonesty. By subterfuge, evasion, equivocating, misrepresenting the principle involved, overstating, understating, keeping back part of the view, or by adding foreign considerations, by partial views, or even by withholding due consideration, we may bring ourselves to see or to fail to see acts and things almost according to our desires. By this sort of conduct, habits of wrong moral perception are formed. Every act of self-deceit tends to form such habits. We at length cease to see things as they are. Our moral perceptions become perverted. By this course of conduct the faculty of discrimination between right and wrong becomes practically extinguished, and the light within us becomes darkness. In this case, consciousness is frustrated by the perversion of the moral perceptions.

Conscience is said to be torpid when the will is paralysed. But that fatal torpor is of the will.

Conscience is said to slumber when the perceptions yield no light. But at the time when those perceptions are practically extinguished, when, as in the language of Scripture, it is "seared," the searing is of the consciousness, and not strictly of conscience. It is only inactive because no question of right summons it into exercise. In point of fact, it never slumbers nor sleeps.

In the language of Butler, "Had conscience strength, as it has sight, had it power as it has manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world."

Alas! who does govern the world? The miser hoards, and his plea is duty. The worldling neglects God under plea of duty. The swindler violates confidence under plea of duty. In the name of duty, virtue is clad in rags, and its beautiful robes are thrown over the form of vice. What right so plain as not to be violated in the name of duty? What crime so base that conscience has not commanded it? We deify pride,

and call it honor; we deck sensuality with garlands, and call it pleasure; we put a diadem on the brow of selfishness, and call it integrity; and then say unto conscience, "These be thy gods!" By the imposture of self-deceit, men come to believe a lie, and the whole character is cast in a mould of falsehood.

There is a sense in which conscience does rule the world. It lifts the bloody banner of fanaticism. It sounds the tocsin of civil discord. It drags the car of Juggernaut, and is the driving power of all the vast and complicated machinery of this world's ungodliness. It is Samson grinding for the Philistines, chanting the while ever of duty; singing the Lord's song in a strange land; till the moving finger of destiny rest on the appointed moment. Then the dishonored slave of every evil passion will lay hold of the pillars of his prison-house, and the colossal fabric of pride, folly, and ungodliness shall topple and fall in hopeless ruin.

VI. *Retrospective operation of Conscience.*

A probationary state cannot last forever. The moral condition just referred to must be temporary. If the sense of duty be inextinguishable, and only inactive now because the necessary conditions of its activity are withheld through the instrumentalities of a sinful life, then the unnatural condition of things which is maintained by a transient force must end. If the equanimity of an immoral life be sustained only by glossing over our conduct with falsehood, by putting deceit upon ourselves, by holding before the eye of conscience veils of delusion whose perishable warp and woof nothing can save from eventual decay, and if conscience be unchangeable, it is a matter of the plainest necessity that this moral apathy must one day have a rude awakening. Whether man desires it or not, a predestined moment is arriving when he shall see himself as he is, and know himself. He shall come to be conscious of the character of his moral nature; he shall see it in the light of the contrast with what it might have been, had he followed the way of rectitude; and consequently he shall doubly appreciate the yoke of the new law under which henceforth his nature operates. We may not admit that the sinner "shall awake to shame and everlasting

contempt." But we cannot doubt that he will awake to self-consciousness. The self-consciousness of an awakened sinner is remorse.

To many, remorse seems to be a figment of the imagination. The difficulty of conceiving of it arises from want of experience of its effects. We can conceive of physical pain, for we have felt it. Yet our idea may be very partial, for the fulness of the conception depends on the fulness of our experience. Pain has a wide range, from the trifling transient ache to the prolonged agony of excruciating suffering, where the whole organism is disordered, the functions of life diseased, the racked brain, the bursting eyeballs, the quivering nerves torn, the blood coursing through the veins like streams of fire, the heart collapsed, and the activities which filled health with joy, become factors of everchanging forms of suffering, sleepless, restless, unwearied, swift-winged ministers of misery.

Though no one can assure himself that he has an exhaustive conception of pain, experience has taught us what pain is. We know also that it is the result of injury. If I injure my person, pain is the result; if I injure another, there is produced a similar result. If the injury occur in wakeful consciousness, pain is an immediate result. If it occur in sleep or in unconsciousness, pain is a postponed result. Pain, in that case, waits till consciousness returns; waking to consciousness, is waking to pain.

Our moral is as real as our physical nature. It has its own forms of health and disease; its capacities of pleasure and of pain. Every good act is a source of health and pleasure, a benefit and blessing; in many ways we are conscious of its benign effects. Every evil act is an undoubted injury, and we are conscious of evil results flowing from it. If it be said that evil is often done without any pain, the reply is, that so may our physical nature, when asleep or unconscious, be injured without suffering. If, in the death-like slumber of a sinful life, man has no consciousness of pain from self-inflicted moral injury, so much the worse when the hour of awakening comes; when at one and the same moment he is seized by the accumulated results of a whole life-time of suicidal madness.

Plato says of the tyrant whose wealth, power, and pleasures, made him in this life the object of universal envy, that in the life to come, when his soul is seen, it is seen cut and torn by wicked passions, covered with welts, bruises, and scars, from the evil done himself by his crimes against others. It was apparent to the heathen philosopher, that, though from apparent causes these moral injuries might be unperceived and unknown, yet a time must come when they would be not only felt, but seen.

We are conscious of the effects of certain moral sentiments, called into exercise through the activity of conscience; and that with these effects our happiness is intimately connected. Right doing calls into being a feeling of satisfaction which sometimes rises to joy. Wrong doing elicits a feeling of dissatisfaction which sometimes amounts to wretchedness. Ingratitude gives birth to a sense of self-reproach. Injustice evokes a feeling of shame. A base or dishonorable act is linked with an uneasy feeling of self-contempt. Revolting wickedness produces feelings of loathing and horror. These feelings are not imaginary, they are feelings of real pain; and it belongs to these actions to generate them.

Yet, it is often apparent to observers that the doers of such deeds experience no such immediate feelings of pain; and that they even seem insensible to the wickedness of what is odious to every unbiassed mind. By various subterfuges they may have so perverted their moral judgments as to be unable to see or feel themselves to be blameworthy. But the question must arise, how will it be with them when this self-deceit has passed away, or has worn out? How will it be when, in spite of themselves, all the moral quality of all their conduct shall appear in its true light? We are told that "we must give account for all the deeds done in the body." This must certainly be the case, if conscience is indestructible. And then, when the wrong deeds of the past rise out of forgetfulness, and appear before conscience in their true light, what reason is there to suppose that these deeds shall be unaccompanied by the feelings which naturally attend them here? If such deeds may reappear, shall not the feelings proper to them be reproduced? There is reason to

believe that, as these things belong to each other as cause and effect, there is no moral condition in which they can be kept separate. And so it appears that the consciousness of sin must ever resolve itself into a sense of pain.

This principle of the retrospective operation of conscience is abundantly illustrated in the history of crime. There have been numerous and well-known instances where crime has been committed without compunction, and where years of impunity from self-reproach have passed away after the deed was done; yet, in some unlooked for crisis, the unhappy wretch is suddenly smitten down by remorse. There have been instances where some particular act would stand out with startling vividness from a life of crime, and goad the soul to phrensy, or haunt it with horror, till, under the pressure of a load too heavy for nature to bear, confession would burst forth in a great cry of anguish, and life become a hated burden. In such cases we notice that lapse of time does not lessen the distinctness of moral perception, nor the freshness of the moral consciousness, nor the intensity of the wretchedness. Those effects seem even to surpass in power and continuance all our ordinary experiences. They clearly indicate the possibility of a misery resulting from a wicked life, which no repentance can relieve, and no suffering exhaust.

The fact that, through self-deceit, a man may pass through this whole life, unconscious of his moral condition; the fact that conscience, in the probationary state, has been entirely frustrated,—so stultified as actually to enforce wrong as duty,—this in no respect proves that conscience shall not hereafter resume its rightful authority with a clear vision. Present unconsciousness is no pledge of future oblivion. And when all the forms of wrong-doing which occupy all the relations of an evil life shall reappear as forms of moral injury, no doubt the description of the apostle will be fulfilled, where he describes the wicked as “treasuring up unto himself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.”

Conscience, now gagged and shackled, will survive these indignities and restraints. It is indestructible; and when probation terminates, the finished life moves in review before its unban-

daged gaze. Conscience is the sense of duty to do right; and when the sense of duty takes account of an evil life, the sense of wrong must undergo a resurrection. In such a moral condition, the function of conscience is to evoke the consciousness of sin. An indestructible conscience must invest every evil act and thought with immortality. Man may scoff at the idea of retribution; but, unless we can divest ourselves of our nature, "evil pursueth sinners."

"Who can bear a wounded spirit?" Still, the most distressing forms of remorse, as we see them, are limited in many directions. Care, occupation, sleep, and many other causes, combine to divert the attention. Besides, no one now can know the entire wrongfulness of his wrong, in all its possible bearings. But when a probationary life has disappeared, and belongs to the finished past, these counteracting influences must pass away. Then the fulness of the wrong of sin may be seen; its immediate and remote bearings are traceable in every direction; the quality and intensity of its moral injury become palpable. Probation is over. There is nothing to distract our observation, nothing to interfere with the fixedness of our concentrated attention. The discovery will be complete, and that discovery is remorse. The idea of that corrosive fretting of a spiritual nature implied in this word is not imaginary. A life of wrong doing inevitably leads to a moral condition where the soul must ever gnaw upon itself, all its active energies combining to evolve shame, self-contempt, self-loathing, and horror.

Evidently there can be no escape from suffering to him who carries the world of woe in his own breast. There is no refuge for him who finds the bottomless pit in the depths of his own consciousness. There is a chord in our fallen nature which vibrates to the cry of Milton's fallen spirit:

Me miserable! Which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath and infinite despair?
Which way I fly is hell: myself am hell;
And in the lowest deep, a lower deep
Still threatening to devour me, opens wide,
To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven. (B. 4.)

To recapitulate—

Man's sense of right is spontaneous, and clear in proportion as we deal honestly by our power of moral perception. Man's sense of the duty to do right is also spontaneous, and is controlling in proportion as we deal honestly by our will. Conscience, in all moral conditions, binds man to law, and makes it either a symbol of probation or retribution. Here also is the seat of man's moral identity; it was the leading power of an unfallen estate; whatever taint came by the fall left it untouched; in all man's wanderings he has this same sign on his forehead; and when probation ends, the very idea of a retributory state implies that it shall undergo no change.

Reason and analogy show that conscience is indestructible. The sense of "duty to do right" may be a crown of glory or of shame; but there is no moral condition possible to the human spirit which does not manifest the unchangeable identity of conscience. For if conscience, by perpetuating the sense of allegiance to a law of life which they have disqualified themselves from obeying, brings wretchedness to the lost, it must still be admitted that it is precisely the same faculty which affords impulse and guidance to the blessed life of heaven.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Studies in the Gospels. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D. D.,
Archbishop of Dublin. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.
1867.

This is a handsome octavo volume of 326 pages, rendered attractive by its white paper, its large clear type, and the unblemished correctness of its proof: the whole constituting a fine setting for its admirable contents.

We have long been partial to the writings of *Dean* Trench, and were fearful, lest, when he became elevated to the palace of an *Archbishop*, we should be favored never again with any of those contributions to theological literature from his singularly winning and instructive pen, which have so delighted the scholarly world, and edified the common reader. But the present work has dismissed these fears, and laid us under new obligations of gratitude to its author. It is true that, as he tells us in the introduction, "these studies were written for the most part some years ago;" yet he adds, "gathering up lately a portion of what I had written, for publication, I have given it as careful a revision as my leisure would allow; have indeed in many parts rewritten it, seeking to profit by the results of the latest criticism." We have then before us the fruit of much research and labor, in a field with which our author has often shown his familiarity, and for which he has, as often, exhibited his ardent love. It is characterised by all his well-known peculiarities of lucid composition, and comes to us fragrant with the finest bloom of his rare learning. Those who have read his work on the Parables, or his work on the Miracles, or any of his minor pieces, and have been refreshed by their perusal, will lay down this volume with as much reluctance as they ever felt when closing the others, and will wish that this distinguished Christian

scholar may go on to add to them many more of like excellence.

Dr. Trench, as our readers are aware, has never published a work upon the Epistles, but has chosen to confine himself to the elucidation of the Gospels. These constitute his specialty, it would seem. In the volume before us, he gives us the explanation of this. "I have never," he says, "been able to consent with that which so often is asserted, namely, that the Gospels are in the main plain and easy, and that all the chief difficulties of the New Testament are to be found in the Epistles. There are, indeed, by the gracious provision of God, abundance of plain things—so plain that no wayfarer who seeks his waymarks need err for lack of such—alike in these and in those. But when we begin to set the hard things of one portion of Scripture against the hard things of another, I cannot admit that they have right who assume it as lifted above all doubt that those of the Epistles infinitely surpass those of the Gospels. How often the difficulties of the Epistles are merely difficulties of form; not of the thought, but of the setting forth of the thought; of the logical sequence, which only requires a patient disentangling, and all is comparatively clear. But in the Gospels, it is not the form of the thought; for that, for the most part, presents little or nothing perplexing; but the thought itself, the divine fact or statement, which itself constitutes the difficulty." Then, having shown why this was to be expected, he goes on to say: "I have often regretted that those who in our time and Church have brought the choicest gifts to the interpretation of the New Testament, have either restricted themselves to the elucidation of the Epistles, as if these alone would offer sufficient *resistance* to them; or where their work has embraced both, have wrought out this latter portion of it with far more of thought and toil than the earlier. Surely there are hard questions enough suggested by the Sermon on the Mount, if only we would learn to look at it a little less superficially than now is our wont, questions which have never yet received an entirely satisfactory solution. ***** The limpid clearness of St. John's style conceals from us often the profundity of the thought, as the perfect clearness of waters may altogether deceive us about their depth; and we may thus be

too lightly tempted to conclude that, while St. Paul may be hard, St. John at all events is easy. I believe this to be very far from the case." We must confess that we sympathise with the Archbishop in these views. We have long believed that too little of the resources of modern learning has been devoted to the examination and unfolding of the narratives on which Christianity is founded to so great an extent. This was not so much the case with the ancient expounders of Scripture. Augustine, and others among the "fathers," gave a far larger share of their attention to this branch of study than have the exegetical scholars of later days. We have, indeed, "commentaries" in abundance upon the Gospels. But, for the most part, they are intended for "popular" use, and add almost nothing to the apparatus by the employment of which the thorough biblical student would seek to learn the whole meaning and bearing of the sacred narrative. They either skip the hard places altogether, or offer us jejune and unsatisfactory and worn-out explanations. In our own country, J. Addison Alexander is an exception to this remark, whose works on Matthew and Mark, whilst well adapted for general reading, are also splendid additions to this department of exegetical literature; and, among the Germans, Stier has done much, in his "Words of Jesus," to throw light upon the difficulties of the four Gospels. And we might name others, both abroad and at home, who have done much to untie the knots which the evangelists have left for the trial of our patience and the reward of our labor. Fairbairn is one of these, whose "Hermeneutical Manual" explains so well several of the hard points which, but for him, would be much obscurer than they now are. But of all modern expositors, we know of none who has done so good a work in the field of the gospel narratives as the author of the volume before us. Instead of shunning difficulties, he searches them out, and fairly meets them, and meets them in such a style as to leave us but little more to desire. How full of illustrations of this remark are his works already alluded to, many of our readers are thankfully aware. And when they shall read the present one, they will be prepared for still other emotions of gratitude with reference to

the accomplished task of clearing up those obscurities of evangelistic history to which Archbishop Trench has devoted his extensive learning and fine taste. He makes old things new. He holds a lighted candle over many a dark well of truth, and shows its waters clear, and sparkling, and approachable. Nay, he brings these up to the surface, and gives you them to drink, greatly to your refreshment and joy. It ought, indeed, to be said of this work, as of those which from our author have preceded it in the same department, that, in one sense, they are not strictly original. The contents of all of them have, in the main, been drawn from the Latin and Greek fathers, whose works the Archbishop has evidently studied thoroughly, and with whose spirit he has become deeply imbued. But they are all the better for this; especially as he has given to these ancient writings a new setting all his own, and so interwoven with them the results of modern criticism as to render them doubly valuable. He has gone into the armory of the Christian fathers, and taken down their long forgotten weapons of controversy; and, furbishing them anew, has brought them to bear, clothed with fresh power, upon the field of a present conflict. This feature of his writings constitutes one of their principal charms, and helps to elevate them to a point where they will be regarded as "classic."

In the present volume, the studies of our author are confined to sixteen important and interesting topics, which, for the purpose of attracting our readers to a perusal of the work itself, we will enumerate: the Temptation; the Calling of Philip and Nathaniel; Christ and the Samaritan Woman; the Sons of Thunder; Wisdom Justified of her Children; the Three Aspirants; the New Piece on the Old Garment, and the New Wine in the Old Vessels; the Transfiguration; James and John Offering to Call Fire from Heaven on the Samaritan Village; the Return of the Seventy; the Pharisees Seeking to Scare the Lord from Galilee; the Unfinished Tower and the Deprecated War; Zacchæus; the True Vine; the Penitent Malefactor; Christ and the Two Disciples on the Way to Emmaus. If this is not a sufficiently enticing array of subjects, we know not what could be; and when the promise is that they will be treated

as only a *Trench* can treat them, it is an array which will surely induce many a Scripture student to possess himself of the book, that he may revel in its contents.

Our space forbids an extended notice of all of these topics, or even of any one of them. But we cannot forbear calling attention to that which stands first in the list, and which we have read with the greatest care—"The Temptation." This portion of our Lord's history is first contemplated in connexion with his baptism, the sequence to which it is. "The Son in that baptism had received his heavenly armor, and now he goes forth to prove it, and try of what temper it is. Having been baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, he shall now be baptized with the fire of temptation; even as there is another baptism, the baptism of blood, in store for him." The second Adam is then finely contrasted with the first; and we are sorry that this contrast is not more enlarged upon, as it is so susceptible of being, for the purpose of bringing out some deeper truths than our author has hinted at. We are now taken to the scene of the temptation, "the wilderness," the precise locality of which is unknown, and this is held up to view as a companion picture to the paradise from which the first parent was expelled after his defeat by Satan. We cannot agree with Dr. Trench in his interpretation of those descriptive words of Mark: "He was with the wild beasts." He says that "this notice is certainly not introduced, as many interpreters would have us to believe, merely to enhance the waste desolation and savage solitude of that scene, but at once throws us back, as it was intended to throw us back, on the paradisiacal state which, in the second Adam, had bloomed anew." It means, he thinks, to intimate that the "wild beasts" owned him for their rightful Lord; "he was with them as Adam had been before he sinned; in him, the second Adam, the ideal man of the eighth Psalm, the Adamic prerogatives, lost and suspended so long, after the deluge only partially recovered," now fully reappearing. But surely there is no proof that this is the true interpretation of this allusion to the wild beasts in that wilderness, that it was meant to imply a "resumption of dominion by the second Adam over the revolted animal world." There

was, indeed, this resumed dominion, but such is not the lesson taught here. Dr. J. A. Alexander hits the truth, it seems to us, when he says: "That 'he was with the wild beasts' is mentioned only in this (Mark's) Gospel, and should be regarded, not as a poetical description of the desert, which would be superfluous, and out of place in so concise a narrative, but rather as an intimation that he was beyond the reach of human help, and cut off from all ordinary sources of supply, and also as a preparatory contrast with what follows, that 'the angels ministered unto him.'" But, leaving this, our attention is, after a reference of much beauty to the forty days' fasting, drawn to the great tempter himself, in language which we will indulge our readers by quoting; especially as the doctrine of the devil's personality and agency is now so much lost sight of:

"The assertion of the existence of a tempter at all, of a personal wicked one, of the devil, this, as is well known, is a stumbling-block to many. Not urging here the extent to which the veracity of Christ himself is pledged to the fact, I will content myself with observing that it is not by scriptural arguments alone that it is supported. There is a dark mysterious element in man's life and history, which nothing else can explain. We can only too easily understand the too strong attractions of the objects of sense on a being who is sensuous as well as spiritual; the allowing of that lower nature, which should have been the ruled, to reverse the true relation, and to become the ruler. We can understand, only too easily, man's yielding, even his losing, of himself in this region of sense. But there is a mystery far more terrible than this, a phenomenon unintelligible except upon one assumption. Those to whom the doctrine of an evil spirit is peculiarly unwelcome, have been at infinite pains to exorcise theology; and from that domain at least to cast Satan out, even though they should be impotent to cast him out from any other. All who shrink from looking down into the abysmal depths of man's fall, because they have no eye for the heavenly heights of his restoration, seem to count that much will have been gained thereby; although it may be very pertinently asked, as indeed one *has* asked, What is the profit of getting rid of the devil, so long as the devilish remains? of explaining away an evil *one*, so long as the evil *ones* who remain are so many? What profit, indeed? Assuredly, this doctrine of an Evil Spirit, tempting, seducing, deceiving, prompting to rebellion and revolt, so far

from casting a deeper gloom on the destinies of humanity, is full of consolation, and lights up with a gleam and glimpse of hope spots which seem utterly dark without it. One might well despair of one's self, having no choice but to believe that all the strange suggestions of evil which have risen up before one's own heart had been born there; one might well despair of one's kind, having no choice but to believe that all its hideous sins, and all its monstrous crimes had been self-conceived and bred within its own bosom. But there is hope, if 'an enemy have done this;' if, however the soil *in* which these wicked thoughts and wicked works have sprung up, has been the heart of man, yet the seed *from* which they sprung had been there sown by the hand of another. And who will venture to deny the existence of this devilish, as distinguished from the animal, in man? None certainly, who knows aught of the dread possibilities of sin lurking in his own bosom, who has studied with any true insight the moral history of the world. In what way else explain that men not merely depart from God, but that they defy him; that, instead of the ungodly merely forgetting God and letting him go, his name is as often, or oftener, on their lips than on those of them that love and serve him? How else explain the casting of fierce words against him, the actual and active *hatred* of God which it is impossible not to recognise in some wicked men? What else will account for delight in the contemplation or in the infliction of pain, for strange inventions of wickedness, above all, of cruelty and lust—'lust hard by hate'? What else for evil chosen for its own sake, and for that fierce joy which men so often find in the violation of law, this violation being itself the attraction; with all those other wicked joys, 'mala gaudia mentis,' as the poet in a single phrase has characterised them so well? The mystery is as inexplicable as it is dreadful, so long as man will know nothing of a spiritual world beneath him as well as one above him; but it is only too easy to understand, so soon as we recognise man's evil as not altogether his own, but detect behind his transgression an earlier transgression and an earlier transgressor—one who fell, not as man fell, for man's fall was mercifully broken by that very flesh which invited it; but who fell as only spirits can fall, from the height of heaven to the depth of hell; fell never to rise again; for *he* was not deceived, was not tempted, as was Adam; but himself chose the evil with the clearest intuition that it was the evil, forsook the good with the clearest intuition that it was the good; whose sin, therefore, in its essence, was the sin against the Holy Ghost, and as such, not to be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. All

is explicable when we recognise the existence of such a spirit; who, being lost without hope of redemption himself, seeks to work the same loss in other of God's creatures, and counts it a small triumph to have made man bestial, unless he can make him devilish as well. Such a personal tempter innumerable moral and spiritual phenomena of this fallen world at once demand and attest; and such a tempter or devil existing, it lay in the necessity of things that he should come into direct and immediate collision with *Him* who had one mission in the world, and that, to destroy the works of the devil."

Further on, our author guards this doctrine, as thus set forth, from danger of abuse on the ground of man's willingness to throw off upon the devil the sins that truly belong to him as his free servant.

With great skill, and with great learning, this master-piece upon the temptation goes on to unfold its several incidents, and to throw a world of light upon the whole transaction and its bearings on the scheme of human redemption. We cannot, however, follow it further. Most heartily do we commend the whole work to the studious perusal of all who wish to gain an insight into many of the intricacies of the gospel narratives.

The Christ of the Apostles' Creed: The Voice of the Church against Arianism, Strauss, and Renan, with an Appendix. By Rev. W. A. SCOTT, D. D., Pastor of the 42d Street Presbyterian Church. Published by Anson D. F. Randolph, New York. 1867. 432 pp., 8vo.

This work consists of seventeen lectures on the points of the catholic faith, as to the person and work of our Lord, as they are affirmed in the well known creed, commonly called the Apostles'; viz., on his name, titles, incarnation, sufferings, death, burial, descent into hell, resurrection, ascension, exaltation, and coming to judge the world. The appendix discusses the importance of the questions now controverted in regard to Christ, the ante-Nicene opinions concerning him, and the aspect of modern views on this subject, particularly as represented by Strauss and Renan, and closes with an address to theological students and young ministers of the gospel.

The author opens his preface with the striking remark, that "Never since the foundation of the world was there so much learning and human intellect employed on Pilate's question: 'What shall I then do with Jesus which is called Christ?' as at this moment." The religious questions which chiefly engage the attention of the world vary from age to age, either as to the subject-matter of them, or as to the particular aspect in which they are considered. At some periods, the prevailing controversies have been within the Church itself, between different parties and sects of professed believers, and different forms of Christian faith. At other times, the common faith of the universal Church has been assailed by unbelievers, and the great battle of argument and debate has been fought between all real Christians on the one side, and the hosts of infidelity on the other. This last is the kind of religious polemic warfare which chiefly engages the Christian world at the present time. The inspiration of the Scriptures, the historic truth of the Gospels, and especially the question, "Who and what was Jesus Christ?" are the prominent questions over which the learning and literature of the world are gathered in dire and deadly conflict. They are vital questions. If the faith of the Church on these points is destroyed, then there is an end to the Church, to the whole Christian religion, with all in it we have ever loved and esteemed precious. If that faith is *the truth*, then woe be to those who reject and assail it! To a very great extent the various sects and parties of Christians have at the present time given over their controversies with each other, and united in defending the citadel of truth against its numerous and powerful assailants; while the latter, with a zeal and perseverance which infidelity has seldom exhibited, concentrate their efforts on these central and vital points. Unbelief seems to have discovered that if the world continue to believe the truth as to the person and work of our blessed Redeemer, the triumph of Christianity is inevitable, and its own perdition sure. Moreover, having rejected that truth, unbelief is in an agony to account to itself, and on its own principles, for the facts of Christianity which it cannot deny. Hence, it brings forth hypothesis and theory and specu-

lation and fictions and dreams, one after another, in endless and inextricable confusion, to explain those facts on the assumption that the faith of the Church, as to our Lord, is an error. We have often thought that it is a superfluous labor to combat these attacks on the truth, for it seems to be ordained of God that they shall be mutually destructive; each successive theorist, in so far as he establishes his own speculation, and often independently, refuting all who have gone before him.

Dr. Scott's work is a valuable contribution to the cause of the truth in these controversies—valuable, not so much as a refutation of the opposing errors, as an exposition of the faith of the universal Church, well adapted to give the reader a clearer understanding of the true doctrines on the points discussed, and of their preëminent importance. His lectures are printed just as they were prepared for and addressed to his own congregation, and are but to a limited extent philosophical, critical, or even polemic. We need not say they are earnest and devout in spirit, nervous and eloquent in style. This is a matter of course in any thing from his pen. His pages are full of the results of diligent reading and thought, while they glow with the fervor and unction of a living piety.

The handsome style in which this volume is got up by the publisher is worthy of notice. In paper, type, printing, and binding, its elegance leaves nothing to be desired.

Homiletics, and Pastoral Theology. By WM. G. T. SHEDD, D. D.,
Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York
City. Second edition. Charles Scribner & Co., 654 Broad-
way. 1867.

Such is the title page of a recently published, though not recently written, work. The author once held the Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in Auburn Theological Seminary, and during the years of this incumbency, 1852 and 1853, he composed a series of lectures, of which the present volume contains the substance. Some of them were thought to be important enough to deserve a place, within the last two years, in the *American Theological Review*. Dr. Shedd tells us

in the introduction, that these published fragments awakened so much interest as to lead him to revise the whole series, and, combining them with other essays upon kindred topics, to throw them into the form of a book—the book we have before us. It contains four hundred and twenty-nine octavo pages of large print and wide margin, and is “gotten up” in Scribner & Co.’s usual finished style of printing.

We opened this book with expectations that had been excited by laudatory critical notices in the newspapers. These expectations, we must candidly state, have not been fully realised. They were not, indeed, very high; for we have learned that newspaper eulogium, whether of persons or of books, is nearly always overstrained, and is in many cases utterly groundless: the product often of undisciplined minds or of factitious enthusiasm. We very much doubt whether Dr. Shedd has added anything of real value to what has already been written and published upon the subjects he has undertaken to discuss. On Homiletics, it is not an improvement upon “Porter’s Lectures,” and falls below “Claude’s Essay,” as altered and improved by Simeon. On Pastoral Theology, it is not equal to the “Preacher and Pastor,” edited by Dr. Park, of Andover; and on Extemporaneous Preaching, it is far inferior to the very graceful and stirring work of M. Bautain. Still, we would advise preachers and theological students to purchase this work, as embodying much that is useful in the way of suggestion, and as containing many excellent and well-considered thoughts upon the usual topics of a homiletical and pastoral curriculum. The author seems certainly to be in earnest, and endeavors faithfully to arouse both the mind and the conscience of the class he addresses to the immense importance of a thorough preparation for the work of the ministry. His standard is high, but it cannot be too high. His counsels are in the main sound, and his rules for the most part practicable. And we are disposed to hail his book as one that is, on the whole, calculated to meet the cases of not a few who, not disposed to pursue the subjects he presents through all that has been better and more profoundly written upon them, or not being situated so as to have command

of time for a more extensive reading, will be likely to take up this work and inform themselves, by means of its peculiar adaptation to hasty students, on matters the consideration of which they might otherwise be disposed to neglect altogether.

We have, however, but little faith in books which profess to discuss and enforce the duties and obligations of the preacher and pastor. If the minister is of so small a calibre, mentally, as to be unable to block out a method of preaching for himself, and that will best suit his own idiosyncrasies; and if he be of such a disposition, morally, as to be indisposed to construct, for his own peculiar use, a plan of visitation amongst his people as their "house-to-house" spiritual counsellor and instructor—no book, however well adapted to inform his soul with reference to these fundamental matters, will ever serve the purpose of doing for him what he cannot or will not do in his own behalf. It cannot give him brains; it cannot give him energy of character; it cannot impart to him the purpose to be useful. The most that it can do is to refresh his mind with arguments which he already (if a true man, and at all fitted to his work,) has somewhat considered, and to stimulate his conscience, when he has measurably lost his spirituality, to assert again its waning authority. There are, it is true, some minds which are woefully deficient in system, or which are sadly wanting in industry, or which are content to move through narrow grooves of duty without attempting broader paths of usefulness; and these, if they are at all disposed to do better, may be spurred out of their dull and inefficient routine by some book that is calculated to lay hold upon their hearts, and to show them the necessity for higher excellence, and the means of reaching it. To such drowsy drones in the ministry, the work of Dr. Shedd will do good, if they can be prevailed upon to read it; whilst to all others it may prove a reminder of what they have partially forgotten or been tempted practically to neglect, and thus urge them to new exertion. But, as a general truth, no minister who is worthy the name of a herald of salvation, needs any other stimulant to the full discharge of the functions of his high office, than that which he will derive from his own love for souls. This wanting, and everything

is wanting. This present and operative, and he will do his utmost to make of himself a "master in Israel." However, let even him read what others have to say upon the duties and responsibilities of his office, and in so doing, let him find additional spurs to labor as one who shall not need to be ashamed. Let him, however, not *rely* upon books to teach him what is best. A studious cultivation of personal piety, an enlarging acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, a thoughtful regard for the highest interests of his pastoral charge, an augmenting consciousness of his own peculiar powers, and an enlightened determination to do his utmost to "magnify his office," will carry him steadily upward to whatever heights of ministerial eminence he is capable of reaching.

Dr. Shedd dwells at length upon "properties of style," consuming forty-six pages in their discussion. He throws out some excellent suggestions upon this branch of homiletical study. We had hoped that he would, in this part of his book, exemplify his own rules by a style of writing free from all the blemishes he condemns, and replete with all the excellences he commends. But we must say, there never was, in a chapter upon "style," a poorer illustration of what the author means to inculcate upon this point, than in the chapter which contains Dr. Shedd's views touching its importance. He contrives to make his thoughts clear enough, except in some remarkable sentences which seem to have no meaning whatever. But, in his ambition to write philosophically and learnedly, he overshoots the mark, and gives us a sample of strained and "highfalutin" composition, which is a striking contrast to the "plainness," the "force," and the "beauty," which he inculcates as constituting the essentials of good writing. Above all, he lacks the power of condensation. He does not expand, but reiterates. He does not evolve, but repeats. And this is true of his work throughout. It might with advantage be reduced to half its dimensions. As lectures, it may have been well thus to go out in endless tautologies, in order the better to allow the memory time to absorb what was meant to be retained; but, as a book to be read at leisure, these tautologies could well have been spared. The writing is too

lofty and too repetitious for the patience of the reader. It seems to be meant for admiration, and not as a vehicle for the communication of knowledge. There is a striking contrast in this respect between the work before us and others upon the same subject with which the pulpit has been long familiar.

We are favorably struck with the advice given by our author on the subject of the comparative advantages of written and extemporaneous sermons. He is strongly in favor of both methods, whilst giving the preference on the whole to discourses prepared only in outline, and preached without the presence of the manuscript. But he urges very wisely, we think, preparation for the pulpit, in the use of both the pen alone, and of the disciplined memory without the pen. We make no apology for quoting largely from the chapter on this important subject:

“The term ‘extemporaneous,’ as commonly employed, denotes something hurried, off-hand, and superficial, and general usage associates imperfection, and inefficiency, with this adjective. There is nothing, however, in the etymology of the word, which necessarily requires that such a signification be put upon it. Extemporaneous preaching is preaching *ex tempore*, from the time. This may mean either of two things, according to the sense in which the word *tempus* is taken. It may denote, that the sermon is the hasty, and careless, product of that one particular *instant* of time, in which the person speaks; the rambling and prolix effort of that *punctum* temporis, which is an infinitely small point, and which can produce only an infinitely small result. This is the meaning too commonly assigned to the word in question, and hence, inferiority in all intellectual respects is too commonly associated with it, both in theory and in practice. For it is indisputable, that the human mind will work very inefficiently, if it works by the minute merely, and originates its products, under the spur and impulse of the single instant alone.

“But, the phrase ‘extemporaneous preaching’ may and should mean, preaching from *all* the time, past as well as present. Behind every extemporaneous sermon, as really as behind every written sermon, the whole duration of the preacher’s life, with all the culture and learning it has brought with it, should lie. The genuine extemporaneous discourse, as really as the most carefully written discourse, should be the result of a sum-total,—the exponent of the whole past life, the whole past discipline, the whole past study and reflection of the man.”

“Taking this view of the nature of extemporaneous preaching, it is plain that there is not such a heaven-wide difference between it, and written preaching, as is often supposed. There is no *material* difference between the two. The extemporaneous sermon must be constructed upon the same general principles of rhetoric and homiletics, with the written sermon, and must be the embodiment and result of the same literary, scientific, and professional culture. The difference between the two species of discourses is merely *formal*. And even this statement is too strong. There is not even a strictly formal difference, for the very same style and diction, the very same *technically* formal properties, are required in the one as in the other. The difference does not respect the form as distinguished from the matter of eloquence, but merely the form of the form. In extemporaneous preaching, the form is oral, while in other species it is written. There is, therefore, not only no material difference between the two, but there is not even a rigorously and strictly formal difference. Both are the results of the same study, the same reflection, the same experience. The same *man* is the author of both, and both alike will exhibit his learning or his ignorance, his mental power or his mental feebleness, his spirituality or his unspirituality. An ignorant, undisciplined, and unspiritual man cannot write a good sermon; neither *need* a learned, thoroughly disciplined, and holy man, preach a bad extemporaneous sermon. For nothing but the want of *practice* would prevent a learned mind, a methodical mind, a holy mind, from doing itself justice and credit in extemporaneous oratory.” Pp. 219–221.

“The truth of these remarks will be still more apparent, if we bear in mind that the extemporaneous sermon has not had the due amount of work expended upon it. It has too often been resorted to, in idle and indolent moods, instead of being the object upon which the diligent and studious preacher has expended the best of his power, and the choicest of his time. Again, the extemporaneous sermon has not been the product of persevering practice, and of the skill that comes from persevering practice. The preacher, in the tremor of his opening ministry, makes two or three attempts to preach extempore, and then desists. Remembering the defects of these first attempts, and comparing them with the more finished discourses which he has been in the *habit*, and *practice* of writing, he draws the hasty and unfounded inference, that, from the nature of the case, oral discourse must be inferior to written discourse. But who can doubt, that with an equal amount of practice, of patient, persist-

ent practice, this species of sermon might be made equal to the other, in those solid qualities in which, it must be confessed, it is too generally inferior? Who can doubt, that if the clergy would form the habit, and acquire the self-possession and skill of the lawyer, in respect to unwritten discourse, and then would expend the same amount of labor upon the unwritten, that they do upon the written sermon, it would be as profound, as logical, as finished, and more effective? The fact is, that there is nothing in the oral, any more than in the written method of delivering thought, that is fitted to hamper the operations of the human mind. If an educated man has truth and eloquence within him, it needs nothing but *constant practice*, to bring it out in either form he pleases, in written, or in extemporaneous language. Habit and practice will, in either case, impart both ability and facility. Take away the skill which is acquired by the habitual practice of composing with the pen in hand, and it would be as difficult for one to deliver his thoughts in writing, as it is for one who has acquired no skill by the practice of extemporaneous discourse, to deliver his thoughts orally. Nay, how often, when the thoughts flow thick and fast, is the slow pen found to impede the process of composition. In such a case, the mind yearns to give itself vent in unwritten language, and would do so, if it had only acquired the confidence before an audience, and the skill, which are the result, not of mere nature, but of habit and practice." Pp. 225, 226.

"And this brings us to the last, but by no means least important point, in the discussion of this subject; and this is the patient and persevering *practice* of extemporaneous preaching. These requisites to unwritten discourse that have been mentioned, may all be attained, and, as matter of fact, are attained in a greater or less degree, by every preacher who composes written sermons, and yet there be no extemporaneous discourse. Many a preacher is conscious of possessing these capabilities, and can and does exert them through the pen, who would be overwhelmed and struck dumb, if he should be deprived of his manuscript, and compelled to address an audience extemporaneously. These requisites must, therefore, *actually be put into requisition*. The preacher must actually speak extemporaneously, and be in the habit of so doing. And there is one single rule, and but one, the observance of which will secure that uniform practice, without which the finest capabilities will lie dormant and unused. At the very opening of his ministry, the preacher must begin to deliver one extemporaneous sermon on the Sabbath, and do so uniformly, to the close of it. A resolute, patient, and faithful

observance of this rule will secure all that is needed. The preacher must pay no regard to difficulties in the outset, must not be discouraged or chagrined by the bad logic, or bad grammar, of his earlier attempts, must not heed the remarks and still less the advice of fastidious hearers; but must prepare as carefully as possible for the task as it comes round to him, and perform it as earnestly, seriously, and scrupulously, as he does his daily devotions. In course of time, he will find that it is becoming a pleasant process, and is exerting a most favorable influence upon his written sermons, and, indeed, upon his whole professional character. In each week, he should regularly preach one written sermon, and one unwritten sermon, to 'the great congregation.' If the preacher must be confined to but one kind of discourse, then he should write. No man could meet the wants of an intelligent audience, year after year, who should always deliver unwritten discourses. But the clergy would be a more able and influential body of public teachers, if the two species of sermonizing were faithfully employed by them. The vigor and force of the unwritten sermon would pass over into the written, and render it more impressive and powerful than it now is, while the strict method and finished style of the written discourse would pass over into the unwritten. If the young clergyman lays down this rule in the outset, and proceeds upon it, it is safe to prophesy a successful career of extemporaneous preaching, in his case. But if he does not lay it down *in the very outset*, if he delays until a more convenient season occurs for going up into the pulpit, and speaking without a manuscript, then it is almost absolutely certain, that, like the majority of his associates in the ministry, he will go through life, never delivering a really excellent extemporaneous sermon.

"We are confident, that extemporaneous preaching should engage, far more than it does, the labor and study of the clergy. The more we think of it, the more clearly shall we see, that, as a species, it comes nearest to ideal perfection. It is a living utterance, out of a living heart and intellect, to living excited men, through no medium but the free air. It was the preaching of Christ and his apostles, of many of the early Fathers, of Luther and the Reformers. And whenever any great movement has been produced, either in Church or State, it has commonly taken its rise, so far as human agency is concerned, from the unwritten words of some man of sound knowledge, and thorough discipline, impelled to speak by strong feeling in his heart." Pp. 240-243.

These remarks are, we think, eminently just and well worthy of the consideration of our preachers. Extreme views on this point are often urged—the greater burden of argument being laid upon the necessity of the preacher *always* extemporizing his sermons, as if but little good could be accomplished by the manuscript sermonizer. The happy medium is indicated by Dr. Shedd in the paragraphs quoted above. Let both methods be employed. This will give variety to preaching, and will be attended by other obviously good results, both with reference to the preacher himself and his congregation. We have known only a few instances where a minister has long maintained himself amongst the same people, in all his vigor and freshness, as the expounder of gospel truth, when he relied altogether upon his extemporaneous ability. In most cases, he has become tiresome, and self-repeating, and has found it necessary by-and-by to betake himself to some other field, where he goes through the same round of unsatisfactory performances. He is compelled to use the pen freely, and write out his thoughts with conscientious and unflagging care; else he must after a while fail to prove interesting or instructive. And it is the pen of the ready writer that will discipline the tongue of the ready speaker. The best extemporizers we have ever heard are those who have been most diligent as preachers of written sermons.

There are other things in this book we would like to take time to commend; but here we must close, expressing the hope that all who are now in the ministry, or who expect to enter its sacred precincts, will make use of this and all the other helps they can command, for the purpose of bringing themselves to a more adequate conception of the demands which so high an office necessarily makes upon their mental and moral powers.

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ARTICLE I.

THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

The Albert N'yanza, Great Basin of the Nile, and Explorations of the Nile Sources. By SAMUEL WHITE BAKER. With Maps, Illustrations, and Portraits. London: Macmillan & Co. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1866. Pp. 509. 8vo.

To the present generation belongs the honor of having solved two great geographical problems that had baffled the researches of the civilised world for more than two thousand years. One of these is the discovery of the source, and the other the discovery of the outlet, of the two great rivers of the continent of Africa. The causes which retarded these discoveries for so long a period have always been the same, viz., the insalubrious nature of the African climate; the savage character of the people; the want of the ordinary facilities of travel; and the perpetual disturbances occasioned by the foreign slave-trade. Most of these causes still exist; but the achievements of science and the indomitable perseverance of the age have surmounted them.

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The source of the Nile and the outlet of the Niger are as well known now as any other geographical facts, and we are therefore to have a new and comparatively perfect map of the continent of Africa.

The Niger, for a considerable portion of its interior course, was well known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, and is particularly described by Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and other writers of ancient geography. No certain knowledge, however, was ever acquired by these writers either of the general course or of the outlet of this great river. By some of them it was supposed to empty into the great lake Tchad; by others, that it lost itself in the sands of the Great Desert; and by others still, that it took an easterly course and became one of the principal tributaries of the Nile. The early European navigators, as they sailed along the western coast of Africa for the first time, fancied that they had discovered the outlet of the Niger as they came successively to the estuaries of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande rivers; but subsequent explorations soon demonstrated the fallacy of these conjectures. In 1805, Mungo Park, the renowned African traveller, penetrated the interior of Africa from the head waters of the Gambia, and struck the Niger at a place called Sansanding, several hundred miles south of the great city of Timbuctoo. From this point he made his way down the river in a canoe to Boussa, several hundred miles to the southwest, where he unfortunately lost his life in attempting to cross the river in the face of a hostile party. None but the most fragmentary accounts of this his second journey into the heart of the country ever reached Europe, but it was known that he had expressed the opinion that the Niger discharged itself into the Atlantic through the Congo, the great river of western Africa, to the south of the equator. In order to test the accuracy of this opinion, Capt. Tucker was sent a few years later to explore the Congo. He failed to ascend it more than eighty or a hundred miles, owing to the rapidity of the current and the unsuitableness of his ships, but acquired satisfactory information of the fact that there was no possible connexion between the Niger and the Congo. In 1830, the two brothers, Richard and

John Lander, the former having accompanied Capt. Clapperton on a previous journey into Africa, penetrated the country from Badagry, a well known sea-port on the Slave Coast, and reached the river at a point not far from where Park had lost his life. From thence they sailed down the river in a canoe, through the river Nun, into the Atlantic, not far from the well known island of Fernando Po. It was soon afterwards ascertained that the Niger discharged itself through half a dozen small rivers into the Bay or Gulf of Benin, no one of which was large enough to have suggested the idea that it was the outlet of the great interior river. The probability is, that the whole district through which these smaller rivers ran was once an open bay, to the distance of fifty or a hundred miles interiorward, but owing to the peculiar character of the mangrove growth, innumerable islands were formed, which gradually enlarged themselves, until the Niger was forced to discharge itself through the innumerable little rivers or creeks running between these half submerged islands. The delta of the Niger, at the present day, forms an almost complete labyrinth of creeks and islands, rendering access to the main river very difficult, except through the medium of small streams.

But if the outlet of the Niger has been the object of prolonged research, the source of the Nile has been the occasion of still more intense curiosity. The soil of Egypt, which has fed generations of men from the earliest periods of history, is wholly the product of this great river. If the Nile were arrested in its course, or if by some convulsion of nature, it should find its way to the Indian Ocean by travelling three or four hundred miles, instead of passing over more than two thousand to reach the Mediterranean, Egypt would, in a very short time, become as complete a barren sand-waste as the desert on either side of it. Where it got that rich alluvial deposit with which the soil of Egypt was enriched from year to year; or how it sent down its largest volume of water in the dryest season of the year, were questions that had long engaged the reflections of thinking men, but had never been satisfactorily solved until the recent discoveries of Baker, Speke, and Grant. Ptolemy, who speaks of the

Nile as having its origin in two great lakes that were fed by the melting of the snows of the Mountains of the Moon, undoubtedly had substantially the facts of the case. But he erred in locating these lakes six hundred miles north of their true position; and, besides, his statements have always been regarded as mere crude speculations. The information he got was probably brought to Egypt by Arabs, who were known to have travelled from the Red Sea to the eastern coast of Africa, some of whom may have travelled as far into the interior as these great lakes. It is known that expeditions were fitted out to explore the source of the Nile in the times of the Pharaohs; by the Phenicians, in times of their commercial prosperity; by the Persians, under the lead of Cambyses; by the Greeks, in the times of the Ptolemies; and by the Romans, under the Cæsars; none of whom, however, brought the matter to a satisfactory solution. About ninety years ago, James Bruce, a well known African traveller, ascended the Nile as far as the junction of what are known as the Blue and White Niles, and from thence followed the former to its source in the mountains of upper Abyssinia. The Blue Nile, however, is little else than an affluent of the White. During the prevalence of the rains in Abyssinia, it brings down an immense volume of water to the junction, but at other seasons, it presents little else than a bed of dry sand. At the junction of these two rivers is located the now well known city of Khartoum. At the commencement of the present century, it consisted of little more than a few miserable huts; but, in 1822, the province of Soudan, in which it is located, was brought under the government of Egypt, and Khartoum was made the seat of government. At the present time it has a population of thirty thousand, and has risen to considerable commercial importance. Its population, however, is made up of the most heterogeneous materials, consisting of Turks, Arabs, Copts, Circassians, Nubians, Abyssinians, negroes of every hue and clan, and a few European traders. The moral character of this heterogeneous population is spoken of in anything but flattering terms. The river is navigable from Khartoum to Gondokoro, a trading post in 5° north latitude, and about one hundred and fifty miles,

in a direct line, from the northern borders of the great lake from which the White Nile issues. Trading expeditions have been constantly passing over this portion of the river for more than twenty years, but chiefly engaged in carrying on the slave-trade. During this period, a mission was established at Gondokoro by the Roman Catholics, but was abandoned after a few years' experiment, on account of the unhealthiness of the country and the constant disturbances kept up by the Turkish slave-trade. It is said that thirteen of these missionaries died of the fever in the course of six months. The only European who is known to have penetrated the country to the southward of Gondokoro, during the period under consideration, is Signor Miani. His tour was performed in 1859. He followed the course of the river until he came within sixty miles of the great lake; but was compelled to retrace his steps, not knowing at the time, however, that he was so near to the object of search.

Much interest was awakened in the scientific world twenty-five years ago by the explorations of the missionaries Krapf and Rebmann, in eastern Africa, adjacent to the coast of Zanzibar, and especially by the information they communicated about the position, height, and general character of the mountains which were seen by them, and which were supposed to be those long known as the Mountains of the Moon.

In 1857, Major Burton and Captain Speke were despatched by the British government, but under the direction of the Royal Geographical Society, to explore those regions, and to ascertain, among other things, whether the White Nile had its origin in those mountains. They set out from the coast opposite Zanzibar, and, after having travelled between five and six hundred miles in a nearly due west course, they discovered a large lake, called by the aborigines Tanganyika. Major Burton was so much exhausted by this long journey, that he was compelled to return to the sea-coast by the same route he had come. Captain Speke directed his steps in a north-easterly direction, and after having travelled two hundred miles or thereabouts, he found himself on the southern borders of a great lake, called N'yanza, (which he subsequently named Victoria N'yanza,) and though he

learned from the natives that there was a great river issuing from the north side, and running in a northerly direction, and which he supposed to be the Nile, yet it was not in his power, at that time, to verify the fact. In 1862, Captain Speke, accompanied by Captain Grant, left the coast of Zanzibar the second time, for the purpose of exploring this lake more thoroughly, and verifying the report that the White Nile had its origin in it.

About the same time, our author and his wife commenced their memorable and perilous journey from the opposite direction, intending to trace this great river from its outlet into the Mediterranean to its source in the mountains of equatorial Africa. The reader is startled at the outset that our author should have thought for a moment of taking his wife,—a young, gentle, and refined English woman,—on so perilous and arduous a journey. He affirms that she resisted all entreaty and persuasion to the contrary, and ascribes her persistence to her devotion to himself. There is no reason whatever to question her devotion to her husband, but the reader will scarcely be able to close the volume without coming to the conclusion that, in addition to this, she had perhaps as much of the spirit of adventure as he had. Furthermore, if it looks like foolhardiness to have taken a frail and delicate woman on such a trying and perilous journey, it becomes equally apparent from the narrative, that it would scarcely have been brought to a successful issue, if it had not been for her presence and influence. In this respect, our author does not hesitate to acknowledge his obligations to the wise counsels of his wife. Nor is his experience altogether peculiar. A man can have no greater safeguard against the treachery and violence of savages in any country, than the presence and influence of a cultivated, refined, and self-possessed Christian wife. There is something in the character of such a woman that fills the mind of the savage, even of the most bloodthirsty, with awe and fear; and if she has the opportunity to exert her influence, or to display her true character before him, he will be sure to quail before her presence and abandon any schemes of hostility he may have entertained. It is not easy to account for this extraordinary power on the part of a virtuous and intelligent

woman, but of the fact itself there can be no doubt. Besides this, in times of danger, the instinctive conclusions of a firm and self-possessed woman are always safer and more trustworthy than the slower deductions of man. Of the correctness of these principles, the journal of our travellers affords abundant illustration, and in one or two cases, illustrations of a very remarkable character.

The journey undertaken by Mr. Baker and his wife was at their own instance and private expense. Mr. Baker had had considerable experience in tropical travel, was constitutionally well fitted for such an undertaking, and naturally felt an ardent desire to solve a geographical problem that had baffled all previous research.

Our travellers left Cairo in the spring of 1861, made their way by the ordinary modes of travel to the junction of the Atbara with the Nile, and from thence to the upper provinces of Abyssinia, where they spent a full year in exploring the sources of the Blue Nile, and in studying the Arabic language, which they regarded as an important qualification for the more thorough exploration of the White Nile. Our author has promised to furnish another volume, at an early day, in relation to his researches in this part of the country, which will no doubt be heartily welcomed, if we may judge from the interest excited by the one before us.

From the northern provinces of Abyssinia, our travellers made their way along the banks of the Blue Nile to Khartoum, situated at the junction of the two great branches of the Nile. Here they made their preparations to ascend the White Nile to Gondokoro, the head of navigation, and a commercial post, about six hundred miles in a due south course from Khartoum. They hired three transports, two of them sailing barges, and the third a decked vessel, called a diahbiah, to take themselves, their escort, their baggage, their provisions, merchandise, and live stock, to the head of navigation. Their outfit was planned on a large and liberal scale. Among the live stock were included four horses, four camels, twenty-one donkeys, besides beeves, pigs, and poultry, to be consumed on the voyage. They took four

hundred bushels of corn, and merchandise enough to pay their travelling expenses for three years, if they should be engaged in their researches for so long a period. They took forty men to bring back their boats, and as many more to act as a guard in their further explorations. This escort was to be furnished with the very best equipments that could be procured. The author, however, gives no very flattering account of the appearance and character of the men whom he was compelled to select as his escort. "The only men procurable for escort were the miserable cut-throats of Khartoum, accustomed to murder and pillage in the White Nile trade, and excited, not by the love of adventure, but by the desire for plunder: to start with such men appeared mere insanity. **** They promised fidelity and devotion, but a greater set of scoundrels in physiognomy I never encountered."

The voyage from Khartoum to Gondokoro, which took about fifty days, was attended by no incidents of special interest, except by the loss of a most excellent white man, a German by birth, who had joined them at Khartoum, and who promised to have been very serviceable in their great undertaking.

The country along the banks of the Nile, although well peopled at certain points, presented very little variety of natural scenery, but merely a constant succession of marsh grass, high reeds, and dense jungle, every where infested with musquitoes and crocodiles. On their arrival at Gondokoro, they found themselves on higher ground; and breathed a lighter and purer atmosphere. But the marks of poverty and desolation, occasioned by the Turkish slave-trade, greeted them on all sides, and cast a dark and melancholy gloom over a region of country that would otherwise have been exceedingly beautiful. It is exceedingly painful to reflect that the first view which the civilised world should get of this heretofore unknown and mysterious land should be characterised by such scenes of inhumanity and brutality as are described by our author—inhumanity and brutality springing alike from the natural depravity and low condition of the aborigines of the country, and still more perhaps from the gross outrages perpetrated upon them by the Turkish and Coptic

slave-traders. The curtain is lifted to show that "every prospect pleases, only man is vile."

At Gondokoro, our travellers came in full view of high and bold mountain ranges, some of which seemed to extend indefinitely towards the south, and which, they had no doubt, formed the slopes and water-sheds that fed the great river which they had now followed for nearly two thousand miles. They surveyed these grand mountain ranges no doubt with peculiar satisfaction, and felt an increased assurance that ere long they would realise the great object for which they had sacrificed so much. Nothing now but health, perseverance, and a favoring Providence, seemed necessary to enable them to unlock the great geographical secret of the age.

Whilst earnestly engaged in making their preparations to start on their southward journey, they were unexpectedly greeted by the arrival of Speke and Grant, from the direction of Zanzibar. The appearance of these noble but way-worn travellers is graphically described by our author :

"When I first met them they were walking along the bank of the river towards my boats. At a distance of about a hundred yards, I recognised my old friend Speke, and, with a heart beating with joy, I took off my cap and gave a welcome hurrah, as I ran towards him. For the moment he did not recognise me; ten years' growth of beard and moustache had worked a change; and as I was totally unexpected, my sudden appearance in the centre of Africa appeared to him incredible. I hardly required an introduction to his companion, as we felt already acquainted, and after the transports of this happy meeting, we walked together to my diabbiah; my men surrounding us with smoke and noise by keeping up an unremitting fire of musketry the whole way. We were shortly seated on deck, under the awning, and such rough fare as could be hastily prepared, was set before these two ragged, careworn specimens of African travel, whom I looked upon with feelings of pride as my own countrymen. As a good ship arrives in harbor, battered and torn by a long and stormy voyage, yet sound in her frame and sea-worthy to the last, so both these gallant travellers arrived in Gondokoro. Speke appeared the more worn of the two; he was excessively lean, but in reality he was in good tough condition; he had walked the whole way from Zanzibar, never having once ridden during that

wearied march. Grant was in honorable rags; his bare knees projecting through the remnants of trowsers that were an exhibition of rough industry in tailor's work. He was looking tired and feverish, but both men had a fire in the eye that showed the spirit that had led them through."

These travellers, as has already been mentioned, had left the coast of Zanzibar more than a year previously, had reached the southern shores of lake Victoria N'yanza, made their way along its western borders to the north side, where they found a bold stream issuing from it, and running in a northerly direction. To this river they gave the name of Somerset. At first, they supposed it to be the true Nile, but soon found that it was only the main artery of communication between Victoria N'yanza and another larger lake to the west, from which the Nile issued as its true source. They followed the Somerset, running in a northerly direction, to the Karuma Falls, where it took a due west course to the main lake. They would gladly have followed it to its final termination, but they were so much exhausted both in health and means, and the intermediate country being involved in war at the same time, they found it necessary to make their way to Gondokoro, from whence they hoped to find a water conveyance down to Egypt.

The great problem was only partially solved, and it now became the ardent desire, as well as the highest ambition, of our travellers, to complete the great discovery. Speke and Grant set off on their homeward journey, whilst Baker and his heroic wife commenced active preparations for their journey into the dark and savage realms beyond. Every possible preparation had been made, and every precaution adopted, before they left Khartoum, to render the undertaking successful, but they soon found that they were just at the beginning of their troubles and perplexities. The "cut-throat escort," whom our author had employed at Khartoum, and who had been paid five months' wages in advance, began to show unmistakable signs of revolt, as soon as these preparations began to be made. They had been tampered with by the Turkish slave-traders, who regarded their employer as a spy on their nefarious business, and who were

bitterly opposed to his going into the country at all. A violent affray ensued between Baker and his mutinous escort, which might have terminated fatally to his life, if it had not been for the timely and heroic interference of his wife. He succeeded by a bold *coup de main* in disarming the whole party, all of whom, except two faithful men, had joined in the mutiny. Afterwards, by a little conciliation on the one hand, and the fear of punishment on the other, seventeen of these mutineers were induced to return to their allegiance and accompany our travellers on their proposed journey. This was a small company with which to set out on so perilous an undertaking; besides, there was no certainty that even these would be steady and faithful in time of danger. Much perplexity was felt in relation to what should be done in these trying circumstances. To remain where they were until another escort could be sent them from Khartoum, would require at least six or eight months. By that time, they would probably be so much reduced by disease as to be unfit to undertake the journey, and besides there was no reason to hope that a new escort from Khartoum would be any better than the one they had brought. In this extremity they resolved to set out on their journey with the little guard they had, and rely upon a kind Providence to protect them by the way. They were compelled at the outset to diverge a hundred miles from the true course, in order to avoid the dangers and difficulties of a direct route. A few days after their departure, Mr. Baker was enabled, but mainly at the suggestion and through the skill and tact of his wife, to form an alliance with the chief of a Turkish slave-trading party, which had left Gondokoro about the same time, and was travelling in the same direction. This was a disagreeable arrangement, but there seemed to be no alternative, if the object of the undertaking was to be accomplished. Mohammed's party consisted of a hundred and fifty men, well armed and equipped. They were strong enough to protect our travellers against any combination of aborigines, but were themselves little else than a band of plunderers and murderers—worse, in many respects, than the worst aborigines of the country. But the whole country was in a state of perturbation and anarchy,

and there was no travelling at all without a strong and well-armed guard. Mohammed agreed, for a stipulated consideration, to accompany our travellers as far as Kamrasi's country, a native chief whom Speke and Grant had visited on their way from Victoria N'yanza, and whose territory extended to Luta N'zige, the great lake which our travellers were in search of.

After a delay on the road of something more than a year, during which period our travellers endured hardships, privations, and trials such as seldom fall to the lot of humanity, they reached M'rooli, the residence of Kamrasi, and the capital of the Unyoro country. Here they parted with the Turkish escort that had accompanied them for more than a year, and threw themselves upon the protection of an African chief who was utterly unknown to the civilised world, except by the recent and casual visit of Speke and Grant. This chief made fair enough promises, but like those of all savages, they were not intended to be fulfilled, except on such terms as had not been premised, and such as no civilised traveller could be expected to comply with. He engaged to send an escort with them to the lake, and have them conveyed by water from thence to its northern extremity, where they would find the great river issuing from it, and from whence they could easily make their way back to Gondokoro. In this far off and isolated position, they soon found that they had to deal with a treacherous, greedy, unprincipled chief, whose promises could not be relied upon, even in the most trifling matters. They had lost by sickness all their horses, camels, and donkeys, and had left only two sorry oxen to convey them and their baggage. At the same time, their stock of goods, upon which alone they could rely to procure the means of subsistence, was reduced to the lowest figure. Worse than all, both of our travellers were reduced to the lowest condition of health, and were without medicines or suitable nourishment. This was, perhaps, the darkest period in all their journeyings. Just at this crisis, however, an event occurred that was startling enough at the time, but which nevertheless turned to their advantage. The chief, after having extracted everything he possibly could from Mr. Baker's scanty stock of goods, and seeing him in the most

helpless and weakened condition, told him he might go on his journey, *but must leave his wife with him*. This aroused all the fire and indignation of our traveller, and caused him to make a display of energy that utterly surprised this savage chief. But it was the furious and indignant onset of our lady traveller that made the redoubtable chief quail, though he did not understand one word of the Arabic she was pouring in such a torrent upon his head. Under the wholesome terror inspired by this furious onset, the chief was glad enough to get these strangers out of his country. An escort of six hundred men was forthwith ready, and our travellers were soon on their way. This new escort was, in many respects, far worse than the one with which they had travelled. The following sketch will give some idea of their appearance: "The entire crowd were most grotesquely got up, being dressed in either leopard or white monkey skins, with cow-tails strapped on behind, and antelopes' horns fitted upon their heads, while their chins were ornamented with false beards, made of the bushy ends of cows' tails sewed together. Altogether, I never saw a set of more unearthly creatures; they were perfect illustrations of my childish ideas of devils—horns, tails, and all, excepting the hoofs; they were our escort! furnished by Kamrasi to accompany us to the lake." On this journey, Mrs. Baker was brought to the very lowest condition of health, and had to be transported on a litter for several successive days, in a state of perfect insensibility. After eighteen days' travel from Kamrasi's capital, during which time they endured sufferings and privations almost incredible, they found themselves on a high eminence, completely overlooking the great inland sea for which they searched so long, and for the discovery of which they had staked everything. This was a proud moment for them. It was more than compensation for all the trials and sufferings they had already endured, or might have to encounter before they got back to their native home. Their feelings and impressions as they stood for the first time viewing this magnificent body of water, and, if possible, its still more imposing mountain scenery, enclosing it in every direction, are thus graphically described by Mr. Baker himself:

“It is impossible to describe the triumph of that moment; here was the reward for all our labor—for the years of tenacity with which we had toiled through Africa. England had won the sources of the Nile! Long before I reached this spot, I had arranged to give three cheers with all our men in English style, in honor of the discovery, but now that I looked down upon the great inland sea, lying nestled in the very heart of Africa, and thought how vainly mankind had sought these sources throughout so many ages, and reflected that I had been the humble instrument permitted to unravel this portion of the great mystery, when so many greater than I had failed, I felt too serious to vent my feelings in vain cheers for victory, and I sincerely thanked God for having guided and supported us through all dangers to the good end. I was about 1,500 feet above the lake, and I looked down from the steep, granite cliff upon those welcome waters—upon that vast reservoir which nourished Egypt and brought fertility where all was wilderness—upon that great source so long hidden from mankind; that source of bounty and blessings to millions of human beings; and as one of the greatest objects in nature, I determined to honor it with a great name. As an imperishable memorial of one loved and mourned by our gracious Queen, and deplored by every Englishman, I called this great lake ‘the Albert N’yanza.’ The Victoria and the Albert lakes are the two sources of the Nile. ***** It was a grand sight to look upon this vast reservoir of the mighty Nile, and to watch the heavy swell tumbling upon the beach, while far to the south-west the eye searched as vainly for a bound as though upon the Atlantic. It was with extreme emotion that I enjoyed this glorious scene. My wife, who had followed me so devotedly, stood by my side pale and exhausted—a wreck upon the shores of the great Albert Lake, that we had so long striven to reach. No European foot had ever trod upon its sand, nor had the eyes of a white man ever scanned its vast expanse of water. We were the first; and this was the key to the great secret that even Julius Cæsar yearned to unravel, but in vain. Here was the great basin of the Nile, that received *every drop of water*, even from the passing shower, to the roaring mountain torrent that drained from Central Africa towards the north. This was the great reservoir of the Nile!”

The point where our travellers struck the eastern shores of the great lake was in 1° north latitude. From thence they made their way in a large canoe along its eastern borders, until they

reached the mouth of the Somerset, which they followed up to the Karuma Falls, where it had been left by Speke and Grant. From this, but not until after a long and harassing delay, during which time they endured almost incredible sufferings, they laid their course in a northwesterly direction, and struck the Nile at a short distance from the place where it issues from the great lake—"a giant," as our author expresses it, "from its very infancy." A few days' travel along its banks, but not without peculiar hardships and dangers, they reached Gondokoro; and from thence back to Egypt and their native home by the ordinary routes of travel.

The geographical facts brought out by these discoveries may be stated in a few words. Between two great, but irregular, ranges of mountains stretching across the equator, and between three and four hundred miles from the eastern coast of Africa, and, from the earliest periods of history, known as the Mountains of the Moon, are quietly nestled the two great lakes, or inland seas, that feed the great Nile. The most easterly of these has been named the Victoria N'yanza, and the other, the Albert N'yanza. The Victoria N'yanza has an elevation of twelve hundred feet above its larger neighbor, and discharges itself into it by the Somerset. Both of these lakes are fed by the immense tropical rains that periodically fall on the surrounding mountains.* This accounts for the fact that the heaviest body of water is carried down the Nile to Egypt when it is the driest season in that particular part of the country. The precise limits of the two great lakes have not yet been fully settled. Victoria N'yanza lies almost wholly on the south side of the equator. It is about two degrees, or one hundred and twenty miles, from north to south, and of about the same width from east to west, though its eastern borders have not yet been fully surveyed. Albert N'yanza is a much larger body of water. It runs diago-

* It is highly probable that future researches will find a great lake on the western side of these mountains, which feeds the Congo, the third great river of Africa, and which empties itself into the Atlantic a few degrees south of the equator.

nally across the equator from north-east to south-west, and, so far as is known, is cut into two equal parts by the equator. It is at least three hundred miles long, and has an average breadth of ninety or a hundred miles. It is yet to be determined how far it extends in a south-westerly direction. The mountains surrounding these lakes vary in height from three thousand or four thousand to ten thousand feet. The Victoria N'yanza is itself more than three thousand feet above the level of the Indian Ocean. According to the speculations of Sir Roderick Murchison and other writers on geology, this portion of Africa bears no marks of having been submerged in the time of the deluge. The theory has consequently been started that the human inhabitants of that portion of Africa have not a Noachic origin; but it is not denied, so far as the theory is known, that they are the immediate descendants of Adam. It is very evident, however, that there is nothing peculiar in the character or origin of this particular portion of the African race. It is easy to demonstrate that they belong to that general family of the negro race which overspreads the whole of the southern half of the African continent, and have been distinguished by most writers of late as the Ethiopian family, in distinction from the Nigritian stock, which inhabit the northern part of the continent; sometimes they have been designated as the Nilotic family, as having had their origin along the banks of the Nile, in distinction from the Nigritian, who had their origin and chief residence in the valley of the Niger. Whatever diversity there may have been in the origin of these two families, there is no doubt that the various tribes described by Baker as occupying the mountains of the upper Nile, are undoubtedly the same family as the M'pongwes and Congoes on the west coast of Africa, the Kafirs and the Zulus in south Africa, and the Swaheres and other tribes on the coast of Zanzibar. There is a close affinity in the dialects of these different tribes, so much so that most of the proper names given by our author may be interpreted by M'pongwe and Congo vocabularies. Their relationship may also be identified by their general character, customs, manners, and especially by their superstitious notions.

What are to be the practical results of this great discovery, it is not very easy to decide. As the settlement of a great geographical fact, it is a matter of great moment, and every lover of science will rejoice that the question is at last fully and satisfactorily settled. The author well deserves the honor of knighthood conferred upon him since his return by the sovereign of the British empire.

As to any very important commercial results, they will not probably be realised for a long time to come. The only commodity that the country offers at present that would pay the expense of transportation, is ivory; and this, from the very nature of the case, must always be quite limited. The inhabitants of the country must be raised to a very considerable measure of civilisation before they will be able to furnish such articles of native produce as will pay the expense of transportation, or be fully prepared to appreciate those articles of merchandise which the civilised world would expect to give them in exchange. The Nile can be successfully navigated only by steam, but it is doubtful whether these newly discovered regions could, in any ordinary length of time, furnish a large enough amount of produce to meet the expense of fitting out a single steam expedition. It is nearly forty years since the outlet of the Niger was discovered, opening a highway for steam navigation to the very heart of central northern Africa; and yet we are not aware that more than one private expedition has ever been fitted out to carry on trade in the interior of the country, and that, we know, proved unremunerative. Missionaries are now promoting the cause of civilisation, as well as of Christianity, along the banks of that great river, and commerce in time will no doubt spring up as the necessary consequence of this. The same will be the case, in all probability, along the banks of the higher Nile. The climate is unhealthy, it is true; but missionaries will, somehow or other, manage to live there, as they have done along the west coast of Africa, and commerce will follow as one of the indirect fruits of missionary labor. Our author falls into the common but mistaken notion that commerce and civilisation must precede and prepare the way for Christianity. But the

true state of the case is, that Christianity, and Christianity alone, can prepare the way for any degree of permanent civilisation. Untutored savage man will never feel any desire to improve his outward condition, until his religious nature has been stirred and acted upon.

No thoughtful reader can close the volume we have been reviewing without deep impressions of the mysterious dealings of God's providence with the African race. The curtain lifted from this heretofore unknown portion of that continent, whilst it brings to view natural scenery of great beauty and surpassing grandeur, reveals at the same time scenes of moral depravity that shock every sentiment of humanity. The picture of the universal wretchedness of the race seems to be completed by the revelations of this volume. It has become customary of late to ascribe all the miseries of Africa to the influence of the foreign slave-trade. This, undoubtedly, has been bad enough. But the main cause of these sufferings lies further back and much deeper. It is to be traced to the deep and universal depravity of their own natures. If we can rely upon the united testimony of such men as Baker, Speke, Du Chaillu, and other travellers of scarcely less note, those portions of this continent that are farthest removed from the influence of the slave-trade are nevertheless just as much afflicted as those that have been burnt over and over by it. What do these travellers encounter at every step they take in these unknown and mysterious regions but anarchy, oppression, social disorder, petty jealousies, endless strifes, plunder and robbery legitimated, incessant petty warfare, desolated farms and burnt villages? Indeed, if it were not for their own avarice and lust, and the universal disorder consequent upon these, the slave-trade could not maintain its hold upon this unfortunate country.

But what seems equally, if not more, strange, is that the transplanting of these people to other climes and more favorable circumstances does not seem to ameliorate their condition or improve their prospects. What, for example, has been the history of Hayti for the last half century, but one continued scene of internal strife and bitter warfare? The British government,

in its earnest zeal for the cause of freedom, not only emancipated their West India slaves, but bestowed upon them the elective franchise and every other privilege that the most favored British subject could claim. And what has been the result? That after nearly forty years of the most favorable experiment, the government has been compelled to withdraw most of these privileges, and many of the leading minds of the country do not hesitate to acknowledge their inability to manage and elevate this anomalous people. The negro is not incapable of improvement. We regard it as a reflection upon the divine government to affirm that he is. The great error of the British government was that of hurrying the negro prematurely into a condition of society for which he was not prepared, and which of course he failed to maintain, even in the most favorable circumstances. In the face of all this, the United States Congress is attempting to initiate a scheme in the Southern States that is wild and unadvised beyond conception, and which, in our judgment, must ultimately prove as disastrous as it is wild and unadvised. It is not of emancipation that we complain. This has not disturbed the good feeling that has always existed between the whites and the blacks of the South. The two, in their new and altered relations, we now believe, might live together in peace and harmony, and promote each other's welfare and happiness. The negro feels his dependence upon the white man, and is willing to cultivate his lands for a fair compensation, and under the influence of wholesome laws. The white man, on the other hand, has no other than kindly feelings towards the blacks, and it is equally his interest and inclination to treat them fairly and promote their happiness. Indeed, we can say in all honesty, that the Southern white man is really the only true friend the negro has. It was so when slavery existed, and it is not less so now. But what we complain of, is, not that the negro has been emancipated, but the wicked and insane attempt that is now made to take the elective franchise out of the hands of the white man, who alone can use it advantageously for both whites and blacks, and place it in the hand of the negro, who has no more conception of its true use than the wildest negro in the Mountains of the Moon. Whatever

may have been the prompting motive of this measure on the part of Congress, whether it was the perpetuation of their own political power, the humiliation of the white men of the South, or an indirect mode of confiscation, or all these combined, it has no parallel in the legislation of civilised nations, and, unless it is arrested by a kind and merciful Providence, it will not only prove ruinous to the country, but must result, sooner or later, in the overthrow and ultimate ruin of the black race.

We close our article by quoting the views of our author in relation to the character and capabilities of the negro. Coming from what may be regarded as an impartial source, they deserve our most serious consideration.

“The black man is a curious anomaly, the good and bad points of human nature bursting forth without any arrangement, like the flowers and thorns of his own wilderness. A creature of impulse, seldom actuated by reflection, the black man astounds by his complete obtuseness, and as suddenly confounds you by an unexpected exhibition of sympathy. From a long experience with African savages, I think it is as absurd to condemn the negro *in toto*, as it is preposterous to compare his intellectual capacity with that of the white man. It is unfortunately the fashion for one party to uphold the negro as a superior being, while the other denies him the common powers of reason. So great a difference of opinion has ever existed upon the intrinsic value of the negro, that the very perplexity of the question is a proof that he is altogether a distinct variety. So long as it is generally considered that the negro and the white man are to be governed by the same laws and guided by the same management, so long will the former remain a thorn in the side of every community to which he may unhappily belong. When the horse and the ass shall be found to match in double harness, the white man and the African black will pull together under the same *regime*. It is the grand error of equalizing that which is unequal, that has lowered the negro character, and made the black man a reproach.

“In the great system of creation that divided races and subdivided them according to mysterious laws, apportioning special qualities to each, the varieties of the human race exhibit certain characters and qualifications which adapt them for specific localities. The natural character of those races will not alter with a change of locality, but the instincts of each race will be devel-

oped in any country where they may be located. Thus the English are as English in Australia, India, and America, as they are in England, and in every locality they exhibit the industry and energy of their native land; even so the African will remain negro in all his native instincts, although transplanted to other soils; and those natural instincts being a love of idleness and savagedom, he will assuredly relapse into an idle and savage state, unless specially governed and forced to industry.

“The history of the negro has proved the correctness of this theory. In no instance has he evinced other than a retrogression, when once freed from restraint. Like a horse without harness, he runs wild, but if harnessed, no animal is more useful. Unfortunately, this is contrary to public opinion in England, where the *vox populi* assumes the right of dictation upon matters and men in which it has had no experience. The English insist upon their own weights and measures as the scales for human excellence, and it has been decreed by the multitude, inexperienced in the negro personally, that he has been a badly treated brother; that he is a worthy member of the human family, placed in an inferior position through the prejudice and ignorance of the white man, with whom he should be upon equality.

“The negro has been, and still is, thoroughly misunderstood. However severely we may condemn the horrible system of slavery, the results of emancipation have proved that the negro does not appreciate the blessings of freedom, nor does he show the slightest feeling of gratitude to the hand that broke the rivets of his fetters. His narrow mind cannot embrace that feeling of pure philanthropy that first prompted England to declare herself against slavery, and he only regards the anti-slavery movement as a proof of his own importance. In his limited horizon, he is himself the important object, and as a sequence to his self-conceit, he imagines the whole world is at issue concerning the *black man*. The negro, therefore, being the important question, must be an important person, and he conducts himself accordingly—he is far too great a man to work. Upon this point his natural character exhibits itself most determinedly. Accordingly, he resists any attempt at coercion; being free, his first impulse is to claim an equality with those whom he lately served, and to usurp a dignity with absurd pretensions, that must inevitably insure the disgust of the white community. Ill-will thus engendered, a hatred and jealousy is established between the two races, combined with the errors that in such conditions must arise upon both sides. The final question remains, Why was the negro first introduced into our colonies—and to America?

“The *sun* is the great arbitrator between the white and the black man. There are productions necessary to civilised countries, that can alone be cultivated in tropical climates, where the white man cannot live if exposed to labōr in the sun. Thus, such fertile countries as the West Indies and portions of America being without a native population, the negro was originally imported as a slave, to fulfil the conditions of a laborer. In his own country he was a wild savage, and enslaved his brother man; he thus became a victim to his own system; to the institution of slavery that is indigenous to the soil of Africa, and that has *not been taught to the African by the white man*, as is currently reported, but that has ever been the peculiar characteristic of African tribes.

“In his state of slavery, the negro was compelled to work, and, through his labor, every country prospered where he had been introduced. He was suddenly freed; and from that moment he refused to work, and, instead of being a useful member of society, he not only became a useless burden to the community, but a plotter and intriguer, imbued with a deadly hatred to the white man who had generously declared him free.

“Now, as the negro was originally imported as a laborer, but now refuses to labor, it is self-evident that he is a lamentable failure. Either he must be compelled to work, by some stringent law against vagrancy, or those beautiful countries that prospered under the conditions of negro forced industry must yield to ruin, under negro freedom and idle independence. For an example of the result, look to St. Domingo!

“Under peculiar guidance, and subject to a certain restraint, the negro may be an important and most useful being; but if treated as an Englishman, he will affect the vices but none of the virtues of civilisation, and his natural good qualities will be lost in his attempt to become a ‘white man.’”

ARTICLE II.

THE CREATION.

God never acts without reason. In the material world and the spiritual, every exertion of his majestic power is guided by infinite and unerring wisdom, which comprehends and permeates every action. The acorn germinates, the mountain oak falls; the infant is born, the old man dies; new governments arise, old political establishments decay; peace reigns, war rages; joy gladdens the heart of the Christian, and remorse scourges the soul of the sinner—because wisdom dictates it, because it is reasonable and right. “Known unto God are all his works,” “and from the throne of his holiness” “his kingdom ruleth over all.” Assured of this, the study of the dispensations of his providence and the mighty acts of his power, is always inviting, instructive, and beneficial. If successful in the search after the reasons by which the Almighty was pleased to govern his acts, we have additional evidence of his goodness and his love, and a fresh impulse to devotion. If we fail to fathom the depths of his mysteries, humility will bid us bow to, and faith will lead us to adore, that God who is the author of that which we understand not. And if indeed, because of the earthiness which envelopes us, we should be averse to this study, it is still our duty, because the Father himself has commanded it, that we may behold and love the beauty and perfection of his character, and seek after that spiritual exaltation which will assimilate us to him. Nor are we in these investigations to rely solely upon the suggestions of unaided reason; but we must move forward under the guidance of those truths which God in his goodness has revealed to us in Nature and in Revelation. Then, many of those mysterious acts of his providence and power which cause us to doubt and rebel, will lead us to believe and adore, his ways will be vindicated, and fresh delights will spring up in his service. With these views, we propose to consider the work of Creation;

not vainly presuming that we have mastered the subject, but with the humble hope that we may point others to a path of useful and edifying investigation. And we shall consider—

I. The necessity of Creation.

II. The character of Creation.

III. Why Creation should sustain such a character.

To prove the necessity of creation, let us consider—

1. That God is essentially a Creator. For if he were wanting in this element of completeness, his character would be imperfect, and he would therefore cease to be God. Besides this, nature, which is itself a creation, points us to him, who was its great First Cause; and revelation teaches us that he bespangled the firmament with its stars, and moulded the earth into its form, by the “breath of his power.”

2. God is always active. Action is necessarily implied in the idea of a Creator; for how could God create without the utterance of the word of his power, or without the “stately stepplings” of his majesty? The material universe, having been created, cannot be preserved but by the exercise of omnipotent power; and the holy decrees of his will must be brought to pass by the exercise of his sovereign volition.

3. God is omnipresent. “Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up unto heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there; if I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.” To govern all things, God must be present with all things; for a creation, free from his presence, would be without the pale of his power. The obstinate sceptic, wrapped up in and proud of his earthly idealities, may attempt to laugh, to mock; but from the bosom of the universe comes the voice, “Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord?” and the bold unbeliever falls prostrate in the dust.

4. God is omnipotent. A power that could successfully resist him would divide his kingdom, and his sovereignty would cease. He would be “as one of us.” Without a power that is absolute and irresistible, that mysterious, sublime order which governs in

all things would be left to the fickleness of chance; the laws, which he has established, would be annulled; and a "wreck of matter and a crush of worlds" would resolve us into original chaos. Should he purpose to create, his arm might be stayed. The throne of his supremacy would totter to its fall, and the sovereign Ruler become the downcast subject. This cannot be; for "the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

These attributes, while they are separate and distinct in the divine character, do yet mysteriously and harmoniously blend in every movement of the Deity. And this, too, from necessity; for otherwise the purposes of God might be thwarted, because of the conflict of his own powers. Should wisdom dictate the creation of matter, his spirituality might oppose, and the stretched out arm would be motionless. This cannot be, for God is consistent. Whenever he moves, whether to create, to preserve, or to save, there we behold a beautiful commingling of justice, mercy, eternity, unchangeableness, omnipotence, omnipresence, and every attribute of the Godhead.

These things being true, we can easily perceive the *necessity* of creation. God is a Creator, and as such is active; and as such he is active in every place, and with irresistible power. Therefore, there must be a creation. God spoke, and from the depths of nonentity the universe emerged into being; his Spirit "moved upon the face of the waters," and myriads of worlds, arrayed in beauty, in order, in light, took their stations in space and began their grand diapason of praise to him who made them.

Having established the necessity of Creation, we come next to the consideration of—

II. The character of Creation.

1. It is material. And this matter is good, is combined in various forms and in different degrees, possesses unity, individuality, order; and completeness characterises each individual part and crowns the whole. That creation is material, we need only bend our eyes to the earth for proof. That this matter is good, we learn from the character of him who made it, and its wonderful adaptation to the uses for which it was designed. The earth was made for tillage, and the toil of the husbandman

is rewarded with a bountiful harvest. Ten thousand lights glow and sparkle above us, because for this were they designed. The combinations of this matter in various forms we see in the soft clay, the granite rock, the opening flower, the sturdy oak, and every formation of nature; its different degrees we behold in the grain of sand, the hill, the mountain, the earth, the universe of stars, and in the gradual progression from the lowest order of animal existence to the crowning work of earth, mankind; yea, and beyond, even to the throne of God himself. Nature tells us that this matter is one; that the countless worlds which people space form one grand unity, under the control of the same immutable laws. And, at the same time, she whispers to us that each of these worlds is a distinct, separate existence, "a wheel within a wheel," which, while it forms a part of the magnificent whole, is still entire and sufficient within itself. And from nature, too, we learn that order pervades this matter. The lesser moves with the greater wheel; the power which attracts or repels a system, attracts or repels each orb of that system, and thus harmony reigns. And completeness characterises each individual part and crowns the whole. We believe this, because otherwise the work must be imperfect, and it is inconsistent with the character of God that he should be the author of a work that is not perfect and complete.

2. Creation is material and spiritual combined. And this work is man. When made, he was good, the "image of God;" to him was given dominion over all the earth and every living thing thereon; and with all this, he was mutable. His body was formed of the dust of the ground, and into the nostrils of this body the Lord God breathed the "breath of life, and man became a living soul." Spirit tabernacled with matter, and senseless dust became connected with an immortal intelligence. And God beheld this matchless work and saw that it was very good. Not only so. This "living soul" was stamped with the impress of the divine character, and was made an image reflecting in miniature the majesty and perfections of the inapproachable Trinity. What wonderful exaltation—a godlike creature! Thus fashioned, God said unto them, "Replenish the earth, and

subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." Here we behold, with gratitude and praise, the divine right of our kingship; our warrant for wielding the sceptre of dominion. But with all this, man was mutable—liable to change; for his will was free, and no will is immutable unless sovereign and irresistible; for the lesser must bend when met by the greater. Hence, God alone is unchangeable. This mutability is also recognised by the Father in his commands to man "to have dominion," and to refrain from eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. These commands recognise the power to obey or disobey, to exercise authority or to refuse its exercise, to eat of the fruit or to abstain therefrom. If he could do these things, he must have been capable of change. Thus moulded, man became at once the representative of humanity and of the Godhead, invested with immortal dignity and exercising godlike power, and burdened with the eternal interests of his race. Strange, exalted, responsible, mutable creature! With fear and trembling, let us adore the God that made us. "His thoughts are not our thoughts, and his ways are not our ways."

3. Creation is spiritual. In this we have the angels. And these are pure; serve God as ministering spirits to his saints, and as ministers of vengeance to his enemies; and, in the service of the upper sanctuary, worship him with ascriptions of praise, of honor, and of glory. With the voice of his power, God called them into being to fulfil the sovereign decrees of his will. Born for the skies, they are robed in the spotless white of heaven. Stainless in purity, the immaculate Father has placed them within a habitation where naught that defileth can enter; and the rich fruits upon which they feast, the life-giving waters of which they drink, and the effulgent radiance of the throne in which they bask, preserves them bright, beautiful, and holy forever. These heavenly messengers are sent out by the Father to "minister unto those who shall be heirs of salvation." To the Christian whose heart is swelling with a joy "unspeakable and full of glory," they come with songs of gladness and of praise; and to the weary pilgrim whose path is beset with diffi-

culties and dangers, tribulation and anguish, they come with whisperings of comfort and of hope, "bear him up in their arms lest at any time he dash his foot against a stone," and with hallowed influences woo him to the skies, where a blissful eternal communion with the redeemed shall be the reward of his faithfulness. But to those who disregard the calls of heaven, trample upon its holy laws, and insult the majesty of the Father, they come as ministers of vengeance to make known the "terrible name of the Lord," and to execute upon them the consuming judgments of his wrath. Rebellious Jerusalem bowed under the outstretched hand of the avenging angel, and returned to the God of Israel. In heaven, which is their home, with harps attuned to celestial melody, and hearts ravished with bliss, they sound forth the praises of God, which swell with their increasing joys until the chambers of eternity send back the echo of the ecstatic harmony—"Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb."

These three—the material, the material and spiritual combined, and the spiritual—comprehend every possible form of creation; matter and spirit being the antipodes, and their combination the medium between them. How simple, how complex, how wonderful!

Having thus given the character of Creation, we shall consider next—

III. Why Creation should sustain such character.

1. Why should creation be material? We answer—it is necessary to establish God's omnipotence. Power, to be omnipotent, must be infinite, sovereign, and irresistible. Unless infinite, there would be objects to which it did not extend; unless sovereign, there might be a power above it; unless irresistible, that which opposed might stay its exercise. It must stand alone in its inapproachable majesty. If spiritual, it must extend to and operate upon that which is not spiritual; else it might be concluded that it could not do so, and that would destroy its existence. God is a Spirit. To prove his omnipotence, then, his power must be exercised upon and over not only that which is spiritual, but that which is not spiritual. But that which is

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not spiritual is material. Therefore, matter must be created. And this matter must, first, be good. God is infinite in goodness, without any mixture of evil. "O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good." Being without evil, then, it is impossible that he should impart evil to his material creation; for he cannot impart that which he has not. Hence, being free from evil, matter must necessarily be good. Secondly, it must be combined in various forms and different degrees. We learn this from God's omnipotence and omnipresence as a sovereign. He is "Lord of all," and governs all things absolutely. And thus he governs his material creation. To prove this, it must be shown that no part of this creation can escape his presence or his power. Hence, from the atom we advance through infinite variety of combinations and through numberless degrees, until we reach the boundless universe. These combinations and different degrees teach us that God is present with every part of his material creation, and in the laws which govern in each we see the exercise of his sovereign power. Without them, we might question his presence and his power to form, establish, and govern either; but with them we feel that he is in every place, and controls absolutely and irresistibly. The earth spreads before us its rich variety—its green woods, its rolling prairies, its carolling birds, "the beast of the field," the "fish of the sea," blooming flowers, blushing fruits, lustreless clay and brilliant diamonds, because omnipresence and omnipotence command it. And from the same cause, we have the grain of sand, the towering mountain, the great earth, the shining sun, the solar system, the universe itself, with its peopling systems and worlds, and their grand revolutions through space. Thirdly, it must possess unity, individuality, order, and completeness. And these are required by omnipotence. This almighty power admits of no exception to its absolute sway, lest its existence be doubted. Were there an exception, the exception might prove stronger than the power, and it would end. Only in its triumphant exercise upon all things can its supremacy be established. Unity was given to this matter to establish the power of God over it as such. The earth and the numberless lights that glitter above us

form one grand unity—and, resting in the “hollow of his hand,” testify that God is omnipotent. But does his power stop here? Can he control matter only in one agglomerated mass? To prove that such is not the case, this grand unity is made up of separate, distinct, individual parts—worlds revolving around worlds, system moving within system, in obedience to the word of his power. Order reigns in every part to prove the ability of God to establish it, and completeness belongs to the whole, lest it be said that God cannot perfect that which he has begun. Thus we perceive the necessity of a material creation, the reason of its beauty and its grandeur, and learn how “the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.”

2. Why should creation be material and spiritual combined? or, why should *man* be made? It was necessary to establish God's omnipotence and wisdom. We have already seen that his material creation pays the tribute of obedience to the word of his power. The opposite of this material is the spiritual. Without the union of these, the power and the wisdom to combine them and then rule the combination, might be questioned. To silence this objection of scepticism, infinite wisdom has wonderfully adapted the material for the reception of the spiritual, omnipotence has compelled their union, and governs them therein; and man stands before us a living witness, evincing the wisdom and almighty power of the Father. Having been made, it was necessary that man should, in the first place, be good; for God his Creator is good. Secondly, he must be the image of God. God is a Spirit, and not only so as distinguished from matter, but he is a spiritual intelligence. That he is such must appear in his creation, else the truth may be doubted. It cannot appear in simple matter, for that is the opposite of God's nature, and, as we have seen, was created to establish his omnipotence. It must therefore appear in his spiritual creation. If, then, there were no spiritual intelligences, we would have no evidence that God is such; and to prove that he is, they were made. And the possession of those attributes which belong to God as a

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spiritual intelligence can only be established by their being possessed in some degree by his intelligent creatures; for if one were wanting, it might be urged that it was wanting with God; and that would be such an invasion of the completeness and perfection of his character as would rob him of his divinity. And further: without this mysterious combination of the material and spiritual, and the stamping it with the impress of the divine perfections, we might question the sovereignty of God over such beings. Hence, man was "made in the image of God," possessing intellect, will, and passions, harmoniously blended; pure in heart, surrounded with joys, divine in beauty, and of holy completeness. Thirdly, to him must be given dominion over all the earth and every living thing thereon. This results from his being made "in the image of God." God being the ruler of that which is inferior to him, man must be made the ruler of that which is inferior to him. Being the only spiritual intelligence upon the earth, he is superior to it and its creatures; and, therefore, to him was given the dominion over them. Besides this, how forcibly does this investiture of man with power and dominion remind us of the Father's omnipotence! How inconceivably august and irresistible that Being who can delegate kingly authority to immortal intelligences in the most distant parts of his creation, and then govern them and their principalities by the absolute volitions of his will! Fourthly, he must be mutable. God's will being absolute and uncontrolled, freedom of will must be delegated to man, else he will not be an image of this attribute. Having freedom of will, man is liable to change; for his will must yield to that which is stronger than man himself. Again, if man were immutable, he would be able to withstand God, and the sovereignty of the I AM would cease. But this cannot be. Behold then, O man, in thine own mysterious being, the infinite wisdom, limitless power, immeasurable goodness, absolute perfection, and inconceivable glory of that Being who made thee; and covering thyself with humility, bow down with fear, and reverently adore his matchless name.

3. Why should creation be spiritual? why should angels be made? Without these purely spiritual beings, God could not be

said to be infinite; for his august being would stop short on the confines of spirituality; nor omnipotent, for the measuring of his strength with the "invisible" would be untried; nor yet a spirit, for the evidence thereof would be wanting. But ever jealous to maintain the integrity of his character, and willing to make known his glorious perfections through the testimony of his works, he breathed the breath of his power, and from the regions of darkness sprang legions of spirits, clad in light, to testify of his infinity, his power, and his spirituality. And first, these are pure, for God is pure. Secondly, they serve him as "ministering spirits" to his saints, and ministers of vengeance to his enemies. This is necessary, to show that he commands them, and to prove that he not only governs the material and spiritual creations, each being separate and distinct from the other, but that a connexion has been established between the two, that they form one grand empire which acknowledges the supremacy of his power. Thirdly, in the service of the upper sanctuary, they worship him with ascriptions of praise, of honor, and of glory. His sovereignty requires this. Matter must acknowledge the authority of his will, man must bow to the majesty of his divinity, and winged spirits, basking in the sunlight of heaven, must proclaim him "God over all, blessed for ever more."

Thus we have glanced at the work of creation: God's magnificent temple of the universe. We have beheld its lofty proportions, its wonderful symmetry, the exactness and precision in every part, and the grand beauty of the whole. We have seen the flower blooming upon its pavement, man walking in holiness within its courts, worlds gleaming from its vaulted arch, and high above all, angels rejoicing in light. We have seen the wisdom that contrived it, the goodness that guided in its construction, the omnipotence that fashioned it, the purity that pervades it, and that absolute sovereignty which takes the finished work in the "hollow of its hand" to sustain and preserve it. With reverent awe let us approach the altar, and lift up our voices in ascriptions of praise, of majesty, of power, and of glory to that God "who doeth all things well."

ARTICLE III.

TRUTH.

“What is truth?” This question was asked by Pilate of the Redeemer of the world, when he stood before him as a prisoner; but it was asked only in derision, as he would have asked the same question of any philosopher of Greece or Rome; and without waiting for an answer, he adjourned the court and retired. But little did that proud representative of Rome’s mighty power think that he of whom this question was asked was the embodiment of all truth, and that a day would come when their relative positions would be reversed; when the judge, stripped of his regal power, and without his preterian guards, shall be the prisoner, and the prisoner the judge, attended by all the assemblies of heaven as witnesses.

But what is truth?

From time immemorial volumes have been written on this subject; pens, tongues, and swords, have been and still are called into active requisition, while streams of blood and tears have been made to flow round the earth, and all to solve and settle the question of truth. And a calm spectator, contemplating our world and its anomalous condition from a stand-point on some distant planet, might well ask, but not in the derisive and sneering tone of Pilate, “What is this thing called truth, about which those unhappy mortals are filling the world with commotion, violence, and blood, misery, and death? What is it that so fires their blood, maddens their brains, embitters their pens, and sharpens their swords? Is it an incomprehensible abstraction, or an idealistic myth of which they can discover nothing tangible and real, or some Gorgon monster, sent among them to produce mischief and misery, ruin and death?

Passing by all metaphysical disquisitions and definitions of truth, we respectfully lay before our readers what we consider

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truth to be in its simple and generic sense, whence it came, and for what end it was given.

All truth is from God, who is its sole, exclusive author and dispenser: a simple proposition that will be denied by none but an infidel or an atheist.

Our second proposition is, that whatever God has made in creation and uttered in revelation, is truth. The inspired Psalmist tells us in several places that all God's works are wrought in truth and righteousness; and the Redeemer, praying for his disciples to the Father, says, "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth."

These few quotations, from among the many contained in the Bible, we think are sufficient to establish our second proposition, that all truth is contained in the works and in the word of God, at least all that is necessary for us to know and possess in this present state of existence.

Our third proposition is this: that as all truth is contained in the works and word of God, it divides itself into two grand and general divisions, moral and physical. We use these two terms for the sake of brevity, and to avoid confusion. Under the term *moral*, we place all religious truth, and under the other, all material, or natural and scientific truth: all of the one class is contained in the works of God, and all of the other in his word. And will it not appear on a little reflection self-evident that this twofold kind of truth, moral and physical, is most wisely adapted to the twofold nature and condition of man, the moral to his moral, and the physical to his physical? Do not these two departments of truth—Creation and Revelation—contain all and every thing that man's two-fold nature requires? And what this twofold nature requires, for its preservation, growth, expansion, comfort, and welfare, can be found no where else but in the store-house of Nature, and in the ampler store-house of Grace.

Creation, with all its abundant and diversified truths, is ample to meet all the wants and circumstances of man's material existence here; and revelation, with all its grand and varied truths, is every way adapted to meet all our moral, spirit-

ual and immortal necessities and circumstances. And the proof of the truth of what we affirm of nature, is apparent to all intelligent minds in general, and to the man of science and philosophy in particular, from the fact that out of the abundant and inexhaustible store-house of nature is derived whatever is necessary for, and administers to, the preservation, the welfare, the comfort of life, animal life, for the daily increasing necessities of life—for its enjoyments, for its refinement, adornment, and even for the constantly increasing luxuries of life, which, in process of time and with the social improvement of society, become necessities of life. And let it be well noted and remembered, that all these things, these supplies from nature, still increase in quantity and quality, with the continually increasing demand; all come from the volume of nature, God's first revelation and manifestation of himself to man, and which, like himself, is the same yesterday and to-day, and will be the same until it is no longer needed for the end for which it was given. And this is the divine order in the truth and works of God: the physical or material and temporal first, then the moral, spiritual, and immortal after. And in the work of creation, God saw from the beginning, and furnished from the beginning, whatever man and all the generations of men, would need for their physical existence and well-being, down to the last hour of recorded time; and not only for man, but for all of the inferior orders of animated beings on earth that live and will live. Nor do we believe there is a single natural evil or disease in this world, present or to come, for which God in his wisdom and goodness has not furnished a remedy, which time, science, and skill will discover, death only excepted. And temporal death is only an evil to the wicked; but to the righteous, it is the greatest boon, next to the gift of God, eternal life through Christ Jesus; and is even necessary to place us in the full possession and enjoyment of that. And all the truth we have yet discovered and extracted from this volume of nature, we apprehend is but a small fractional part of what remains unknown. But we do know that all we have drawn from nature and subjected to our control and use, tends to improve and ameliorate human life,

and multiply and extend human comfort and happiness; and this will continue to increase in an increasing ratio, and the increase will be greater in proportion as moral and physical truth, God's two agents, are united and blended together. How far moral agencies will overcome and remove the physical disabilities from our world, is a question of time; barren deserts and inhospitable wilds now dangerous and fatal to human life, under the combined power and operation of moral and scientific truth, may be made to smile and bloom as the garden of God; for it is by truth alone that God will redeem the world from its moral and physical evils and disabilities. This is his single omnipotent agent.

What we have said of the power of material truth to accomplish the end for which it has been given, is equally applicable to the other department of truth, the revelation of God contained in the Bible. It might surely, with safety, be assumed as true, without proof or argument, that God, having given to man a double or twofold nature, the one greatly inferior to the other, and having abundantly supplied the inferior with every thing necessary to preserve its existence and raise it to the highest condition of its susceptibility, would not overlook the *superior* nature, but would provide all things necessary for the welfare, expansion, and improvement to the highest degree of its susceptibility. And if this is not as apparent to all, and as readily admitted by all, as is the truth of the other, it is only because man overlooks and disregards his higher, nobler, and immortal nature; and just in such proportion does he overlook and disregard the means furnished for its welfare and happiness, as well as the end those means would secure.

We believe there is not a material want that man's natural condition requires, nor a natural evil or disease that demands healing and removal, but can be found and will be found in the volume of natural truth. And we as firmly believe and as confidently affirm, that there is not a moral evil, or disease, or want, in the moral world, but has its appropriate remedy in this single volume of God's moral truth, which is just as specifically and as fully adapted to our moral condition and circumstances as is the

department of nature to our material. Surely the declaration, "Where sin hath abounded, grace hath much more abounded," is proof enough of this. The object of grace is to destroy sin, and remove the evils sin has wrought. But how does grace act? It acts by truth, or by its own internal and omnipotent power; for grace is truth, and truth is grace.

It is not only of the highest importance that man should attend chiefly to securing his moral, spiritual, and immortal welfare, but there is an additional reason and consideration worthy of notice; it is that the facilities for securing the moral end of his creation are so much greater than those for securing the other, our material and temporal interest and happiness. Here sin, and the cause of sin, have surrounded the latter with many difficulties and obstacles that render the acquisition of its life-giving, life-sustaining, and life-comforting truths toilsome, dangerous, and uncertain, whether it is in the lowly toil for bread, clothing, and shelter, or in the higher pursuits of literature, science, fame, and renown, political or military. What toil, what watchfulness, what weariness, what fears, anxieties and perplexities; and how often, after all, do these things end in failure and disappointment? But, with respect to the other, none of these things exist to obstruct the way to its enriching, life-giving, and soul-saving truths. Its doors stand open night and day, and all are invited to enter, rest, refresh, and enrich themselves with its imperishable truths, and come again or remain welcome guests forever. ◁

In the department of nature, God in the beginning created whatever is necessary for man's material existence, preservation, comfort, and happiness, during the whole period of his earthly sojourn in time; and from that original stock, has come every thing necessary for the material welfare and support of man, and will continue to come through all succeeding generations, ages, and decades of ages, till the end of time, let the increasing demands be what they may, in quantity and quality. Nature honors every draft that is justly and honestly presented to her. How truly wonderful is this; how far it surpasses all human understanding! A political economist would say that one gen-

eration of men and animals, beasts and birds, would consume all the original fruits of the earth; and for every succeeding generation, a new creation of materials for the support of life would be necessary. But this is not so; from the original stock comes all, and will continue to come, whatever is necessary to sustain the thousand generations of men and all the orders of inferior animal life. Nothing really dies, nothing originally new is created, but all is change and interchange, self-reproducing and extending. And the miraculous feeding of thousands with a few loaves and fishes is a proof and illustration of this. The one was done by the immediate power of God; the other by the established laws and agencies of nature. How marvellous are thy works, O Lord! "Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!"

And now let us turn to the other department of truth—this sacred, solitary volume of eternal truth, the sport and ridicule of fools and infidels, and neglected by millions. Here every thing that man's moral, spiritual, and immortal nature requires, is furnished. Grace inexhaustible; grace free and full; grace commensurate with man's immortality in ample abundance, and furnished before time began, before this earth and these heavens were made. And draw from its life-giving and life-preserving fountains as much and as oft as we may, like the department of nature, there is no diminution: the barrel of meal and the cruse of oil are still full. As in nature, no new dew-drop, no new, original rain-drop, no original particle of matter has been added to the creation, so in grace; here, as in the other, is a sufficiency for all, and for ever. And in both all is still fresh and new; time cannot impair, age cannot enfeeble, nor use exhaust. And that blood that crimsoned the cross and Calvary's hill, though small as respects the quantity,—but how transcendently precious in quality!—though it has washed away the guilt and pollution of millions, is not a drop less, nor is it less efficient to wash away the pollution and guilt of millions more. Oh that men, for whom it was shed, would but see and feel their need of it. As the rock in the wilderness, when smit-

ten by the rod of Moses, poured out its gushing, cooling, and vivifying stream that followed the Israelites in all their marchings and counter-marchings through the wilderness, so follows us that living water, the blood of Christ, of which if a man drink, he will thirst no more.

And now, if what has been stated is true in reference to what truth is, it follows as a most legitimate conclusion, that man's first duty, highest privilege, and dearest interest, combined in one, is the study and pursuit of truth alone; for it is the means God has given us to secure our happiness in time and eternity. Physical truth, in connexion with moral truth, will secure our highest earthly happiness; and the other, the grace of God, can alone secure our eternal felicity. Each has its specific department, and though these departments are different, as their natures differ, their objective point is the same. That point is man's welfare, differing only in degree and duration. Both act in harmony to secure the same end, God's glory and man's good. They are both from God, and speak the language and sentiments of God. Look not to me, says the voice of nature, for immortality, for that is not mine to give; enter not my temples for pardon, and justification, and fitness for heaven, for these are not mine to bestow upon fallen humanity; I myself am tainted with that which has tainted you; I myself need regeneration in all my system; I too am groaning to be delivered from the same body of death which you carry. Look to my elder, my superior sister; she alone can relieve, save, and bless. And the voice of grace says the same. Each system has its work to do, and a perfect work it will be when finished. But they must be embraced and obeyed; otherwise, omnipotent though they be, they will be *inoperative*. Hence they must first be known, then embraced, or received by faith. In every thing knowledge is the starting point, and first step to success; hence the paramount importance of education.

All truth is from God, and knowledge we define to be truth *discovered*; truth discovered is alone worthy the name of knowledge; and any information, intelligence, or education, that has not truth for its foundation, is not only valueless, but may be

positively pernicious. And this definition agrees with the term as we find it in the Bible. Solomon tells us, "that for the soul to be without knowledge is not good." Here he evidently means the knowledge of truth, or truth discovered. And says the Redeemer to the Jews who believed on him, "If ye continue in my word—my teaching—then ye shall know—discover—the truth, and the truth shall make you free." And again, "To know the only true God and Jesus Christ, is life eternal." Here, certainly, something more than a historical, or even intellectual understanding, is meant; it is to *possess* a spiritual union and communion with God and Christ; for this appears to be the scriptural idea of the term as used in the Bible; to hold, to possess, and to enjoy. Knowledge, then, is truth discovered; wisdom is truth embraced, and in this respect does she differ from knowledge; and happiness is the final result, the very end for which truth has been given to us.

And now, it will follow as a necessary consequence, that the amount of comfort, peace, and happiness possessed in this world and the world to come, will be in exact proportion to the amount of truth of all kinds discovered and embraced. And if this be true, the converse of all this will be equally true, both in principle and in fact. Ignorance is truth unknown, and error is truth rejected, while folly is error embraced, and misery is the inevitable end. God has established these things by an eternal and immutable decree, and men and devils cannot destroy it. Ignorance is the absence of knowledge, error the absence of truth, and folly the absence of wisdom, as darkness is the absence of light; and the evils resulting from these will be as great as the good resulting from the opposite qualities, and in removing these evils and the causes that produce them, man is made an honored co-worker with God.

In proportion as truth of all kinds is known and embraced, in such proportion will men and nations be wiser and happier. . As truth prevails, peace and righteousness will prevail, and sorrow and suffering will disappear from the world. And when the last truth in nature, with the last truth in grace, is discovered and fully embraced, fully obeyed, then will come that happy period,

long ago foretold, in which "they shall not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain, (the earth,) for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord." And what is this knowledge of the Lord but the knowledge of the truth of the Lord, moral and physical? And what is the history of our world, but the history of God's providence, the interminable history of the warfare between truth and error, the latter of which the Redeemer will destroy by the brightness of his coming, the full development of his truth. And from the foregoing premises and deductions, it is very easy to understand why so much evil and misery abound in the world. Nor is it because there is no balm in Gilead and no physician there, that God asks why the hurt of the daughter of his people is not healed. But it is because that physician is not called upon, and that balm that can heal every wound and cure every disease, is not applied. God has furnished an ample remedy for all our wants, sufferings, and woes, and if men in their pride and unbelief will not accept of this, they shall die; and any expedients and remedies they may substitute, God will wither and destroy with his curse and wrath. Science and religion must embrace, and join hand in hand, and work together for man's good. God is the author of both, and for our welfare and happiness they were instituted, and from the beginning joined together, but man has put them asunder. And though science, so called, is not necessary to salvation, for many a happy soul has entered heaven that knew not the meaning of the word, yet God made them to be helps meet for each other; they confirm and beautifully illustrate the truth of each other, both proclaiming their Author to be divine. The sceptic, who professes to be the worshipper of nature, can see nothing desirable and beautiful in grace, where all is beautiful and desirable; and, on the other hand, the devotee of the Bible can see nothing in nature, apart from its external beauties, its fruits and its flowers, worthy of his attention and admiration; while its mighty laws, its sublime grandeur, its sublime and profound mysteries, are unknown to him. The former rejects the Bible because of its mysteries, not considering, perhaps not knowing, that there are in nature mysteries whose awful

depths no philosopher has ever yet sounded, and to whose sublimities no mind has ever yet ascended; forgetting that there are awful truths in both which lie, and may forever lie, beyond the soaring wings of science and the boldest deductions of reason; some things in both which are, and may forever be, the exclusive objects of the department of faith alone.

The sceptic objects to revelation, that it contains some things that are contrary to the demonstrations and conclusions of science and the deductions of reason. We first ask him, has science reached her ultimate limits and boundaries on which is inscribed a placard, "Thus far only can you go, and no farther"; and to reason, "Your deductions are forever finished?" In the second place, we ask him, if he finds nothing in nature or in her laws presenting a similar contradiction? How does he account for a well-known fact, well-known to science at least, that when heat descends to a certain temperature, a few degrees above the point of congelation, a complete reversion, or contradiction, to use his own term, takes place in the caloric and frigorific elements? The law of nature is reversed; the expanding power of heat and the contracting power of cold mutually change places, and the water now expands as it freezes. And but for this anomaly in nature, ordered by the wise and benevolent Author of nature, in all regions where water freezes, long ere this time all lakes and rivers there would be consolidated masses of ice. Again, he ridicules the idea of the conversion of sinners, gross sinners, into saints, and the vile and impure into pure and virtuous beings, by some mysterious and invisible process, of which he knows nothing, and respecting which science and reason can inform him nothing. But let us ask him if nature can not teach him something concerning this, something similar to this, something quite as mysterious as this, such as the change or conversion of a loathsome and noxious worm into a beautiful and harmless butterfly; the conversion of a little acorn into a magnificent oak, that can resist the storm and vicissitudes of a thousand years; and the conversion of an unsightly root, that has no form or comeliness, or an insignificant seed, worthless as the dust beneath his feet, into a bril-

liant and aromatic flower, fit to adorn the brow of imperial beauty? Again, the sceptic cannot understand how man's free agency and responsibility can agree with God's absolute sovereignty and decrees as taught in the Bible, and affirms most boldly that the idea is self-contradictory, and therefore both cannot be true. But he does not consider that he knows a similar truth in nature, which to the uninitiated in science appears equally unreasonable and self-contradictory; which is, that the stability, regularity, and harmonious movements of the countless millions of the heavenly bodies that roll through space in apparently opposing and clashing orbits, owe all their unity, stability, order, and harmony to two diametrically opposing forces acting upon them all; which by impinging upon them at a peculiar angle of incidence, impart to them that regular and harmonious motion which has preserved them in their respective orbits since the hour of their creation. "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all!" "How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"

We do not know a single objection that is hurled by the infidel against revelation that is not as applicable to nature, nor a single truth that has not its corresponding one in the former, nor a mystery in the former that has not its analogy in the other. And the fact is, the more we study both, with a sincere love of truth and desire for it, the stronger will be our conviction that God alone could be the author of both. And while the student of nature rejects the Bible, the student of the latter too little studies the former. Even at this time, how little do we know of the vast truths contained in both! This should teach us humility, and stimulate us to greater diligence in the study of all truth. And yet, there are some who think and affirm that the Bible has been so thoroughly explored and searched that nothing more can be discovered in its sacred pages. Those who thus speak, know but little of the Bible, less of God, and still less of themselves. As well might the embryo amateur of botany and mineralogy, who could analyse a single flower or describe the properties of quartz, granite, or felspar, fancy that he had mastered the wonders of the floral world, and explored the depths of

the mineral and geological kingdoms. But the acquisition of true knowledge tends to show us how little we do really know, in comparison with what we do not know; and this produces two happy results in a well balanced mind—profound reverence for God, and greater humility in ourselves.

While we believe that all truth necessary for man's temporal and eternal welfare and happiness was created or furnished from the beginning, and laid up in their respective store-houses, yet it seems from the history of the world, that God issues it out to us just as man's increasing wants and circumstances require it; when the time has come, "the fulness of time," then come the necessary truths in nature; they come in those discoveries and inventions so necessary to meet the exigencies of man, society, and the world. And is not this equally true in reference to the other great department of truth? Does not history demonstrate the truth of both? God has not, and does not pour out upon us his treasured blessings, treasured from eternity, at once; this would be too much for man to receive, and too much to enjoy; our appreciation of them would be inversely to their abundance, and our capacity for enjoying them would be inversely to their quality. The *feeling of want* is necessary to a proper appreciation; and destitution and suffering necessary to the true appreciation of possession, enjoyment, and happiness. Thousands of years rolled on in darkness over this sin-smitten world before the Star of Bethlehem shone upon it; and thousands more may intervene before the Sun of righteousness ascends to his millennial noon-tide splendor. All we can say in reference to this is, "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight."

Our duty is to believe and trust, wait and adore. How long a time does it take for one important truth, physical or moral, to establish itself firmly in the world; and in proportion to its importance is the protracted period to its final establishment, and the opposition it encounters is equal to its value and its excellence. And hence, from the time of King David to the present hour, God's people are still exclaiming, "How long, O Lord, how long?"

Man is, of all animals in this world, the most impotent; he sees how much is to be done that should be done, and how little is done. Short is our period of useful activity and labor here; a score or two of years at most are all that are allowed to us for usefulness; hence our impotence. But we should remember that God has the ceaseless ages of eternity in which to perform his work, and that a thousand years or ten thousand are to him less than a day is to us. Nor can we hasten his purposes by our impatience, nor prevent them by opposition.

One reason why truth often fails of success—and this is especially the case with gospel truth—is the absence from it of the *spirit* of truth, the spirit of the Author of truth. Truth must be taught and practised in the spirit of love. An orthodox head must be accompanied by an orthodox heart. When this is not the case, and history furnishes us with many such instances, truth becomes the cause of much evil. If Satan can hold possession of the heart, he is willing to compromise and let the head be the depository of some or of much truth. He knows that the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life; and we know that truth may be, and often is held in unrighteousness. And an orthodox head is no match for him in the heart; the omnipotent, Holy Spirit of God is alone a match, and more than a match to expel him from that citadel of life. It is sad and painful to consider how much evil is done in the names of the two dearest words in our language—religion and liberty! What crimes are committed in their names! Reader, pause, consider, and reflect; remember that human sacrifices have been offered to the God of heaven in Christian lands and by Christian hands, so called. And this will serve as a solution of a strange declaration of our Saviour to his disciples, when he tells them, “Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword; for I am come to set a man at variance against his father, the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man’s foes shall be they of his own household;” and again, “he that killeth you will think he doeth God service.” How can we reconcile, asks the infidel, with a triumphant flourish of trumpets, that first quotation with the na-

ture of the gospel which professes to bring peace, and to breathe nothing but good will to men? The answer is this: It sometimes happens, and not unfrequently in this world, that the *direct* intention of a purpose, whether good or bad, is counteracted and defeated by its *indirect* consequences, which indirect consequences are the very opposite of the original intention. A few examples will fully illustrate the truth of this position. The direct intention of human legislation is to suppress and prevent crime; but no human ingenuity can make a law, or a set of laws, that wicked ingenuity cannot evade, and without violating the letter of the law; hence, there is a necessity for supplemental laws to meet those evasions; but these laws meet the same fate with the original statutes; and hence it follows that just in proportion to the multiplication of laws will be the multiplication of crimes. And this is not the fault of law, but only its misfortune; for it requires a higher power than law to eradicate *that* from the heart of man which is the cause of all crime. Another case, where the direct intentions were wicked and murderous, but were defeated by their indirect consequences which were good, is that of the conduct of Joseph's brethren towards himself. The measures they adopted to defeat his dreams, which caused their envy and hatred, were the very measures that, in a line of circuitous events, brought about the literal fulfilment of his dreams, as they found in their humiliation and shame when they bowed before him to ask for life and liberty. Another is the crucifixion of the Redeemer by the scribes and Pharisees. They felt assured that, by his death, his doctrines, which were so offensive to them, would disappear, and they would hear no more of them and him; but were ever direct, wicked intentions so completely and triumphantly counteracted and defeated by the indirect consequences which they as little expected as they doubted the complete success of their measures? And in this way, God defeats man's wicked purposes; he makes their wrath to praise him, and the remainder of it he restrains. And now, with respect to the passage quoted from the Redeemer's sayings—in this, as in other passages of a similar nature in the Bible, *indirect* consequences resulting from the gospel, or from its perversion and corruption

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by men, are spoken of as though they were its *direct* intentions. How strange to us are the ways of God; how different from our ways are his, and his thoughts from our thoughts! He works, and makes angels and men and the elements to do his will; and men often are doing his will when they know it not, and would not if they knew it.

Another truth is, that to God nothing is little or insignificant that he deems useful, and nothing great that does not promote his designs. And what we might regard a truth of little value, he may have clothed with an important commission.

A solitary ray of light from some distant star on the frontier posts of the universe has been travelling downwards for thousands of years, when it is accosted by some aerial wanderer which says to it, "Poor little ray, whence comest thou, and whither goest? Cease thy wanderings, and return to thy birth-place and home." "Stop me not," it replies, "I have been sent on a mission by him who created me, and on and on will I go, till I reach my goal; then and there will I stop; and then and there will I learn for what purpose I was created."

A solitary traveller among the summits of the Rocky Mountains, or the Andes, sees a little rill whose source he could cover with his foot, and says to it, "Little rill, what doest thou here, amid these wild and solitary hills, and whither wanderest thou?" "I am going to make a mighty river that will benefit the world." "Ha, indeed! you look as if you could make a river!" And on he goes, meeting another and another, and from all he receives the same answer. "Why, how is this?" in astonishment he asks; "all going to form the same river, and yet all pursuing the most devious and opposite and contrary courses, you never can unite." "We know not," say they; "we know that for this end we were made, and His hand that created us will guide us to the points of conjunction, and the river will be formed; we have nothing to do but to flow on, and ask no questions, nor pause on our course." And on they go, leaping, singing, and laughing, winding and counter-winding, until at last all are united, commingled and tossed in the mighty flood of the Mississippi, or the mightier flood of the Amazon.

And thus it is with the truth of God, and with the dispensations of his providence too. How intricate, how devious, how mysterious in their course and history! How do they disappoint our hopes and confound our best-laid plans and calculations; now clear, bright, and sparkling, and anon gliding from us, until lost to view, and again appearing suddenly where least expected. But every truth has its objective point, and every dispensation of his providence has its aim also; and none shall fail, but all at last will unite and accomplish the end for which they were ordained. And out of confusion will come forth order, out of discord harmony, out of darkness light, out of evil good, and out of deformity the perfection of beauty.

But with pain and sorrow it must be confessed, that in these times of commotion and wild excitement, as well as fanatical revolution, there is a sad decay of the love of truth, evangelical and spiritual truth. Infidelity, hopeless of success in a warfare of open hostility against Christianity, has changed its tactics and its base of operations, and ceases now to fight its battles on its original battle line. Assuming, like its author, the garments of light and truth, humanity and love, it now comes forward, not only as the greatest friend of man, but of divine truth. It denies nothing directly that men regard as sacred, but gives a new and plausible, and to the corrupt heart, a fascinating interpretation to truth, which meets with too ready a reception among men whose minds are in possession of but little spiritual knowledge, and in whose hearts is still less of grace. They profess to preach Christ, but not the Christ of the Bible; they profess to follow him, but so far from him, or in paths so oblique and circuitous, that they never see him. And they profess to be his scholars, and in his school, but if so, they choose their own lessons and discard his. And from this insidious foe the Bible is in more danger than it ever was from the open and direct attacks of all the hosts of infidelity. Under the guise of love and reverence for the Bible, they seek its destruction. To demonstrate this position—just expunge from its sacred pages all that the Unitarian and Socinian schools ignore; then exclude all that the Universalists reject, next all that the ex-

treme Arminians oppose of the sovereignty of God and election; then take out all that the Antinomians repudiate of personal responsibility; and then last, but scarcely least, throw away from the sacred oracles all that the "Higher Law" men reject, who in their blind fanaticism have abolished a divinely-permitted institution, declaring *that* to be sinful and supremely wicked which God approved in Israel, and Christ and his apostles sanctioned in the Church. Now strike out all we have designated, and how much divine truth will be left of the last and only hope of dying men and a dying world? Surely there is danger ahead, dark and fearfully ominous; while a deep sleep seems to have fallen upon the world, or a moral apathy in reference to this existing state of things.

We are of those who are more hopeful than fearful, far more disposed to look upon the bright side of things, and to seek for a bright side, than the dark, because we have an abiding faith in God and his providence, though he surrounds himself with clouds and thick darkness, and turns his face away from us in anger for a time. We know he will execute all his purposes and fulfil all his decrees of judgment, mercy and truth, and fill the world with righteousness and peace. But we cannot shut out the conviction that that happy time is far distant; and before it comes, a long period of calamity and woe, blood, and desolation will intervene. Nor do we believe that this world, the material world, is on the eve of its final catastrophe, because there are many important prophecies yet to be fulfilled; but we cannot drive away the impression that the present political and ecclesiastical institutions of the world are approximating, and that rapidly, to a fearful crisis, if not dissolution. These impressions, like Banquo's ghost at Macbeth's dinner-table, "*will not down*" at our bidding.

We, in this beautiful and sunny land, once the home of elegance, intelligence, honor, hospitality, and chivalry, are called upon to suffer what has befallen few, if any nations, and the end does not yet appear. Driven by a long course of systematic provocations to take up arms in defence of those rights guaranteed alike by that great charter of rights, the Declaration of

Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, we were overwhelmed by superior numbers; but though we submitted, we are still vexed and harassed with insult upon insult, added to injury, as though our enemies aimed at our extermination. But let us be patient and endure unto the end, giving no cause of offence to the adversary. God, for wise and gracious purposes, permits such things to be. Such is the history of the world, and the history of the world is the continual history of his will and providence to man. And men and nations, like the great divine Redeemer of the world, must be made perfect through suffering. "In your patience possess ye your souls," is his standing mandate. "Be still, and know that I am God."

God will safely shelter under his wings of mercy those who trust in him, and are true and faithful to him, until these calamities are overpast. And out of these present afflictions, blessings large and many in time shall arise, if not to ourselves, to those who will come after us; for no one generation receives, nor can receive, all of the manifold mercies of God; and it may be our lot to sow in sorrow and tears what will produce a rich harvest for others to reap. Let us not fret ourselves because of the oppressor and evil doer, because in a little while they shall be cut off suddenly, and without remedy; and though they are diligently sought for, they cannot be found, and the places that know them now shall know them no more here forever. "*The Lord God omnipotent reigneth.*" And we do know that it shall be well with the righteous, now and forever, but ill with the wicked.

ARTICLE IV.

THE RESURRECTION.

In all the wide domain of nature, there are no phenomena corresponding with the mystery of the Resurrection. The single illustration of Scripture, "the grain of wheat which is not quickened except it die," is not used to prove the general doctrine, as will appear hereafter. It is a doctrine of pure revelation, contrary to the experience of mankind, and apparently contradicted by the established facts of human science. The whole force of the startling argument of Paul, in his speech before Agrippa, is gathered from the illimitable power of the Creator. "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that GOD should raise the dead?" All objections—the inherent improbability of corruption putting on incorruption; the physical impossibility of gathering up the scattered fragments that once formed the tabernacle of the soul; the direct contradiction betwixt the unbroken silence of the decaying tenement, and the dream of its rehabilitation—are here answered. "Who shall limit the almighty power of God?"

Yet the doctrine of the resurrection is found in all the creeds of Christendom. It is received as fundamental, although it is distinct from and independent of all or any of the so-called fundamental articles in evangelical Confessions. It does not necessarily follow that the body shall rise, because the soul is immortal. A future of rewards and punishments might exist, and all the arguments drawn from the sure retributions of eternity might be urged, if God had never revealed this mystery. It is true, that many passages of Scripture, in which the future life of the body is implied, could not be expounded, if all the direct teachings upon the subject were eliminated from the divine revelation. But the doctrine itself is, so to speak, isolated from all others. It is believed, and must be believed, because God has so spoken, and it cannot be rejected except at the soul's

peril. It is fundamental as an article of faith, because every word that God hath spoken to man must be received, believed, obeyed, upon God's authority. But while men can apprehend the logical connexion between faith in the person and work of Christ, and the redemption of the soul, no such connexion is apparent in this case. The exhaustive argument of the apostle proceeds on this wise: "If the dead rise not, then is Christ not risen; if Christ be not risen, ye are yet in your sins." He argues from the less to the greater; but the necessity—the "needs be"—is clearly the resurrection of the Lord, as without this, the work of redemption would be incomplete. *How* his resurrection involves and secures the resurrection of his people, is a matter of positive, distinct revelation.

Therefore, the amazing goodness of God is specially manifested in the revelation of this doctrine to man. Sin had entered into the world, and death by sin, not merely as the wages of sin, but by inevitable necessity and independently of the law's sanctions. By reason of the federal relation subsisting between Adam and his race, all die in him and by reason of the inherited poison of the tree of death, all men die—naturally, physically, infallibly. One of the grandest demonstrations of the existence and perfections of God is here furnished, in the perfect correspondence between the revealed penalty of an absolute law, and the natural and legitimate consequence of disobedience. And also one of the grandest demonstrations of his abounding mercy is here presented, in the revelation of a literal tree of life, in the midst of the restored paradise of God. All his works are complete and orderly. And when the great army of the redeemed shall be allowed to review the wonderful history of redemption, it is possible that the accurate connexion between cause and consequence—the stately march of events, and their unerring sequences, all corresponding with the glorious perfection of his attributes—will be their most attractive study throughout the endless cycles. "Which things the angels desire to look into!"

The argument in the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians, applies to the resurrection of Christ and his people, and, except

in one brief sentence, does not refer to the resurrection of the wicked at all. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." The antithesis is perfect. As the children of the first Adam inherit death, so the children of the second Adam inherit life. But the doctrine of the general resurrection of humanity, elsewhere revealed, does not connect the raising of the *wicked* dead with the resurrection of the Redeemer. No evangelical creed has ever contained a hint that these also should not arise; and the Bible not only expressly declares that they shall, but also expressly distinguishes their rising from that of the children of God.

I. What then is the resurrection of the body?

1. There are two theories in the world, both of which have been born in the Church. For the dreams of the ancient heathen sages touching the future existence of man, do not reach to this point at all. Out of God's positive revelation, which does little more than announce the doctrine, there have arisen gross conceptions of the nature and manner of this mysterious change awaiting all the sons of Adam. Some have held and still hold the theory that the identical collection of atoms that is left when the soul departs, shall be reinhabited when the soul returns. But the mass of decaying matter, which begins to fall into fragments even before it is hidden in the darkness of the charnel-house, cannot again stand upon the earth in the same aggregation of elements. The rank grass that clothes the battle-field, owes its vigorous growth to the fertilizing ingredients which lie, scarcely concealed from human sight, beneath the surface. The flesh and blood and bones belonging to thousands of immortal souls,—the bodies of the armies that contended for the mastery upon that fatal field,—have ministered of their *substance* to the product of that luxuriant vegetation. And the cattle that fatten there, become in turn the food of other men. No fact in the exact sciences is more clearly established and demonstrable than that the food of all the animal creation is chemically or mechanically assimilated with the living organisms. It is consequently positively certain that the constituent elements of one living body, have over and over again been made up, in part, from the

constituent elements of another. The cannibal tribes of the Southern Ocean will be as really raised from the dead as the refined races of other climes. The identity of the immortal who shall rise in the last day, cannot therefore depend upon the collection and concretion of the scattered elements which formed his body in the days of his flesh. There are multitudes of cases in which this will be simply impossible, as the identical constituents of one body can also be the identical constituents of another.

2. In opposition to this theory, which is thus easily disproved, there have arisen many and various expositions, too ethereal and attenuated for the faith of humanity to fix upon them. It is not an easy matter to state them intelligently. Indeed, it is perhaps safe to assert that no formal statement of any authority has ever appeared on the spiritual side of this subject. It is a system of negations. The soul is not matter, and to those who shall arise to participate in the joys of the kingdom, it is of little consequence what shall be the constituents of their spiritual bodies. To those who shall arise to shame and everlasting contempt, the possession or absence of a sensuous organism will make but little difference in the horrors of their doom. Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom, therefore, flesh and blood shall not arise from the grave. It is not well to be wise above that which is written, and as next to nothing is written concerning the nature of the resurrection, it is safer to indulge in no speculations upon the subject. The happiness of the immaterial immortal spirit will consist in its communion with the Father of spirits, and no provision is made in Scripture for the employment of any of the faculties of the body. This appears to be the sum of the vague and shadowy theories in favor at the intensely spiritual extreme of the Church.

3. But inductions from positive revelations are allowable, and it is revealed that the soul of man is the immortal part of him. *How* it became immortal is an independent question, to be considered later. It is the spirit that lives, believes, loves. In the body or out of it, the life of the soul is indestructible. The word teaches that even the torments of hell, throughout the limitless enduring of eternity, shall not compass its destruction. Its

value, in comparison with the perishing body in which it resides, cannot be measured by words. And it is doubtless the possession of this immortal essence that secures to man his lordship over the visible creation of God. These truisms all tend to one end, namely, the consequent inferiority of that part of man which decays and dies.

Yet the universal experience of humanity contradicts this conclusion. When death enters a household and releases the spirit of some suffering saint from the "cumbrous clay," the bereaved think less upon the glorious existence of the liberated soul than upon the dread calamity that has befallen them. If they are God's children, they *know* the often repeated fact, that their beloved friend is in the paradise of God. But there is another, and an appalling fact, crumbling into its native dust in yonder darkened chamber. There is a natural grief at the loss of loved companionship; but this is not all. Because there is in all men a natural, ineradicable apprehension that the death of the body is a loss and damage. It is an instinct of humanity; and grace, in its highest manifestations, does not change it. Grace enables the mourner to say, "Thy will be done!" but the submissive sentence comes from a heart that is torn and bleeding. And so a compassionate God precisely meets this apprehension, by revealing the doctrine of the resurrection. "Mourn not," he says, "as they who have no hope; because those who sleep in Jesus, shall God bring with him!" The resurrection shall repair and restore the damage and the loss. It is not the promise of the return of the freed spirit, but the assurance of the return of the risen body, wherewith God comforts the mourner.

4. But there is another class—that other portion of the great family of Adam, whose bodies shall not "come with Jesus," inasmuch as their death is not a sleep in Jesus. Yet they also shall arise, for the prediction expressly says so. And in the case of these "wicked dead," the inquiry is the more difficult, because the Bible seems to make a distinction betwixt the "sleep" of one, and the "death" of the other. In its normal condition, the best evidence of the health of the body, is in the total unconsciousness of the existence of its complex machinery.

The life of the body is manifested in each pulsation of the heart, each inspiration of the lungs; yet the functions of these vital organs are performed independently of will or desire. In this regard, the whole animal creation stands upon the same level. Yet the death of man is something more than absent life. It is also the separation of the living spirit from its sometime dwelling-place, which rapidly falls into its original atoms as soon as vacated. Yet more—it is the establishment of the soul in some new sphere, where the individuality of the MAN is as distinctly marked as it was before, and as it shall be hereafter. And finally, it fixes this identity in exact accordance with the *character* of the man—the character formed upon and derived from the habits of thought and belief that were in force while he lived, and which shall be in force when he lives again.

Is not this, then, the solution of the problem? Among other considerations rendering the resurrection of the body necessary to complete the works of redemption and judgment, the indubitable establishment of the man's identity may not be the least in importance. In the brief interval between the soul's flight and the disintegration of the elements that composed its late residence, the "expression"—that mysterious appearance recalling the *character* of the man—remains. So, when the returning spirit shall resume its cast-off garment, the unaltered character of the sanctified soul will once more be impressed upon the natural elements in which it dwells. Who shall say the fulfilment of the promise is incomplete?

Two illustrations will serve to make this argument plain. First, one founded upon those wonderful processes by which nature works in chemical reactions. In the laboratory of the chemist, the various forms of crystallisation proceed in accordance with unknown and uncontrollable laws. Under similar circumstances, the forms are always invariable. The salt is precipitated in flakes or scales or needles, as the case may be, but in order always, and always with beautiful regularity. But while this hidden law can neither be evaded nor controlled, it is possible for the chemist to determine the form of the *mass*. By suspending in the liquid that holds the salt in solution, a globe.

a rhombus, or a square, the incrustation of crystals that fasten upon this substance, will, of course, take its form and shape. Thus, in the resurrection, it may be that the unchanged and unchangeable soul, will attract to itself the elements that shall form its "spiritual body," which elements—so to speak—shall crystallise upon the *true* substance in the form and shape that will make the identity of the risen man unmistakeable. The analogy is necessarily imperfect, because the soul is immaterial; but the boundless universe furnishes no perfect analogy to the mystery of the resurrection.

Therefore, the other illustration, which is the solitary example of Scripture—"the grain of wheat"—seems to fall precisely in the track of this argument. It is proper to observe here, that the quotation from John xii. 24, "except a corn of wheat fall," etc., does not apparently apply to the resurrection at all. It is in the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians, that this figure is used, and even here, it occurs in a parenthesis, as if it were separate from the argument of the apostle. "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die." The death is in order to the product of the new life; and the force of the illustration terminates here. But in the view of the case already suggested, the application has a larger extent. "Thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain. And God giveth it a body, as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body." The buried seed never rises again from its death, but through a thousand years of reproduction, the identical body reappears. That is: the precise proportions of lime, potash, magnesia, and soda, will be found in the risen body while time endures. It is the same, and yet another; identical with the dead seed, as distinguished from the whole family of cereals, and so—the argument proceeds—"there is one flesh of men, another of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds."

5. Therefore, finally: the resurrection of the body is thus far literal. As in the case of the wheat, that which was sown is perished, but the corruption hath put on incorruption. The body laid in the earth contained all the elements of the body that is raised. So also is the resurrection of the dead. The risen body

of the saint or sinner, will correspond in all essential particulars with the body that was committed to the earth. If it was laid in its resting-place, a temple of the Holy Ghost, it will rise a temple, to adorn the realms of endless light and glory; if the hapless soul left it unreconciled to God, it will still be raised and reunited to that soul, and fitted to dwell in the fires of Gehenna. In both cases, the operation of a natural and inflexible law will secure the permanency of the final state: the absolute law precisely according with the absolute decree and promise of God.

“There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body,”—one set over against the other—a marked contrast—and a marked resemblance. The spiritual body is the natural body *risen*; and if any thing is demonstrated by the analogy, it is that it will be a real, tangible, living organism, capable of enduring penal sanctions that have no terror except for physical intelligences, or with capacities for enjoyments that may not be predicated of pure spirits. The difference between the natural and the spiritual is unquestionably a difference wrought by death and resurrection. The contrast presented by Paul, is unquestionably a contrast between the *unfallen* body of the first Adam and the body of the second Adam, and probably his *risen* body. “The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam a quickening spirit. The first man of the earth, earthy; the second man, the Lord from heaven. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also (by virtue of death and resurrection) bear the image of the heavenly.” And this is so evidently the meaning of the passage that the apostle immediately adds the provision for those who shall neither die nor rise. As corruption cannot inherit incorruption, they who are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord “shall be changed,” by a transformation that shall include the pangs of death and the glory of the resurrection, or something equivalent to both.

II. “Christ, the first fruits;” the example, the cause, the earnest of the resurrection of all his redeemed. Whatever doubt there may be concerning the order of the uprising of the two classes into which humanity is divided, there is no doubt upon the mind of any Bible student concerning this fact.

1. The entire scheme of redemption hangs upon the doctrine of the absolute humanity of the Surety, Substitute, and Redeemer. There has never been a sinner who has tasted of his Lord's grace, who has not also learned the preciousness of this doctrine. There has never lived a saint who has through a long life of conflicts been sustained and comforted by his Master's sympathy, who could relinquish this doctrine, any more than he could relinquish the very life of his soul. The man Christ Jesus is the only Captain of salvation. This Royal Man was—is—not only *very* man, but also, in form and development, the highest possible manifestation of human excellence and glory. Upon his vesture and upon his thigh he has a name written, which is King of kings and Lord of lords; and these regal titles belong to him, not only as the second Person of the adorable Trinity, but by virtue of his essential manhood. He fills the throne of the universe, because he is God over all and blessed forever; but he is King of all earthly potentates, because he was once an infant of days, and is now the perfection of matured humanity. Not only Alpha and Omega, but also he that liveth and was dead! Take comfort, O saint, in the true and eternal brotherhood of your divine Redeemer! Take comfort, O sinner, in the eternal manhood of Immanuel, who endured all the temptations to which you are subject, yet without sin!

The second Adam, holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners, was no whit inferior to the first in any human attribute. Never spake man like this man. Aside from the miraculous manifestations of wisdom and power by which his walk and conversation were distinguished, he perpetually exhibited that marvellous propriety of speech and action which has ever challenged the admiration of an infidel world. Those who most strenuously deny his divinity, constantly acknowledge the splendor of his human character. Among the sons of men, no one has ever appeared to compare with the son of David. And as he is the great example for human imitation only so far as his perfections are imitable, so his resurrection is the pattern of the resurrection of his people only to a limited extent. He died under the curse of a broken law, but he rose by the power of

God. The human body of Jesus was laid in the tomb of Joseph, but it saw no corruption. He burst the bars of death by his own power, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. In all these particulars his resurrection differs from that of his people.

2. But there are points of resemblance also.

During the Lord's personal ministry, all of his acts that differed from the usual acts of men, were distinguished as miracles. In walking upon the sea, he suspended the laws of gravitation. It cannot be said that he walked upon the water because his human body was independent of and superior to ordinary laws, for the body of Peter was unchanged, and he also walked upon the same treacherous surface, sustained by the divine power of the Saviour, miraculously exerted. When he "passed through" the struggling multitude that led him to the brow of the hill to cast him down, it is probable that he smote them with temporary blindness. But after his resurrection, he appeared to his disciples twice when they were assembled in a carefully closed room, "the doors being shut." The most natural inference from the gospel narrative, is, that he passed through material obstacles which rendered the admission of an ordinary human body impossible. It will be remembered that the doors of Peter's prison were opened when he was delivered, though the angel who released him had gained ingress to his cell without interfering with these barriers.

Now, the sum of the argument based upon this record is this: Such a change had been wrought upon the Lord's body, by death and resurrection, *and by nothing else*, that he performed acts *naturally* which would have been miraculous before his death. It will hardly be denied that the human organism which emerged from the tomb of Joseph was the identical organism that ascended to the right hand of God. And his redeemed shall have bodies fashioned like his glorious body; so thus far there shall be a correspondence between him, the first fruits, and them who now sleep in him. To distinguish this form of existence from the life inherited from Adam, the apostle calls it "a spiritual body." It vanished from the sight of the two disciples at Em-

maus; it appeared in the midst of the eleven, entering the closed room, as the record clearly implies, in spite of material hindrances. And so the body of the risen saint shall so far excel in power, that by his mere volition he shall convey himself, it may be, from planet to planet, or from sun to sun.

The temptation to launch forth upon the vast abyss—this boundless field of speculation herein opened—is well nigh irresistible.

To sustain this view, there are two suggestions, however, which appear to be reasonable. First: The angels that excel in strength are not ubiquitous. In the accounts that are given in Scripture of their earthly visitations, there is frequently a clear intimation of their rapid passage through space, their superiority to all the established physical laws that control the motions of human organisms, and their power over all the elements of nature. Thus, the angel who appeared to Manoah ascended in the flame of the altar; thus, the angel who delivered Peter from the prison passed through impassable barriers. So the perfected man shall arise, invested with powers equal, at least, to any that are possessed by angels.

Once more: While he is “in the body,”—that is, while he is a victim to the inherited hindrances and disabilities of this mortal life, the true conflict of the saint is betwixt the new-born spirit of life, and the “law that is in his members.” It is a ceaseless antagonism betwixt mind and matter,—betwixt flesh and spirit. And the saint’s growth in grace, is only a succession of victories over an enemy whom defeat neither destroys nor disheartens. These two are contrary, the one to the other, and the warfare is endless while life endures. But in the new body, every pulsation will accord with the will of the spirit, and the domination of the latter over the former will be established. Now, the plaintive cry of the saint is, “Oh that I had wings like a dove;” then he shall mount up as on eagles’ wings, and shall know faintness and weariness no more forever.

3. The narrative in the last chapter of Luke, where the Lord’s interview with the two disciples is recorded, is peculiarly clear and explicit. He appeared to them, and disappeared—“ceased

to be seen"—as he brake the bread. He appeared in the midst of the eleven, suddenly, mysteriously—so that "they were affrighted, supposing they had seen a spirit." It is perfectly manifest that he came and departed in a manner totally different from his custom *before* his passion. Yet he bids them examine and prove by the testimony of their senses that he was no "spirit," no apparition, but a bodily presence. In contradistinction from unreal phantasms, he possessed flesh and bones—the God-man; the *hypostasis* of the schoolmen including the exact idea: not only a distinct and proper personality, but a living, substantial personality. And to dispel their lingering doubts, "he did eat before them." It requires even more than anti-millenarian spirituality to explain away these facts. "Handle me and see that it is I myself," the king Christ, the son of David in his perfected manhood, identified by the scars in his hands and his feet!

III. Next in order is the resurrection of the saints. The often quoted passage in the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, is not "the solitary scripture" that teaches the doctrine of two resurrections. This treatise in the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians, now under examination, seems plainly to distinguish between them.

1. "Afterward, they that are Christ's," and only these. The argument is upon the order of events, and three distinct periods are pointed out, with an apparent interval separating betwixt the second and third, and a known interval of eighteen hundred years betwixt the first and second. It is necessary to examine this entire passage, from the twenty-first to the twenty-sixth verse, inclusive, and for the sake of convenience, it is here quoted in full.

"For since by man—death, by man also the resurrection of the dead; for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive; but every man in his own order:

"Christ the first fruits;

"Afterward, they that are Christ's at his coming;

"Then the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule,

and all authority and power; for he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet; the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed."

There is no appearance of argumentation here. It is the announcement of doctrine, in dogmatic terms.

Death in Adam. Life in Christ. There was no inheritance of immortality derived from the first man, only death. It is sometimes asserted that humanity instinctively shrinks from the thought of annihilation, and this supposed universal instinct demonstrates the inherent immortality of the soul. But no sinner has ever appeared to testify that he preferred an eternity of misery to blank annihilation. The argument thus based upon a questionable fact is therefore valueless, and the conclusion untrue. There is nothing in the record to indicate the immortality of Adam, in his *unfallen* condition; and the burden of probability is on the other side. But since the fall, the question is settled: "In Adam all die."

As the whole of this chapter treats primarily of the raising of the Lord and his people, it would seem that this twenty-second verse referred only to the resurrection of the saints. The force of the antithesis is much greater in this view. As all the natural posterity of the first man inherit death, so all the regenerated seed of the second Adam inherit life. In 2 Cor. v. 14, 15, this exact idea is more clearly stated, though the tense in the English version is incorrectly rendered. "If one died for all, then all died; and he died for all that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and *rose again*." Nothing can be clearer than that the saints alone are interested in this latter passage, upon any hypothesis according with a Calvinistic creed. Nevertheless, the dogmatical announcement of the *fact* in 1 Cor. xv. 22, appears to have a wider scope.

The losses that befell the sons of Adam, in whom all die, included no loss of human "nature." The elements of character which made communion with God possible, were lost, damaged, or so warped out of their normal tendencies, as to be useless. The effect of the forbidden fruit, whether physical or not, was to

poison this nature fatally, and pervading every fibre and nerve, every thought and impulse, made death necessary and inevitable. But Christ, the great healer, applies an antidote, and the death of the sinner is changed into the "sleep in Jesus." Still, the laws regulating the existence of the race remain in force, and the sleeping dust of the saint and the dead dust of the sinner, are alike resolved into the original elements.

Hence, there must needs be some connexion between the resurrection of Christ and the resurrection of *all* the children of men. In the case of his redeemed, this connexion is peculiar. "If he died for them, then they died." He died in their stead, under the curse of the law, and they cannot die again. But the death which the saint thus escapes, is not the ordinary death of humanity. He endures *that*, albeit his name is written in the Book of Life. So the resurrection of the saint is not the ordinary resurrection of humanity. It is from *among* the dead that he arises; an awakening of the sleeper, at the sound of the last trump, and at the voice of the one archangel. But in the case of the sinner, the same potent voice will call him forth at a different era and to a far different fate. For all the sons of Adam have a new inheritance in Christ. He took not the nature of angels into union with his divine nature, but the nature of men; and the direct and inevitable consequence of his incarnation is eternal life to all the race. To his redeemed, it is a life of joy unspeakable and full of glory; to his enemies, it is a life full of woe and horror. Connected with the acceptance of his salvation, is the life of endless bliss, and therefore, connected with the rejection of this salvation, there must needs be the endless endurance of his indignation and wrath. The pillar of fire that shed light upon the camp of Israel, was a cloud and darkness to their pursuing enemies. The immortality that fills the future of the saint with dazzling glory, is a dark and dismal curse to the sinner. In the fifth chapter of John's Gospel, the Lord expressly asserts that the authority wherewith he calls the saint to a resurrection of life, and the sinner to a resurrection of damnation, is based upon his incarnation. "Because he is the Son of man," *all* the dead shall hear and obey his voice.

2. It is proper here to refer to some of the various scriptures that support this theory of a separate resurrection for the children of God, although the passage in 1 Cor. xv. 23, is abundantly sufficient, if it stood alone: "They that are Christ's shall arise when Christ comes." If *all* the dead arise at his second advent, then all the dead are Christ's dead. But there are other texts equally emphatic. For example: Luke xiv. 14, "The resurrection of the just," referring to a time in the future, when the unjust shall *not* arise. Luke xx. 35, 36. "The children of the resurrection, counted worthy to obtain *that world*, and the resurrection from the dead—are the children of God." If there are not *two* resurrections, then all who arise are the children of God. Philippians iii. 11. "If I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead." Hebrews xi. 35. "That they might obtain a better resurrection." And, finally, the unanswerable passage in the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, where the doctrine is so explicitly stated that there is no room for argument. "The rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished."

In all of these scriptures, or nearly all of them, a difference in date is implied. In the first and last, this difference in date is expressly stated.

3. Finally, upon this point: the distinction between the "sleep" of the saint and the "death" of the sinner, appears to be very clearly implied in a multitude of passages. Any reader who may have followed the argument thus far, and who is sufficiently interested to take the trouble, may examine for himself the following texts, which we forbear to quote at large: Matt. xxvii. 52; Acts vii. 60; xiii. 36; 1 Cor. xi. 30; xv. 6, 18, 20, 51; 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14, 15; 2 Peter iii. 4. In all of these scriptures, it is the death of the saints that is spoken of, and in all of them the original word is the same. And in almost all, this "sleep" is predicated of those who shall awake to a happy resurrection. Perhaps there is not a solitary instance in which this word is used to designate the death of the wicked, except in those cases where the quiet and helplessness of this

state is presented in marked contrast with the activity and vigor of the living man.

Now of things herein written, this is the sum: The resurrection is a real revivification of the human body, though not the exact reproduction of the same atomic elements. It is a product of life from death, as the ear of wheat is the product of the dead and buried seed—the ear “quicken^d” by virtue of the decay and dissolution of the seed. The new body will differ from the old one, in that the new is immortal and probably indestructible. The same power that raises the dead affixes to the new existences eternal life. It is called a “spiritual body”—a paradox of the divine word, which finite intelligences can never explain; or certainly not until the marvellous transmutation is a matter of personal experience—but still, a body, individual and identical, even as the bodies of men are distinct and separate organisms while they are in the flesh. And as there never will come a time, throughout the enduring ages, when the creature will exist independently of the Creator, this immortal, indestructible life will ever be maintained by the direct, personal application of the power of God. It may, therefore, be a life that is sustained by food—even the fruit of a tree of life, the mediate agency wherewith God conserves the immortality he promises and secures to the risen body. It may be a life that is renewed, refreshed, invigorated, by constant draughts from the pure river upon whose margins the many mansions of the redeemed shall be build^d. And so the distinctive features of that humanity which Christ has glorified, will be forever preserved, to the praise of the glory of his matchless grace.

Again: As Christ is the first fruits—the earnest of this mysterious harvest—so the redeemed of Christ shall resemble him, when they arise, or are changed and caught up to meet him, when he comes the second time. And as his risen body was not only visible to his disciples, but its identity established by the very wounds that caused his death, so the body of the saint shall bear distinctive marks to distinguish him from every other saint as perfectly and as positively as he may be distinguished while on earth. For forty days, by many infallible proofs, did

the risen Lord demonstrate his identity to his chosen apostles. And the chief business of the eleven, from the date of his final departure, was to bear witness to the fact of his resurrection. In regard to these infallible proofs, the burden of Bible testimony seems to be, that he carefully instructed them by direct and special teachings, that his living body was a substantial, tangible reality. He ate and drank with them; he exhibited his hands and his feet; he talked with them; they heard his voice, and he was visible to their natural eyes. The value of the fact, doctrinally, depends upon this absolute identity. There is but one Lord Christ—*semper idem, ubique*.

Again: His people shall resemble him when they arise. Their bodies shall be like his glorious body. The peculiar manifestations of power recorded of the Lord, were not necessarily manifestations of *divine* power. He was as truly divine before as after his passion. But the wonderful acts of the risen Saviour, already referred to, are no where characterised as miracles, in the ordinary sense of the word. On the contrary, the apparent object of the evangelist is to distinguish them as the natural acts of the risen body. And they that are Christ's at his coming shall have similar powers.

Once more: Christ is the author of immortality. His incarnation, death, and resurrection, have conferred the gift upon the race whose nature was united with his divine person. Behold the sure foundation of God, the chief corner stone, elect and precious! It is sealed with two seals: one, the seal of God's sovereign election, impressed with the motto, "The Lord knoweth them that are his;" the other, the seal of God's sanctification, bearing the inscription, "Let them that name the name of Christ depart from iniquity." And while these glorious seals evermore betoken the safety of the elect, the mighty stone that bears them shall crush and grind into powder all the enemies of God. The immortality conferred by Christ upon the children of his grace, is transformed into a curse to unrepentant sinners, the more hideous by contrast with the glories on its converse side. The children of men cannot escape it. In heaven or in hell, the souls and bodies of all men shall live forever. Therefore, through

Christ, the wicked dead shall also arise, and their resurrection shall indicate the close of the dispensation. "Then the end." Gather *first* the wheat into the garner; afterward, burn the tares.

It also appears plain, that an interval of time shall separate between the resurrection of the righteous and the resurrection of the wicked. It is not for man to say how long or how short this interval shall be. Of the saints it is said that they shall live and reign with Christ. They are kings and priests now, but the investiture of dignity and authority shall take place when the second advent occurs. Perhaps these co-regents shall spend that interval, during which their redeemed bodies shall glow with heavenly splendor, in judging the disembodied dead. Who can describe, nay, who can imagine the glory and terror of that scene? The great Judge on the white throne, surrounded by his royal saints, assessors in his kingdom, and by the myriads of angels, excellent in strength, but more distant from the throne; and last, the unclad ghosts of a thousand generations brought before that terrible tribunal for judgment! The glorified saints shall then learn how the inequalities of time are matched by the exact retributions of eternity. And the hapless sinners shall learn that no power in heaven, earth, or hell, can alter or delay the execution of their sentence!

So far may the seeker after truth go, sustained by the divine word or by allowable inductions from its plainer teachings. It is likely enough that none of the theories herein suggested would excite very violent opposition, if it were not for their apparent millenarian tendencies. The extravagance of one set of exponents has provoked extravagant denial. And it is possible that post-millenarian believers are too ready to reject, with but slight examination, all shades of opinion that favor premillennial views. On either side of this vexed question, dogmatic assertion is strangely misplaced. The line that divides the domain of distinct and positive revelation from the boundless realm of speculation, is very narrow; sometimes indistinguishable, and easily overpassed. Indeed, it is not possible to examine a subject, concerning which so little is revealed, without constantly

crossing this slender boundary. But the light that streams from the inspired volume modifies the darkness of human imagination, and the Christian student should be able to distinguish between the true light of the world and the *ignes fatui* of human fancy.

ARTICLE V.

THE HOPE OF THE GOSPEL.

It was while Paul was a prisoner at Rome, and Christians generally were the objects of oppression and cruel persecution, that he warned the Colossian believers of the peril of being "moved away from the hope of the gospel." Such is the proneness of our false hearts to lapse from the truth, that both prosperity and adversity have a tendency to work in us the same bad result; and the most precious part of the truth, the blessed hope which it sets before us, is what we most readily doubt, modify, or forget. The former condition of our people was one of unprecedented prosperity. Our actual condition must, therefore, in some respects, be one of unprecedented calamity; and the general depression of our hearts bears witness to the fact that, as Christians, we have cherished hopes which the word of God does not warrant, and which he, "all whose ways are mercy and truth unto such as keep his covenant and his testimonies," in his merciful providence has blighted. Our trials will prove an immediate as well as an ultimate blessing, if they serve to fix our hearts on "the hope that is laid up for us in heaven," a hope which maketh not ashamed. Never was it more needful to keep this hope, in all its length and breadth, habitually and distinctly before our eyes; and to make it the object of our daily contemplation, till these heavy and long-continued afflictions appear but light and momentary. What,

then, is the hope of the gospel, and what are the sure promises of "good things to come," all which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus?

There is a class of most estimable Christian people, who imagine that a vague and general hope of salvation is quite enough for us; and that the practical doctrines which have reference to the obtaining of that salvation, are those alone with which we have any special concern. But God is wiser than man; and he has set that hope before our eyes, clear, tangible, and distinct in all its grand outlines, in order to wean our affections from things present, and animate our zeal in pursuit of things not seen as yet, and that we might find in it an exhaustless source of strong consolation. It is true that the hope of the gospel, in its reality, transcends our highest thought, even when divinely assisted; but it is no less our duty than our privilege to search out and treasure in our hearts all that God has been pleased to reveal with regard to it. This hope, (the object of our hope,) we propose to investigate, not, perhaps, as we may have apprehended it when peace and plenty smiled upon us, but *as it is set before us in the gospel*, and as it was apprehended by those who first embraced it in a great fight of afflictions. Should it be so, which none will regret more sincerely than we, that the reader does not consent to some of our conclusions, we beg his indulgence and his considerate forbearance till he shall have searched with us the oracles of God. As it may likewise serve to disarm the prejudices of some, we will say at the outset, that we shall contend for nothing which was not regarded as indubitable by the great fathers of the Reformation; and that, because the Scripture reveals it in the simplest and most emphatic forms of human speech.

It will be of assistance to us, in searching for clear and definite views of the hope of the gospel, to separate therefrom all that is extraneous, or that has merely a temporary bearing upon it. And this it is the more important to do, as there have been many hopes popularly cherished, as more or less identified with it, which, whether well or ill founded, have little or nothing to do therewith.

The hope of the gospel brings us no assurance of peace, prosperity, and security in this present life. The normal condition of the people of God, under both covenants, has been one of "suffering, affliction, and of patience;" and the brief seasons they have enjoyed of worldly prosperity, have always proved a leaven of corruption. Whether it was due to the belief that liberal institutions, a free press, and an open Bible, had inaugurated a new era, in this country at least, and were ushering in the period when there should be "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men," or whatever else were the cause, the opinion widely prevailed that we were authorised in believing that now at length, pure religion, material prosperity, and well-regulated liberty, were destined to a long ascendancy and to lasting triumphs. Now, therefore, that we find that men, and even religious men, are at heart as fierce and unrelenting as they were of old, we are disposed to complain "as though some strange thing had happened unto us." Yet we only suffer as others in like circumstances have suffered before us, in other lands. "There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man." "In the world ye shall have tribulation."

The hope of the gospel, viewed either in relation to the Church or to individual believers, (it is the same to both,) does not involve the conversion of the world. Whether the world, as such, is to be converted or not, the hope of the gospel is not at all affected thereby. That popular expectation is based on a particular interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy, and therefore may or may not be realised. In our view it will not. "Christ gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father." Gal. i. 4. In the manifold afflictions that have befallen us, this is our consolation: "When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world." The world is already foreadjudged to condemnation. It is possible that many nations, or even all nations, may yet be christianized; and yet it will be none the less true that the world has been, is, and to the judgment and condemnation of it will be, in

uncompromising hostility, open or covert, to holiness and God. It is a confusion of earthly and heavenly motives and principles, to say that the assurance of the world's conversion is the great incentive to missionary effort. It is our most solemn and bounden duty to obey Christ's command, and "go into all the world, preaching the gospel to every creature;" not that all men (or even most men) will ultimately "believe, be baptized, and be saved"—Christ himself says they will not—but that our Lord, by his word and Spirit, may renew and sanctify "all that the Father hath given him." No such hope of the world's conversion seems ever to have animated the earliest and most successful missionaries of the cross. Let papal Rome outstrip the zeal and dauntless energy of pagan Rome, in battling for the subjugation of the world,—it will be enough for us to say with Paul, "Therefore I endure all things for the elect's sake, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory." 2 Tim. ii. 10.

The hope of the gospel has nothing to do with the "millennium." Whether there be reserved for the Church, either before or after the second advent of our Lord, a period of blessedness and glory of limited duration, corresponding to what this word is supposed to imply, or whether there be not, the hope of it finds no expression in the New Testament Scriptures. True, millenarians insist that Christ is coming to inaugurate the period of millennial glory and peace; but we find nothing of the kind in the Bible we have diligently studied. And in truth, whether it be supposed to precede or follow the second advent, we are never once taught to labor with a view to it, to watch, pray, hope for, or expect it. Whatever support may be claimed for it in the Old Testament, it is never set before us in the New Testament, (if, indeed, in any part of Holy Writ,) as the Church's hope, or our own, or any part of that hope. By our present humiliations, sufferings, and sins, God seems to be teaching his people, North and South, in painful lessons, that we should build our expectations only on his express and faithful promises.

We ask the indulgence of some of our readers, while we suggest that the expectation is not a wholesome one, even in its

popularly accepted form. Though this form of it dates only from the seventeenth century, it has long been held that the millennium would begin some where about this time, not suddenly, but like the opening day. And if it be so, as the most ardent advocates of the system maintain, that during that period Christianity is to permeate and sanctify all the relations of life, social, civil, and political, and all government is to be administered by Christ in the person of holy men, how can we blame the Northern churches for their political alliances, and for their endeavors to penetrate and infuse into state legislation their own peculiar religious principles? If such is to be the order of things then, and if, as they imagine, the day is at its dawn, what harm in "hastening unto" it? A Northern minister once told the writer that he had found an unanswerable argument against slavery: it was, that since slavery could not exist in the millennium, it must be of more than doubtful propriety now, and should therefore be abolished. We are not surprised, therefore, at seeing it proclaimed at the North, that the events which have bowed us to the dust, are sure harbingers of the millennial dawn. Another Northern man, and a wiser than the other, said that he had tried hard to be an abolitionist, but had found his way completely stopped by the statement of St. John, that in his vision of the great day of wrath, he saw "every *bondman* (slave) and every freeman" calling to the rocks and mountains to cover them; whence he concluded, that if slavery would exist till then, it was not worth his while to be angry about it now.

The hope of the gospel, the hope that is laid up for us in heaven, is not that of the salvation of the souls of dead men. This is, indeed, a part of the promise, and is an unspeakable consolation when we die, or when our friends depart this life in hope of a better; but *it stops short of the hope itself*. If we are determined to hold fast the great Protestant and Scripture principle that nothing is to be added to or taken from the written word of God; and if, on this subject, we will apply it as rigorously as when we are in controversy with Roman Catholics, we shall be forced to admit that too great stress is popularly laid on the state after death, and far too little on that into which we

are not to be admitted until the last day. In a former number of this Review,* we endeavored to rescue the doctrine of the resurrection of the body from the neglect and forgetfulness into which many Christians allow it to fall, and to place it in that true central position which Holy Scripture assigns to it; and if, in the discussion on which we are now entering, we appear to take anything for granted, we refer the reader to the former article for a fuller statement.

We repeat, therefore, that the hope of the gospel is not that of the salvation of the souls of dead men, precious as that salvation in its season is. It may perhaps be objected to the form of this statement, that "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." But it is to be observed that our Saviour does not make this declaration to prove that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were not dead men, nor yet to teach the immortality of the soul, but expressly to prove what the Sadducees denied, to wit, the resurrection of the body; and he adds "for all live *unto him*"—unto him "who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which are not as though they were"—unto him, to whom the past and the future are alike present. To all others they are yet dead. There is truly a blessed sense in which believers, inseparably united to him who is himself the Resurrection and the Life, do not, cannot die. Yet, in the ordinary use of language, it is of the last importance to believe that all the faithful who have gone before us, excepting only Enoch and Elijah, and perhaps Moses, are yet dead men. "David is not ascended into the heavens"—"he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day." Acts ii. 34, 29. "Abel, being dead, yet speaketh."

If it be the statement itself which is objected to, we ask the reader that he will at least suspend his judgment till he shall have complied with the request we now make. It is that he will open his New Testament, and rapidly, but carefully, scan its pages, drawing a colored line in the margin against every passage that refers to the second advent of our Lord; every one

* September, 1866. Art. IV. Death, the Resurrection, and the Intermediate State.

that treats of the last day, the day of Christ, the day of redemption, and of judgment, and of wrath, the day of the perdition of the ungodly, and of the manifestation of the sons of God, "that day," "the day," "the great day," "the day of God," as distinguished from all other days; every one that refers to the resurrection of the body, and of "the grace which is to be brought unto us at the revelation of Jesus Christ." Let him now return, and mark with a common pencil every passage which speaks of the blessings which await the believer, and the woes that overtake the unbeliever (for the one always suggests and implies the other,) *at death*. Of the former class he will find more than one hundred and fifty; he cannot be less than surprised at the paucity of the latter. There are, we say not in the New Testament, but in the whole Bible, not more than eight or ten passages which throw any light on the abode and condition of disembodied spirits. These few are sufficient to show that the souls of the wicked are in hell, beyond hope of amendment, reserved unto judgment; and that the perfected spirits of the just are with Christ's bodily presence in heaven, waiting for the redemption of their bodies. But they also show how little God has been pleased to reveal to us of the disembodied state, how little stress he lays on the immortality of the soul, and how persistently he refers us to an object of more absorbing interest, fixing our attention on the resurrection, and "the judgment of the great day." Acts xvii. 30, 31. We cheerfully admit that two references to Christ's coming can only be understood, so far as we can see, of the destruction of the ungodly Jewish state and nation, (Matt. x. 23, and xvi. 28,) but Christ himself makes that a type of the day of judgment and perdition of an ungodly world; from which, in fact, it was his purpose that, at that time, it should be hardly distinguishable. (See Dr. J. A. Alexander's Sermons, Vol. I., Sermon xxi. p. 395.) If the result of this inquisition be one half as surprising to the reader as it was to the writer, we have no fears that he will further object to the statement made.

Richard Baxter makes his "Saint's Rest" to begin with the resurrection and the day of judgment: a fact which many of his

most ardent admirers seem to overlook. The second chapter treats of the PREPARATIVES to the saint's rest; of which Baxter enumerates four: 1. The second coming of Christ. 2. The resurrection of the body. 3. The general judgment—the saints judged first, then Christ and his saints judging the world. 4. Their solemn coronation and receiving the kingdom. There is, indeed, a blessed "rest from their labors" that belongs to "THE DEAD that die in the Lord;" but that is not the heritage of THE LIVING, when, like Christ, "being raised from the dead they die no more." It is not that rest of which the apostle says, "It is a righteous thing with God to recompense—to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus Christ shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction—when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe." 2 Thess. i. 6–10.

Though it is foreign to our present purpose, we will take notice in passing, that in the scripture just quoted, St. Paul grinds to powder that dangerous tenet of most millenarians, that at Christ's coming he will destroy only the leagued and banded opposition of anti-Christian powers; and that the Jews and pagans are to be converted during the subsequent millennium. The expression "them that know not God and that obey not the gospel," covers them all. Peter is no less explicit in 2 Pet. iii. 9: all who are then impenitent will perish. Against two such express declarations, were there no others, every opposite opinion, based on the uncertain details of unfulfilled prophecy, must go to the ground.

The hope of the gospel, then, is not that of DEATH, it is that of LIFE; it is not that of life in death, but of "life from the dead;" it is not that of life through the intervention of death, but of life in spite of death. We inherit it, not because we die, but because "Christ died, yea rather, is risen again." "It is" *not* "appointed unto" *all* "men once to die." "Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all

be changed." Death is not the gate of life, the door of salvation. The death of our body has no necessary intervention in the matter; it does not enter into the scheme at all, except as a disturbing element, which, though it is truly a part of the curse entailed on us by sin, ["though Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin,"] yet God, who ever brings good out of evil to his children, is pleased to convert that curse into a blessing to those who must needs die before the day of redemption dawns; making it "far better to depart and to be with Christ" than "to abide still in the flesh." Thus the temporary separation of soul and body is made to accrue to the common benefit of both. The holy dead are blessed *even as dead men*; their perfected spirits are with Christ, rejoicing in his presence, free from every care, and delightfully conscious in themselves that every possibility of coming short of "eternal life" is forever past. They rest from their labors; they "have fought a good fight, they have finished their course, they have kept the faith; henceforth there is *laid up for them* the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, *the righteous Judge*, shall give them AT THAT DAY; and not to them only, but unto all those that *love his appearing.*" 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory; but we have no reason to believe that they are made perfect in anything else. Paul, who longed with such groaning for "the redemption of his body," when living, surely has not become indifferent to it, now that he is dead! Nor have we any good reason to believe that the soul is capable of attaining to the highest perfection of its own nature and powers while separate from the body. The philosophy of Plato may teach it, but the gospel of Jesus Christ does not. That, indeed, would be in open contravention of the order which God has established among his creatures. Man is neither an angel nor a spirit, but a creature of an entirely different order. "The Lord God formed man out of the dust of the ground;" and though, after the resurrection, the just will be "equal unto the angels," yet neither sin nor redemption will make them either less or more than men.

Except in God's unalterable purpose, the pious dead are safe rather than saved. Otherwise than this, dying brings us no nearer to "salvation;" else why should Christ "appear the second time without sin unto salvation?" The spirits of just men made perfect do actually "inherit eternal life" no sooner than the just who dwell on the earth; for, in scripture usage, "eternal life" is not merely eternal happiness of one sort or another; the dead "awake to eternal life;" it is life in the body—the same body that lives now this forfeited mortal life, which we derive from Adam—the same body, quickened now by a principle of animal life, and dependent, like others of the animal creation, on "the meat which perisheth" for a precarious and temporary maintenance, and organised with reference to that mortal life; but *then*, renovated and quickened by the spirit of Christ, and deriving its maintenance from his "flesh and blood" which he gave for the life of the world—his human nature, (once "crucified through weakness, but now living by the power of God,") in which alone is found the eternal life of man's dying race. "Being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him;" "made perfect," not merely in respect of his mediatorial work, but as regards his person also, and that "likeness of sinful flesh" which he assumed, in order that we, forswearing our first father Adam, and renouncing his broken covenant of works, "with purpose of heart might cleave unto the Lord," and be made the members of his body, of *his* flesh, and of *his* bones;" that so we might die with him, and therefore live with him, might suffer and therefore reign with him, partakers of his endless life, and companions with him in a deathless immortality! That life is now "hid with Christ in God."

"The crown of life" will be bestowed by "the great Shepherd when he shall appear," on all his servants, the living and the dead, in one and the same day. The great birth-day of eternal life is the same to all. The true Israel; whensoever they may have entered it, accomplish the passage of Jordan in one glorious host. Paul distinctly teaches that at the voice of the archangel and the trump of God, the living have no advantage

of the dead—"shall not prevent them that are asleep." In order to the salvation of both classes, the primeval curse of mortality is cancelled and abolished, for both alike, in the self-same day, hour, moment: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." This we conceive to be the real purport of the apostle's words in Hebrews xi. 39, 40; so that classing him, and all the other holy dead, with the glorious company of the ancient worthies to whom he specially refers, we may say, "And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise; God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us *should not be made perfect.*" That this is the scope of "the promise" which he has in view, will be made evident by a reference to the next verse, but three, preceding: "Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection."

So far is the resurrection of the body from being, as many seem to regard it, an ultimate and almost incidental benefit flowing from redemption, that (together with the blessings comprised in and accompanying it) it is itself the hope of the gospel, "the hope that is laid up for us in heaven." All other blessings are incidental or accessory. "This is the promise which he hath promised us, even eternal life." The resurrection of life is the very substance of salvation itself. It is the great distinguishing doctrine of the gospel, towards which all the others look, to which they all contribute and are subordinate, and without which all the other doctrines of the Christian system, and all the other parts of redemption, are of no effect. Paul calls it emphatically "the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body;" and our Saviour says, "They are (shall be) equal unto the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection." Luke xx. 36. So Paul also teaches that if the dead rise not, the gospel is a fable, the future life a dream, Christ is not risen, our preaching is vain, your faith is also vain, the saints of former times who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished, those who do and suffer most for Christ's sake and the gospel's

are of all men most miserable, and they are truly wise who say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." 1 Cor. xv. 16-19, 32. If, then, the falsity of this doctrine be attended by such disastrous consequences, if its denial involve the renunciation of all the hopes of the gospel, we cannot afford ever to lose sight of it, especially when tempted to complain of the hardships and losses of this life, or to sell our birth-right for a mess of pottage.

We have known devout Christians, who, owing to a misapprehension of the nature of the hope set before us, habitually afflict themselves with fears of perdition, because they cannot love the dreaded visitation of death; they think they ought to desire to die, but they cannot bring themselves to do it. There is a sad mistake here. The love of death is the abhorring of life; and God neither directs us to hate life, or to love death. True, death is a desirable refuge from the storms of this disordered and sinful world; but to be precious, it must be seasonable; and when the season comes, our God does make it precious to the most timorous of his people. Not till life, from one cause or another, becomes a burden, or is demanded as a sacrifice to Christian principle, should any Christian desire to lay it down. "No man," says Paul, no sane man at least, "ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church." Here, as elsewhere, faith's sole foundation is the word of truth; and this accounts it no virtue to desire to die; and awards no promise of life, of a kingdom, of a crown, to those who "long for death, and dig for it more than for hid treasures, who rejoice exceedingly and are glad when they can find the grave;" but rather "to all them that love his appearing," who, at his coming, will finally and forever "abolish death and bring life and immortality," not merely *to light*, but to blessed actuality and to glorious and unfading manifestation.

The aged Paul, worn out with manifold labors and temptations, said, "I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better;" yet, even then, he said he was in a strait betwixt two, and knew not what he should choose. Phil. i. 21-23. And even in the scripture where he most clearly expresses the joyous

truth that when "absent from the body we are present with the Lord," his mind instinctively turns to the resurrection of the body: "We that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon"—with yearning desire not so much to die, as truly to live—"that mortality (an attribute of the body in its present state) may be swallowed up of life." "Wherefore we labor, that whether present [in the body, at his appearing,] or absent [from the body,] we may be accepted of him. For we must all [the living and the dead] appear before the judgment seat of Christ." 2 Cor. v. 4-10.

"Jesus and the resurrection" was the watch-word of the Apostolic Church. Peter and his companions began their apostolic mission, "preaching, through Jesus, the resurrection of the dead." And it cannot be reasonably doubted, that the gospel would in our day be far more a gospel of power, comfort, and sanctification, if this blessed hope held the same prominent place in our hearts and ministrations.

These two first principles of the doctrine of Christ, the resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment, need to be kept *constantly in mind*, if we would avoid a narrow, contracted, and distorted view of the divine revelation. They shed a flood of light over the whole Bible, and, as we are persuaded, over no part of it more conspicuously than over the Old Testament, and especially the Old Testament prophecies. It has been questioned, indeed, whether the saints of those days knew anything of the hope of the resurrection. Such a doubt could hardly be raised except by one holding the erroneous and superficial opinion that the salvation of the soul at death is the principal part of redemption. On the contrary, it was the intermediate state of death which perplexed and distressed the saints of those days: "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence." The hope of the gospel has been always the same, and has been substantially apprehended by the faithful, in all ages. God has neither changed his plan, nor altered his promise. Righteous Abel had no proper conception of physical death, and of necessary consequence, he could have no adequate idea of

the resurrection from the dead; but the substance of the doctrine, to wit, "the redemption of our body," was no doubt a marked feature of that hope of the gospel on which his faith was fixed. His ideal of salvation, (and it was probably not very wide of the truth,) would almost necessarily be that of restoration to the state of favor and blessedness which his parents had once enjoyed, when God and man walked in familiar converse and holy friendship. Nor could he tell how long it would be before it might please God to effect that restoration by the promised "seed of the woman."

It will be interesting to trace the hope of the gospel as it presents itself in the Old Testament Scriptures; and it may perhaps assist us to a better understanding of the New. We shall avoid, however, all intricate and symbolical prophecies; for however great the interest which attaches to some of them, we are persuaded that their true meaning can never be accurately known before their fulfilment. We will also foreadvise the reader, that we are fully warranted in expecting to find the hope of the gospel—the final and unchangeable state of salvation into which God will in due time bring his people—clearly revealed in the Old Testament. In Acts iii. 21, Peter speaks of "the times of refreshing," and of "the restitution of all things, (when the Father shall again send Jesus Christ,) which God hath spoken *by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.*" Paul testified before Agrippa that in his preaching of the gospel, its glorious hope, and the means ordained by God for its accomplishment, he was "saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come." Acts xxvi. 22. Peter again tells us that the final salvation of believers *at the second advent of Jesus Christ*, was the burden of Old Testament prophecy: "Of which salvation [that which is 'ready to be revealed in the last time,' and 'at the appearing of Jesus Christ,' verses 5 and 7,]—of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently—searching what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow;" which also were the things

which the apostles “reported unto us” in their preaching of the glad tidings, and the things into which “the angels desire to look.” 1 Pet. i. 10–12. “The sufferings of Christ—τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα—the sufferings until Christ, in reference to Christ, or on his behalf,” or all combined. Thus Moses “esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, having respect unto the recompence of reward.” Calvin says, “Peter does not treat of the personal sufferings of Christ, but he speaks of the state of the Church universal.” Luther takes the same view of it. (See Brown on 1st Peter. Discourse iv. and note A.) The aged Zacharias, filled with the Holy Ghost, sums up the mercy promised to the fathers, and the oath which God swore unto Abraham, in these words: “As he spake by the mouth of *his holy prophets which have been since the world began*, that WE [the aged Zacharias being one of them,] should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us; that he would grant unto US, that WE, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve him, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life.” Luke i. 70–74. The life of God’s children, the life of promise, the life which is yet “hid with Christ in God,” is a long one: “I give unto them eternal life.”

We now request that the reader will read again, and ponder the preceding paragraph. Many persons construe and limit the plain prose of the New Testament in accordance with their views of Old Testament prophecies, as we ventured to point out in our former article: not a safe procedure, we think, by any means. There prevails a popular opinion that God has revealed much of better times yet to come before the end of the world, and but little or nothing of the happy and heavenly state beyond, except the general assurance of the inconceivable and perfect blessedness of his people. We, on the contrary, have been led by the Scriptures above quoted, to think that the case is about reversed; that God has spoken guardedly, “opening his mouth in parables,” of events yet future in this world, and that the happy era, so long foretold in clear prophetic utterances, has to do with the everlasting life of the people of God, and the future

state of eternal salvation. The fact is established by the New Testament scriptures just cited, that all the prophets have borne an uninterrupted testimony to the times of restitution, or restoration, of all things at Christ's second coming; that they have spoken of the glory that is to follow the present sufferings, which are to continue "until Christ;" and that they have all predicted a future state of salvation, when *we*, and all the holy dead, (Zacharias among them,) being saved from *all our enemies*—from evil men and evil spirits, from sin, and death, "the last enemy"—shall serve our God with a perfect heart, in holiness and righteousness forever. Now, we find in the Old Testament the written testimony of many of the prophets who have so spoken, in which, with one or two exceptions, they all predict a corresponding state of things. The common belief in our day is, that these predictions point to "the millennium," and to the conversion of all nations. We would modestly but firmly express our belief that the common opinion is a mistaken one. As all the prophets do bear testimony to such a coming state of things, and as that is the only period materially differing from the present, of which they do all speak, we think we have a divine warrant for believing that they refer to the life everlasting; but in terms familiar to men in this present mortal life.

The hope of the gospel took fast hold of the hearts of the faithful from the very beginning; while those void of a true faith had as little regard to it then as now, intent only upon temporal blessings. But as regards the person, work, and offices of the Redeemer, and the time and manner of his appearing, and the manifestation of the glory of his kingdom, their ideas were doubtless very meagre and confused. They trusted to the promise, and diligently applied themselves to a use of the means then ordained for its fruition in due time. Even John the Baptist seems to have labored under much doubt and uncertainty; while the disciples of our Lord needed often to be upbraided with their dulness of comprehension, their unbelief and hardness of heart.

It is the opinion of many commentators that Eve's exclamation at the birth of Cain, "I have gotten the man Jehovah," or "from Jehovah," implies her belief or hope that the promised

seed was born. If so, it was a lamentable mistake! Enoch, the seventh in lineal descent from Adam, who also was translated that he should not see death, had a clear intimation of the approach of the glorious and dreadful day of God, in which, of course, he would save his people, as well as take vengeance on his foes. "Behold, the Lord cometh, with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment," etc. Jude 14, 15. The primary reference no doubt was to Noah's flood; yet Enoch could not have known but that the impending judgment would be the final catastrophe of the world, which was at that time portentously wicked. He probably thought so; and Christ assures us that it was a figure of "the wrath to come." When Noah was born, his father called his name Rest (Noah,) saying, "This same shall comfort us (or cause us to rest,) concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." The days were evil: but neither the promised rest, nor he who giveth it, were so near. Still Noah and his ark, and the perdition of the world of the ungodly, and the new earth after the flood, scoured and cleansed with water, (as it will one day be purged with fire,) because of the former abominations of men, and occupied by none but those who had been housed with Noah in the ark, do strikingly foreshadow Christ, the everlasting destruction of his foes, and the final salvation of his people. Nor is it a chance coincidence; God's plan has been one from first to last: "Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world."

The flood was soon forgotten; men grew bold in sin; God lapsed from all their thoughts. Abraham, the father of believers, was chosen out of an idolatrous family, and called; and to him were the promises made. The promise to Abraham was "that he should be the heir of the world," and his children with him, (Rom. iv. 13,) and that "in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed." But "what manner of time was signified," God reserved in his own keeping. There was indeed a promise of deliverance, in four hundred and thirty years, from bondage in a strange land in which his seed had endured affliction, and of a quiet and peaceful home in the land of promise.

Yet the sequel showed that this was but "a figure of the true." And Moses, the renowned deliverer, who yet failed to bring the people into Canaan, spoke of a coming Prophet, who should in all things be believed and obeyed, whatever he ordained, whatever he abolished: enforcing the obligation with the solemn declaration, "And it shall come to pass that every soul, [Jew or Gentile,] that will not hear that Prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people;" of which destruction the excision of the unbelieving Jewish Church and nation was a notable type.

As Joshua had not given the promised rest and inheritance, the Holy Ghost often spoke, by the mouth of David and the other prophets, of another day and another rest, the peculiar heritage of true believers, the children of Abraham, "according to promise." Heb. iv., and Gal. iv. 28. We select but one passage from the writings of David, the 37th Psalm, written expressly to sustain God's suffering people under persecution and unrighteous oppression, when faith, patience, and hope, are all like to fail: "Fret not thyself because of evil doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity; for they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb." Verses 1 and 2. As yet, the evil and the good, the persecutor and the persecuted, are cut down alike. "Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him; cease from anger and forsake wrath; fret not thyself in anywise to do evil; for evildoers shall be cut off, but they that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the earth. For yet a little while [Heb. x. 37] and the wicked shall not be, yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and it shall not be; but the meek shall inherit the earth, and shall *delight themselves with the abundance of peace.*" Verses 7-11. Six times over is this statement made. Lest this should seem too strange for men to believe, too much for troubled saints to hope, David draws on his own experience and observation for subordinate but similar examples of the divine procedure, and presses the encouraging exhortation—"Wait on the Lord, and keep his way; and he shall exalt thee to inherit the land (Heb. earth); *when the wicked are cut off, thou shalt see it.*" Verse 34. This thing will not be done in a corner, nor while we "sleep."

David himself expected to be there, and enjoy the blessing promised, as well as witness the vengeance; for of himself he says it, as well as of David's greater Son, "My flesh also shall rest in hope." "Oh let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end, but establish the just!"

In the same way does Solomon enforce his precepts to fear God and hate evil: "For the upright shall dwell in the land (Heb. earth,) and the perfect shall remain in it; but the wicked shall be cut off from the earth, and the transgressors *shall be rooted out of it.*" Prov. ii. 21, 22. For fear that any reader should imagine that we are making an unauthorised use of language which is commonly spiritualized, so as to express a sentiment which men more readily assent to, we pause here a moment to observe that this is the identical argument which Peter presses in his powerful exhortation to repentance a few days after Pentecost: "Repent, therefore, and be converted; be pardoned, be saved; that ye may be refreshed when the times of refreshing come from the presence of the Lord, and he shall send Jesus Christ. Believe and obey that Prophet, that he may bless you in turning away every one of you from his iniquities, lest, as Moses truly said, ye be destroyed from among the people." Acts iii. 19-25. The reader will do well to examine the whole passage carefully for himself.

This remarkable passage is embarrassed with one difficulty. Calvin suggests that if the common rendering be retained, we must supply an ellipsis: "Repent, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, [that so ye may be refreshed,] when the times of refreshing shall come," etc. But he intimates that a better rendering is that on which critics are now agreed, to wit, "Repent, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out; *that so* the times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, *and he may send* Jesus Christ, whom the heaven must receive, [or who must receive and occupy heaven,] until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." Peter instances Moses as one of them; David and Solomon are of course included. Thus understood, the

argument would be, "Repent, etc., that the number of believers may be completed, and the kingdom of glory may be ushered in;" which agrees well with the reason assigned by the same apostle for the Lord's apparent slackness concerning the promise of his coming: "He is long-suffering to us-ward, [towards us, his elect, the heirs of salvation,] not willing that any [of us] should perish, but that all [of us] should come to repentance." 2 Pet. iii. 9.

We have purposely reserved till now the case of Job. Under the stress of his overwhelming calamities, he passionately exclaims, "O that thou wouldst hide me in the grave, that thou wouldst keep me in secret, *till thy wrath be passed*; that thou wouldst appoint me a set time and remember me." Job xiv. 13. The good man "knew that his Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth;" and that though devoured by worms, "yet in his flesh he should see God, whom he should see for himself and not another." He knew also "that the wicked are reserved to the day of destruction; they shall be brought forth in the day of wrath." Job xix. 25-27; xxi. 30.

Isaiah speaks repeatedly of a coming "day" when Christ's rest shall be glorious; when peace and amity shall dwell among men, while war and contention forever cease; when the knowledge and glory of the Lord shall fill the earth, and all shall be taught of God; when there shall be new heavens and a new earth, which are never to pass away; when violence shall *no more* be heard in the land, wasting nor destruction in its borders; when the eyes of the blind shall be opened and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped, when the lame man shall leap as an hart, the tongue of the dumb shall sing, and the inhabitant shall no more say, I am sick; when God himself shall dwell among his people, wipe away all tears from their eyes, and take away their reproach from off all the earth; when they shall be all righteous, and shall inherit the land (Heb. earth) forever—a state of things which God "the Lord will hasten in his time." The prophet, too, expresses his confidence that he himself will be there, when the days of mourning shall be ended, and the

indignation forever be overpast: "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise; awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come, my people, enter into thy chambers, shut thy doors about thee, hide thyself, as it were, for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the world for their iniquity; the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain." Isa. xxvi. 19-21.

In these days of confusion and uncertainty and apprehension, we sometimes feel that it would be a privilege to lie down and sleep in unconsciousness, until the excited and vindictive passions of our conquerors are calmed, and some measure of order and stability bless the troubled land again. Far better than this the Lord designs when "he giveth to his beloved sleep"—a "blessed sleep, from which none ever wake to weep;" a "peaceful rest, whose waking is supremely blest!"

Jeremiah speaks of the new covenant which God will make with his people: a covenant already ratified and sealed under the Christian dispensation, but not yet executed. And this is the covenant: "I will (after those days) put my law in their inward parts, and write them in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people." This is no more true under the Christian dispensation than it was under the Mosaic. "And they shall *teach no more* every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and will remember their sins no more." Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. There will be no more preaching nor exhorting to righteousness then; nor will there be any more sin, suffering, or death; for when sin is no more remembered, its penal consequences must be all abolished. "The body is dead because of sin."

All this is yet more clearly stated by Ezekiel. "Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, O my people, I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you

into the land of Israel. And ye shall know [*i. e.* ye shall have ocular demonstration,] that I am Jehovah when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves, and shall put my Spirit in you, and ye shall live, (Rom. viii. 11,) and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the Lord have spoken it and performed it, saith the Lord." Ezek. xxxvii. 12-14. We are aware that these words are understood by many of a "spiritual resurrection," to wit, the national conversion of the now unbelieving Jewish people, which Paul is supposed to teach in Romans xi. We have no intention of denying that the prophecy may have such a *partial* fulfilment, though we are by no means sure of it, believing that the prophet and the apostle have direct reference to "the resurrection of life." Peter tells us that Ezekiel was one of those by whom God had been uninterruptedly testifying of these things, ever since sin and death entered the world; and it will be pertinent to inquire, If Ezekiel does not speak of it here, where does he? The latter part of the same chapter is conclusive: "Neither shall they defile themselves *any more* with their idols, nor with their detestable things, NOR WITH ANY OF THEIR TRANSGRESSIONS." "And I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them *for evermore*. My tabernacle also shall be with them: yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people." Verses 23-27. This can only be true of the heavenly state, and of the Israel of God, (the language being accommodated to the then existing condition and the then existing form of the Church,) including believing Gentiles as well as believing Jews: there being a sure promise of restoration to the former, as truly as to the latter—to the whole, as well as to a part of his people.

But we must leave the other prophets' for the reader's private examination. As Peter says, the Old Testament prophecies have this as their burden, "The sufferings until Christ, and the glory that should follow;" or as Paul expresses it, "The sufferings of this present time, and the glory which shall be *revealed in us*." The prophets sometimes draw their illustrations from the present condition and pursuits of men, which is natural, almost unavoidable; and they sometimes, though very rarely,

present a scene of good mingled with some evil, which is not singular when we reflect that *they viewed the advent blessings of Christ as a whole, and had no power of distinguishing between his first and second comings.* We will cite but one passage more, which we are unwilling to overlook. After saying that, "in that day" the Lord will make a covenant of peace for his people with all irrational creatures, the prophet adds, "And I will break the bow and the sword and the battle out of the earth, and will make them to lie down safely. And I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in lovingkindness, and in mercies. I will even betroth thee unto me in faithfulness; and thou shalt know the Lord." Hos. ii. 18-20. Whether that good day will cast its shadow before, in the form of the expected "millennium," which nevertheless is to close in an apostasy darker, more damning, and more universal than any formerly known, before the true and unfading day of promise shall dawn, it is not our purpose to inquire. But this we know, that what most enhances the preciousness of these sure predictions of "good things to come," of which Christ is to us the faithful High Priest, is the fact that they are made to us, to our fathers, and to our children, rather than to the possible generations of a far distant future; and that on the face of them all it is distinctly expressed, or as distinctly implied, that this state of repose and blessedness is to continue, not for one thousand years, but "forever, even for ever and ever."

"What manner of time was signified," none knew. At one time it seemed as if deliverance from Babylonian bondage was to be signalized by the beginning of the long expected period of rest from sins and sorrows. And when Daniel's earnest and tearful petitions for building up Zion's broken walls were rewarded by a partial revelation of "the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power," it seemed as if the builders must make good speed, to complete the work in the "seven weeks and three score and two weeks," or else "the Messiah the Prince" might find them in the midst of their unfinished labors. And yet, together with the promise of finishing the transgression, making an end of sins, and bringing in everlasting

righteousness, there was a confused report of desolation, and destruction, and a flood, and war, and overspreading abominations. Dan. ix. 25-27.

“The sufferings until Christ, and the glory that should follow!” How can we wonder at the joyous haste with which Philip made the eager announcement, “We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph!” The chilling reply of the more cautious Nathanael is quite as true to life, “Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?” Yet, when the disciples became fully assured that this was indeed the Christ, the Son of the living God, the Saviour of the world, how could they restrain their eager inquiries among themselves as to when or how he would set up his kingdom and manifest his glory? Many thought “that the kingdom of God should immediately appear;” which gave occasion to the parable of “a certain nobleman, who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return.” We are not surprised that the apostles themselves could understand nothing of his sufferings, death, and resurrection, or the trials in reserve for themselves. Had not Christ come, and were not the sufferings until then? We wonder not that their faith and hope well nigh perished at the cross, and were quite buried in the tomb of Joseph. Nor is it strange that, gladdened beyond all expectation at seeing him really alive again from the dead, they were sadly cast down when he led them out as far as Bethany, and bade them farewell. Should any one say that it is incredible that they should have failed to understand his oft-repeated declarations of his approaching death, resurrection, and departure from them, we reply, that it ought not to be regarded as incredible, at least by those, who, with his finished revelation in their hands, do not scruple to assert of a large part of his plainest statements and most stringent commands, that it is impossible to understand them according to the literal sense of his words. No, we are not surprised at anything of the kind; and in that moment of heart-breaking bereavement, how could the anxious inquiry be any longer repressed, “Lord, wilt thou not, at this time, restore again the kingdom to Israel”—

the true Israel?* receiving as their only direct and satisfactory reply, the assurance of the two men in white apparel, "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come, in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." Acts i. 11. Christ had just assured them that "it was not for them to know the times or the seasons which the Father has put in his own power," and on former occasions he had purposely and repeatedly drawn the same veil of uncertainty over the time of his return as had concealed the "what manner of time" which the old prophets had so earnestly but so vainly endeavored to ascertain. Thenceforward the coming of Christ "in his own glory and of his Father" occupied their hearts and hopes even more intently than his coming, in the abstract, had engaged those of former saints. Many of Christ's sayings which appeared dark and enigmatical before, were now seen in a clear light. Though heralded at his birth by the angelic song, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men," he had shocked their hopes with the admonition, "*Think not that I AM COME to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword.*" Matt. x. 34. "Suppose ye that *I am come* to give peace on earth? I tell you nay, but rather division." Luke xii. 49. The apostles now understood that "the sufferings" were to continue till Christ appeared, not as a servant, but as a sovereign; not as a sin-offering, but "unto salvation." They now joyfully took up the burden of Old Testament prophecy—"the sufferings until Christ, and the glory that shall follow"—"The grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath

* It is often gratuitously asserted that our Saviour corrected their misapprehension as to the nature of his kingdom; but his answer has reference to the times and seasons connected with it, rather than to any expectation which their words expressed or implied. "The question shows neither an absolute misapprehension of the nature of Christ's kingdom, nor a perfectly just view of it; but just such a mixture of truth and error as might have been expected, from their previous character and actual condition. That the kingdom of Israel was to be restored, they were justified in thinking, by such scriptures as Isa. i. 26, and ix. 7; Jer. xxiii. 6; xxxiii. 15, 17, etc. *They were only mistaken, if at all, in expecting it to be restored in its primeval form.*" Alexander on Acts i. 6.

appeared unto all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world [age or dispensation, of which Satan is "god" and the spirits of darkness are the rulers,] looking for that BLESSED HOPE, and the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us *from all iniquity*, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, [a people for himself,] zealous of good works." Titus ii. 11-14. This purpose finds its consummation only at the last day, and in the future life. So Peter: "Wherefore, gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace which is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ." "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you; [Peter once thought it passing strange;] but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, *that when his glory shall be revealed*, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy." 1 Pet. i. 13; iv. 12, 13. "What manner of persons ought ye to be,—looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens, being on fire, shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat?" 2 Pet. iii. 11, 12. So John: "And now, little children, abide in him; that when he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before him at his coming." 1 John ii. 28. So James: "Be ye patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Stablish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh." James v. 7, 8. So Jude: "But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." Jude 20, 21.

There are many who believe that the glowing pictures of better days to come, in the old prophecies, have reference to the Christian dispensation in general, or to a supposed future and improved state of it in particular. We believe, and have endeavored to show, that those prophecies have, mainly at least, been misapplied. In no essential respect does the Christian dispensation differ from the Mosaic. Then, the Church was

restricted to one nation ; now, it embraces all. Then, its rites and restrictions were burdensome ; now, its forms are simpler and its service more spiritual. Then, they walked in comparative darkness ; on us shines 'the light of God's finished revelation, while the Spirit of God is granted in larger measures. The foundation of their salvation was future ; the foundation of ours is past. But let it be observed, that as the object of their hope was future, so is ours : their joys, sorrows, temptations, and dangers, and ours, are the same ; and dying, they did not enter into rest otherwise than as do we. In some respects the Church is to-day less zealous of good works than it was in the times of David ; and it has, since Christ, been as corrupt and idolatrous as it was in the days of Isaiah ; nor have we any guarantee which the early Church had not, that it may not again depart from the faith : while, as regards "the sufferings," they have under the Christian dispensation been much more general and severe than ever before. It is then in the second advent, when Christ appears in his glory as the Redeemer of his people, that all the lines of our holy religion meet, as in their true centre. Prophets and apostles announce to us the same truth. "The latter-day glory" is never to be darkened by sins or sorrows ; and has to do with the "inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us," and "ready to be *revealed in the last time.*" 1 Pet. i. 4, 5.

But some reader may inquire, how far it is proper for us to understand literally *the accompaniments* of this hope of immortality, as portrayed in the Old Testament. This we shall best answer by inquiring what light Christ and his apostles throw on the subject.

In the form of words which our Saviour has given us, to direct thereby our daily devotions, the first petition runs, "Hallowed be thy name!"—not in heaven, but on earth, where "continually every day it is blasphemed" by the words and works of men. In the second, "Thy kingdom come," we pray, among other things, as says the Shorter Catechism, "that the kingdom of glory may be hastened ;" or, as it is expressed in the Larger Catechism, "that Christ would reign in our hearts here, and

hasten the time of his second coming and of our reigning with him forever." "Jesus Christ shall judge the quick and the dead *at his appearing and his kingdom.*" 2 Tim. iv. 1. The third petition, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven," cannot refer to any period of the Church in which sins continue to mar the acceptableness of our personal services, nor in which the tares are growing together with the wheat. But "in the end of this world (age or dispensation) the Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend and them that do iniquity; *and then* shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." Matt. xiii. 41, 43. This petition of the Lord's prayer certainly teaches us to expect, while we daily pray for it, the time when this now revolted province of God's dominion, the earth and its redeemed inhabitants, will be fully restored to sinless holiness and to God; and when Christ will be proclaimed and acknowledged, "THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD."

In the beatitudes, the design of which is to set forth the real and *future* blessedness of Christians, as contrasted with their apparent condition and present trials, Christ says, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." We have already seen how David uses the same assurance to strengthen the hearts of the suffering people of God; and here Jesus gives it his own emphatic and unqualified repetition. The change in the covenant works no change in the covenanted promise. "Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers; and that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy." And "the promise that he should be the heir of the world, (*τοῦ κόσμου,*) was not to Abraham or to his seed through the law, but through the righteousness of faith." Rom. xv. 8, 9; iv. 13. It is not, therefore, an old, decayed, and perished Jewish hope we are exhuming, but one in the highest sense Christian, and therefore imperishable. This is by far the most striking of all the beatitudes; contrast here reaches its climax. Christ enjoined on his disciples the law of meekness: "I say unto you that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.

And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." The common objection raised against these and other like commands of Christ, is that a strict compliance with them would leave us a prey to rapacious, overbearing, and unmerciful men. The promise was evidently framed to meet this precise objection, which had even greater force in that day than in our own. The insurance more than covers the damage. They will lose their little earthly all, you say? Nay, says Christ, "they *shall inherit the earth*;" and the spirit of prophecy adds, "But the wicked shall be cut off from the earth, and the transgressors shall be rooted out of it." Prov. ii. 22.

To us the uniform teaching of Scripture seems obviously to be this: That *the earth was made for man, and man for the earth*. The devil, who long has ruled over it, is a usurper, and the wicked have no legitimate or long possession here. "They shall be destroyed from among the people." "The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth." "But Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation; ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end. For thus saith the Lord that created the heavens, God himself that formed the earth and made it; he hath established it, *he created it not in vain*, he formed it to be inhabited: I am the Lord, and there is none else." Isa. xlv. 17, 18. This plainly refers to the state of "everlasting salvation wherewith Israel shall be saved in the Lord, in the world without end." The psalmist says of the heavens and the earth which are now, "*Thou shalt change them and they shall be changed*." Jesus says, "They shall pass away." But God says, "The new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me." Isa. lxvi. 22. The new earth is as manifestly a renovation of the old, as the renovated body is "this mortal" when it has "put on immortality." This being so (the soul renovated, yet the same; the body renovated, yet the same; the earth renovated, yet the same—the same, yet each how gloriously transformed!) we ought not to allow ourselves to imagine that this class of promises, insuring long life, peace,

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and prosperity, must be fulfilled, in some modified, accommodated, and unsatisfactory sense, now in this present life, or never.

We have already quoted what St. Peter says about the restitution of all things, and the exhortation to repentance and the blotting out of sins which he bases thereon. In Rom. viii. 16–25, Paul teaches that at the time of “the redemption of our body”—“the day of redemption” whereunto we are “sealed” by the Holy Spirit—“the creature,” “the whole creation” shall, after its manner, and according to its proper nature, “have part in the glorious liberty of the sons of God;” for that the material creation is with us to partake of a better state. We have given the sense of the passage as expounded by Calvin. The same is substantially or fully concurred in by Doddridge, Scott, Henry, Burkitt, Hodge, and all other sound commentators with whom we are acquainted. We cannot quote Luther’s opinion, but we know certainly that this was his ideal of the kingdom of God. Let the passage itself be carefully weighed: “The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the sons of God.” We greatly need this witness of the Spirit, for as yet all appearances go to falsify the high pretension. “And if sons, then heirs: heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, *if so be we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together.* For I reckon [it is my sober and deliberate estimation] that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for THE MANIFESTATION OF THE SONS OF GOD—*because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.* For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now; and not only they, but ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, [in this life we have only the firstfruits of the Spirit,] even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body. For we are saved by (or rather, in) hope: but hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not,

then do we with patience wait for it." This, therefore, was what Paul hoped and waited for.

Peter is even more circumstantial in his exposition of things unseen as yet, but confidently and by patience waited for. "Seeing, then, that all these things shall be dissolved [the time whereof no man knoweth,] what manner of persons ought ye to be, in all holy conversation and godliness, *looking for* and hastening unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat? Nevertheless we, *according to his promise*, LOOK FOR new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye *look for* such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot and blameless." 2 Pet. iii. 11-14. If we do not "look for such things," it is manifest that in Peter's day Christians looked for one thing, as the hope set before them, while we look for another. Peter evidently expected that at or after "the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men" there would be a new earth, inhabited by none but the righteous. Gen. i. 7, 8, will probably furnish the best commentary on the new heaven or heavens, always mentioned in connexion with the new earth. The apostle also makes a threefold division of time that is very noteworthy: 1. The heavens and the earth before the flood (v. 5,) "the world that then was," which "perished, being overflowed with water." 2. "The heavens and the earth which are now," and which are "reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." 3. "The new heavens and the new earth" which are to be hereafter, and for which, according to God's promise, believers are looking.

Many objections may be raised against this scriptural view of the hope of the gospel; but we are persuaded that they are merely specious and have no real force. No mere objection can set aside the plain and positive teachings of Scripture, only a part of which have been presented, and which are uncontradicted by anything in Holy Writ. It cannot be said that this view is a novelty, for it is undoubtedly the oldest in the Christian Church; it was regarded as unquestionable by the fathers of the

Reformation, and is held by the most learned and pious men of our own day. It cannot be said that it is unprofitable, unless we would impeach the wisdom of Him who has said so much about it in his word, setting it before us as a definite object of ardent expectation and hope, and teaching us in our daily devotions to pray for its speedy accomplishment, on the strength of his own promise, "I the Lord will hasten it in his time." Isa. lx. 22. Some may, indeed, call it idle conjecture and useless speculation; but if this be conjecture and speculation, we are at a loss to know what is reality and truth. We have heard the allegation that the Father Almighty cannot speak plain enough for his children to understand him, too often from the lips of Romanists, to pay any regard to it now. Let it be granted (yet under protest,) that we can draw no certain conclusions as to the future state, the world to come, from the Psalms and the Prophets; yet what will the objector say to the plain prose of the New Testament, the simple didactic statements of our Lord and his apostles, not merely in regard to that state itself, but also in regard to the testimony of the old prophets concerning it? If these cannot be unhesitatingly believed, unless the Church, or some other human authority, (our own sense, for example, or that of others, of what is congruous and fit,) vouches for their truth, or for our right understanding of them, then the foundations of all our faith are shaken, nay, subverted. If we are to believe only what seems to be probable, or what men will readily assent to, then our faith is utterly vitiated, and we might as well give up our Bibles to those who would burn them. In this enlightened and scientific age, it is currently reported that the day of miracles is past: a statement so widely construed and so generally concurred in, that many Christians seem to have forgotten that the great miracle of time, of which Christ's former miracles were only types—minor exhibitions of the authority and dominion that was given him over all flesh, over all the powers of nature, over all the spirits of darkness, and to which his past sufferings and present exalted mediation are only preliminary—is truly the great event of the future, and the object of our individual hope: a miracle to be wrought, not before carping

and incredulous Jews, but before an admiring and astonished universe; not on behalf of a few sick, famished, or dying folk, but in bestowing eternal life and everlasting salvation on as many as the Father has given him, on as many as have trusted in his gracious power and mercy!

If it be urged that the plainest prose of human speech can only figuratively set forth the eternal realities of the heavenly state, we consent that with due limitations the statement is just; but granting all that is claimed, we conceive that it is the part of wisdom to cleave to what our Saviour and his inspired apostles have given us as the nearest approximation to the reality, rather than try, by our own skill, to improve upon it. The general scope of the promise is clear; of its details we know little or nothing. If it be said that the Church has no doctrine upon the subject of this final restitution, we reply that the Church has never questioned it; and in any case, faith asks no warrant from man to believe the promise of God.

Some there are, we know, who assert that the Bible constantly affirms that heaven, as locally distinguished from earth, is and is to be the eternal abode of redeemed men. We apprehend that this is an entire mistake—that no such statement can be found in the word of God. The souls of departed saints are in heaven, for Christ is in heaven; but their bodies are still on earth, awaiting “the redemption of the purchased possession.” We are assured that “them that sleep in Jesus will God bring with him” at the last day; they come back, then, to be reunited with their bodies; and it is no where intimated that, afterwards, they will be transported to another sphere. The Bible tells us very little about “heaven;” and the expressions it uses where we would say heaven, to wit, “the kingdom of God,” “the kingdom of Christ,” “the kingdom of heaven,” (as having reference to redeemed men,) have to do, as we are fully persuaded, with our own, rather than with any other part of the universe. Here sin has abounded, but grace shall much more abound; here by one man’s offence death reigned over all, but here also “they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness, shall *reign in life* by one, Jesus Christ.”

“The wicked shall be cut off from the earth, but the perfect shall remain in it.”

But, it may be asked, What then becomes of the treasure we have laid up in heaven, the better and enduring substance we have there, the inheritance reserved for us in heaven, the Jerusalem that is above, the city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God? We should convict ourselves of folly, did we pretend to the gift of making all things plain. On the other hand, we maintain that the Scriptures are to be understood in their simple and obvious import, even though we may not be able satisfactorily to adjust their relations to others seemingly in conflict. But we will suggest to the reader that Revelation xxi. 1-5, and also iii. 11, 12, seem to have been written with a view to solving these doubts and removing even the appearance of conflict in the passages referred to. In this vision, subsequent to that of the general judgment, John saw new heavens and a new earth; he saw also the holy city, New Jerusalem, freighted with all the treasures reserved and laid up there, “*coming down from God out of heaven,*” etc. Let the reader examine the passage for himself, giving due weight to the words, “Behold, I make all things new”—the restitution of all things—“and he said unto me write; *for these words are true and faithful.*”

After what we have now said, we would not refer at all to another objection, to wit, that this view is too materialistic and unfriendly to spirituality of heart, except for the fact that there is a very common misapprehension in reference to this matter, on the part of many devout minds. If, indeed, spiritual-mindedness consists in the habitual contemplation of things abstract and immaterial, then the mystics of all ages and religions (who have been not a few,) must bear off the palm of spirituality against all competitors. But it is not so: the scriptural antitheses are not things material and things immaterial, but rather things seen and things unseen as yet; things present and things to come; things carnal and things spiritual. “They that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh, and they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit.” Rom. viii. 5. “The

flesh" is our fallen nature, moral as well as physical; "the things of the flesh" are those with which our fallen nature is conversant, and in which it delights. "The things of the Spirit" are those which have to do with our holy religion, the things which are revealed to us by the Spirit of God in his word; who also works in us an aptitude to receive them, and without whose influence, we neither believe the glad tidings, nor take one step in pursuit of the promised good. This, while including many present spiritual blessings, consists chiefly of "good things to come," whether in their nature material or immaterial or both; for they have to do with both body and soul. The testimony of these things, "the natural man receiveth not, for they are foolishness unto him;" things seen and temporal bound his faith and hope. It is the same fatal lack of faith in God, which leads so many professed Christians to make sure of all they can get of present good, (often of very doubtful quality,) and risk as little as possible upon the uncertain chances for the future. The religion of many is but a miserable calculation of chances. To make some provision against the doubtful future, is as far as such miscalled faith will venture. To the child of God, to him who has a true faith, there is no venture about it, nor any calculation of chances: the future is certain, the present only is doubtful. Life itself cannot be *risked* for Christ's sake: "he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal."

The hope of the gospel contemplates the highest perfection of our whole nature, physical, intellectual, and moral: the countless hosts of these redeemed and perfected men dwelling in their most appropriate habitation, in social converse with each other, amid the unveiled glories of the everywhere present God, and in unrestricted and visible companionship with Jesus Christ, God manifest in our flesh; a state in which every power of our renewed nature, physical and moral, will be in the most delightful activity, doing in all things his will, as angels do it in heaven; a state in which, without the abatement of one jot or tittle of the exceeding broad commandment, we shall love the Lord our God with all our heart and soul and strength and mind, and our neighbor as ourselves; nor account it strange, as we now do,

that our fellows have as good and full a claim upon our affections and cheerful service as our children or ourselves. Then, but we imagine not till then, will clashing interests, with consequent strife and contention, come to an end, and "wars shall cease under the whole heaven." Earth will then be heaven, a part of God's holy and happy empire. "And I John saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven. And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God *is with men*, and he shall *dwell with them*, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away. And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful." Rev. xxi. 2-5. If a continual regard for, and a confident and holy rejoicing in this "hope of the gospel," with a daily preparation for and reference to it in all our plans, arrangements, recreations, and duties, worldly and religious, be not spirituality of heart and heavenly-mindedness, then we have misconstrued the whole matter, and are in darkness until now.

As the opinions of great and good men have weight with Protestants as well as with others, we will, for the gratification of some readers, refer briefly to those of a few of the greatest the modern Church can boast. Calvin closes his comment on Matt. v. 5, with the remark that "after the resurrection, the meek (or the righteous) will be put in everlasting inheritance of the earth." On Isa. lxi. 7, he says, the passage refers to the state after the resurrection. See also his remarks in his treatise on the Resurrection, Institutes, Book III. ch. xxv. sec. 11. The following expression of Luther's views will suffice: "How Luther, when excited by the beauties of nature, still held fast by *his thought of the kingdom of God*, Mathesius shows in the following statement: The spring of 1540 was very beautiful, everything was green and blooming. The Doctor said to Mr. Justus Jonas, If sin and death were away, we might be well satisfied to remain in such a paradise. But it will be far lovelier when the old

world and the old skin are renewed, and an eternal spring arrives which shall continue forever." Henry's Life and Times of Calvin, Vol. I. p. 307. The views of Chalmers will be found, expressed with characteristic grandeur of diction and illustration, in his sermon on the New Heavens and the New Earth. Compare Tholuck on Psalms, xxxvii. 7-11; Hodge's Commentary (unabridged) on Rom. iv. 13, and viii. 18-25; Candlish's Life in a Risen Saviour, p. 101.

All things earthly are fleeting and unstable; the hope of the gospel alone is lasting and secure. Let us then redeem the time, because the days are evil. Our present lot, instead of lading us with a perilous burden of "the cares of this life," should excite us to unwonted activity in our Lord and Master's service. Our past losses, instead of making us more than ever solicitous to lay up treasure on earth, for ourselves and for our children, should the rather teach us wisdom for the future; that by more careful sacrifices of time and toil, by benefactions to the poor, and particularly to Christ's poor saints, by an enlightened zeal for the Lord's house, and by larger and more hearty offerings made to his treasury, we may "provide ourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens *which faileth not*, where neither thief approacheth, nor moth corrupteth"—"a good foundation against the time to come, that we may lay hold upon eternal life." Let us mend our broken fortunes; yes, but then let us invest more wisely than in time past. Drafts against the treasury of heaven will stand us in better stead than the best "foreign exchange" in these uncertain times, or in any other. We shall need them in "the time to come." "He shall receive an hundred fold, and inherit eternal life."

Let no man complain of the loss of political privileges; we have a "citizenship," a "*πολιτευμα*, state relations, in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour," (Phil. iii. 20,) of which man cannot disfranchise us, and in comparison with which all other citizenships are paltry and contemptible. If we have been so impoverished that our children may not enjoy the benefits of a finished education, they may have that which is of infinitely more value, and of which it is written, "All thy

children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children." In THE LIFE TO COME, they will readily make up their present deficiencies. They who begin in the school of Christ, will hereafter begin where the wisest philosophers have left off. They who now are apt to learn the rudiments of knowledge there taught; (the knowledge of their own sin and of Christ's salvation,) insure to themselves, in due time, a solid proficiency in every other department of useful knowledge: "The fear of the Lord [true religion] is the beginning of knowledge." Prov. i. 7. Let us meditate on these things, let us give ourselves wholly to them. Let us be content, not so much with the unhappy present, as in patient expectancy of the blissful future. If God, in his providence, permit us to remain here, it is better so; if we be driven elsewhere, we may go without fear, even though, like the father of the faithful, we know not where: "for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." God gives us but one sure title here—"the possession of a burying place" in the land of our inheritance, wherein, like Abraham, we have lived and died as strangers.* We shall have enough to do, here or elsewhere, in training our children and

* The unwillingness of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, to be buried elsewhere than in their own possessions, the tenacity with which in death, even more than in life, they clung to "the place which they should after receive for an inheritance," (Heb. xi. 8,) Calvin regards as indubitable evidence of their faith in the resurrection of the body, and in the profound significance of the promise made to Abraham. Institutes, Book III. ch. xxv. 8. How much may be comprehended in the sure promise of restoration (not of believing Jews only, but of all the children of Abraham, "according to promise,") the event alone can disclose. Yet, "why should it be thought a thing incredible by any, that God should raise the dead," fulfilling thus the "hope of the promise made unto the fathers?" Acts xxvi. 6-8. Or, how can it be denied, that, in a sense obscure enough now, but perfectly intelligible then, Abraham may yet dwell at home, in the land wherein he lived and died a stranger; and of which God said, "To thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever?" Gen. xiii. 15. The supposition is not necessary to acquit our God of the charge of unfaithfulness; but the whole preceding discussion, as well as Paul's coupling the resurrection of the dead (that is, "of dead men,") with "the hope of the promise made to the fathers, unto which promise the twelve tribes hoped to come," leads us to believe that the second advent, the resurrection of the body, the awards of the last judgment, with the order, holiness, and peace, imperturbable and eternal, which are thenceforth to reign on earth, where the kingdom of God will be forever and gloriously established—that these events, repeatedly and plainly predicted, and to which God's word is as

our households after us, that we may be "heirs together of the grace of life."

Saved, then, in hope, and hoping for that we see not, let us in patience possess our souls. Let us neither antedate our true and promised blessedness; nor, on the other hand, let us commit our Lord to a time of our own appointing; but by patience wait for it in his own time; persuaded that "yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry."

[ADDENDUM.]

ON THE MILLENNIUM.

In the foregoing article, and in that on the Resurrection, which preceded it, we have briefly adverted to several matters which deserve a more special consideration. It is the prevalent belief in the Church in our day, that there are three events to be confidently expected before the end of the world: 1. The restoration of the now dispersed and unbelieving Israelitish na-

fully committed as to anything else, furnish us the key to the Old Testament prophecies of better times to come; and to those frequent promises of restoration, given, as we conceive they only could be given, in forms of speech accommodated to the present condition and pursuits of men. Yet, because we know that some will regard this principle of interpreting the old prophecies as extravagant, although so strongly sustained by the express statements of the New Testament, we will add yet one more: "The promise that he should be the heir of the world was not to Abraham or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith. Therefore, it is of faith, that it might be by grace, to the end that the promise might be sure *unto all the seed*, not to that only which is of the law, but to that which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all, (as it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations;) before [*i. e.* in the sight of] him whom he believed, even God, *who quickeneth the dead*, [*i. e.* dead men,] *and calleth the things that are not as though they were.*" Rom. iv. 13-17. Now, why is the resurrection of the dead brought into view,—why the fact that God looks upon future things as already present, except for the reason, that in the light of these truths, we are to view and understand the promise to Abraham, that through a son, yet unborn, he should be the father of a multitude of nations, (evidently "the nations of them that are saved." Rev. xxi. 24,) who with him should be the heirs of the world? And if the promise is to be thus understood, why not the prophecies, which do but expand, by divine inspiration, the same promise, and picture to us its fulfilment?

tion to the favor of God. 2. The conversion of the world to a pure Christianity. 3. "The Millennium"—we use the word without any reference to Rev. xx. 1-6,—the supposed period of the greatest glories of the Church militant, and its most splendid triumphs over idolatry, error, and sin. The two former are generally included in the last.

We have no right nor any wish to deny that these may be part of God's gracious purposes toward our lost race, preceding, in order, the final and full redemption of the body of Christ. All that we would suggest is, that these purposes are not clearly revealed; and that should it please God at any earlier day to "finish the work and cut it short in righteousness, making a short work upon the earth," (even while we imagine that the good work is only fairly begun,) the error would be altogether our own; since God has purposely concealed the day; and since, even before their fulfilment, the promises and prophecies will bear a very different sense.

I. It is commonly supposed that Rom. xi. clearly reveals God's purpose of the future restoration of the Jewish people, as such, to the faith of the gospel. That sense agrees well with a large part of what the apostle says; but it is beset with very great difficulties. 1. Paul says that "partial blindness has happened unto Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." V. 25. As God is now "visiting the Gentiles to take out of them a people for his name," (Acts xv. 14,) the most natural understanding of Paul's language would be, "until God has gathered his elect among the Gentiles, and sealed them with his Spirit." Another sense, indeed, may be put upon the words, viz., that the Jewish nation is not to be converted until after all the Gentile nations have embraced Christianity. 2. But this is in manifest conflict with the opinion, also held, that the accession of the Jews to the Christian Church will infuse into it a new life, that will carry it triumphant over all the earth: an opinion based on verse 15: "What shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?" *i. e.* a revival of religion such that it may be called a spiritual resurrection. This spiritual resurrection is supposed to express the true sense of "the first resur-

rection" in Rev. xx. 4, 5, and will then occur after "the hindermost of the nations" has come in. This ill agrees with the belief that that gracious revival is to inaugurate the conversion of the nations. The Reformers, on the other hand, understood Paul to speak of the resurrection of the body, (Hodge on Rom. xi. 15,)—"what shall the receiving of them be, but the eternal life of the people of God": so that the reference would be to the heavenly state, the natural but believing children of Abraham, raised up and owned as his, forming one of "the nations of them that are saved." So in Ezek. xxxvii., with reference to the same event, when the people said, "Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost," God replies, "O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel;" and instead of a disheartened few, there stood up "an exceeding great army" of Israelites indeed. 3. The glorious conclusion at which Paul arrives, "*And so all ISRAEL SHALL BE SAVED, as it is written,*" etc., whether reference be had to all believing Israelites or to the whole "Israel of God," seems to us to look the same way. The two scriptures to which Paul alludes in confirmation, determine that more fully as his intent: "The Redeemer shall come to Zion, and to them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord. As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: My Spirit that is upon thee [Jacob] and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, *from henceforth and forever.*" Isa. lix. 20, 21. And again, "But this shall be my covenant, etc.; I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall *teach no more* every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me," etc. etc. Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. It is only after the resurrection, when "he that is perfect shall be as his Master," that we shall "teach no more every man his neighbor," etc.

II. The day is certainly coming when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and of his glory; and when peace shall dwell in all the habitations of men: but that it will be so

before the work of redemption is complete, at Christ's appearing, when "we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is," is not perfectly certain, to say the least. What casts most doubt on the common opinion is the fact that the prophecies in reference to that period leave no room for the "little season" of disorder and satanic apostasy that is to follow; they all bear on their face the impress of perpetuity; they shall teach *no more*, sin *no more*, war *no more*. It is frequently said that the conversion of the world is necessary, in order to make up the innumerable hosts of the redeemed out of all the nations and tribes and kindreds of the earth. But if the prevailing belief among us be well-founded, that all who die before their personal accountability begins, belong to the class of "elect infants, dying in infancy," it will probably be found in the day of redemption that more than half of all the nations that sit in darkness, have been snatched as brands from the burning, through the intervention of that untimely death which others have deplored; and are waiting now "the manifestation of the sons of God." We have maintained that the glorious Old Testament prophecies ought to be read in the light of the resurrection; and whether all nations be ever converted or not, it seems to us that those innumerable millions of the redeemed, never reckoned among the sons of Zion, are indicated in Isaiah xlix. 21: "Then shalt thou say in thine heart, *who hath begotten me these*, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, and a captive, and removing to and fro? And *who hath brought up these?* Behold, I was left alone; *these, where had they been?*" "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise." "Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight!" It was when Zion is represented as bemoaning her arduous and unprofitable labor—"We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have, as it were, brought forth wind; we have not wrought any deliverance in the earth; *neither have the inhabitants of the world fallen*"—that the prophet exclaims, "Thy dead men shall live; together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in

dust, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs; and the earth shall cast out the dead." Isa. xxvi. 18, 19. "At the resurrection of the just," the saying will be literally fulfilled, that "*the earth shall be made to bring forth in one day, and nations be born at once.*"

III. If there is to be a "millennium," then both the above expectations will doubtless have a double fulfilment, one in this world, a glorious foreshadowing of that hereafter. It may be so that there are far better times in store for the Church in its militant state; we dare not deny it; we would not do so presumptuously, if we dared. But has God clearly revealed any such purpose? We think not; else it would not have escaped the keen vision of the leaders of the Reformation, to mention no others. That purpose certainly is not revealed in Rev. xx. 1-6; and we have seen that the old prophets refer to something far higher and better. The endless disputes also among good men, about its relation to the second advent, suggest the inquiry whether the "millennium" itself may not be the most doubtful point involved in the controversy; and yet it is always taken for granted by both the parties in dispute. The doubt is increased by the fact that, till the last two hundred or two hundred and fifty years, whenever the subject came up, the parties in controversy were not, as now, pre-millenarians and post-millenarians, but millenarians and *anti-millenarians*. This continued so till long after the Reformation. There are some, indeed, who imagine that the Reformers were but babes in the knowledge of such matters, as compared with ourselves. But there has been no new revelation given since their day; and as we do not belong to the modern school of religious progressionists, we imagine that they were as well qualified in all respects to ascertain the mind of the Spirit as we; and in some respects better, for their daily conflicts with error kept all their senses awake, led them more jealously to scrutinize the word of eternal truth, and to contend far more earnestly for the obvious and literal sense of the divine oracles.

The various and contradictory opinions held by the best of men, as to that mysterious period of a thousand years, which

gives name and occasion to the controversy, leads us to the same conclusion, to wit, that God has taught us nothing with certainty on the subject. St. Peter tells us that the old prophets did not understand the import of many of their own predictions; for the most part they were to them very dark; and we have no idea that St. John was an exception to the rule, or that he knew any more about the "millennium" than the least of us; probably not so much in his own esteem. The old millenarianism, which is substantially one with the modern premillenarianism, rose in the second century, engrafting a Jewish theory on the guardedly expressed words of the Apocalypse, and giving the more plausibility to their opinions by mixing up therewith the doctrine of the final and eternal "restitution of all things" which was plainly taught by the apostles. The Church always rejected this theory, as it does to-day; but then, till recently, it rejected the millennium along with it. Of the Reformers, so far as we can learn, Luther thought the thousand years began with the time of the prophecy; Melancthon, and others, that it dated from the accession of Constantine, and the downfall of paganism. Calvin, instead of regarding it as a period of peace and tranquility, a figure of the heavenly rest, says, "It refers not to the heavenly rest, but to the *various agitations* which await the Church in its militant state on earth." Institutes B. III. ch. xxv. 5. By some, it has been supposed that the thousand years refers to the day of judgment, or that part of it during which Satan and the spirits of darkness are in close confinement, awaiting their own judgment: Gog and Magog, then, are ungodly and condemned men, transformed from mortal to immortal, who league with Satan and his angels to disown and resist the authority of the Judge. This theory, which is as plausible as any, is based on 2 Pet. iii. 8, which is regarded, not as accounting for the Lord's delay in fulfilling the promise of his coming, (that the apostle does in the next verse,) but as referring to "the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men" mentioned in the preceding verse. And last of all, we have the now currently received theory. Each of these theories may be plausibly accommodated to the brief outline given in Scripture; yet each of

them is attended with very great difficulties, as all candid advocates of them must admit. For our own part, we imagine that if God had intended us to hold any settled opinions on the subject, he would have told us just what we are to believe.

But, not to extend this note too far, we will suggest as briefly as possible five arguments against one or both of the theories which make it the great period of the Church's great conquests and ingathering of sinners.

I. Whereas nineteen chapters are occupied with the various conflicts and fortunes of the Church in this world, covering, as is supposed, a period of eighteen hundred or two thousand years, it seems to us inconceivable that the whole period of the Church's most splendid achievements, and greatest peace, purity, and prosperity, covering a space of one thousand or three hundred and sixty thousand years, should be passed over in the brief compass of six verses (Rev. xx. 1-6)—these verses bringing to our knowledge but two facts: 1. That Satan is bound, and shut up in the bottomless pit, that he may deceive the nations no more for a thousand years; and 2. That a certain class of persons, who are pronounced blessed and holy, (because they have part in the first resurrection, and over them the second death shall have no power,) shall reign with Christ a thousand years; but where or under what circumstances the record does not say, whether in heaven, or on earth, or "in the air" on Christ's judgment-seat. Of all things else, material or immaterial, not one word is spoken. Now, it seems to us incredible that in a symbolical representation of the period when all nations are to be converted, the Jews restored to Christ, and universal peace and blessedness refresh the groaning earth, no reference whatever is made to any such things: the only two events mentioned occurring at the beginning, and the whole period itself presenting an *ominous blank*.

II. Both theories imply that we are not to expect the great triumphs of grace, till Satan is placed under some new restraint; as though Christ must lay hold on the adversary and still further cripple him, before his word and Spirit can effect their signal victories over the fatal perverseness and obduracy of men.

III. In Scripture, Satan is said to be "the god of this world" or "age"—this disordered state of things which sin has introduced; so that "the course of this world" is essentially "according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience," who "also deceiveth the whole world." When, therefore, Satan is cast out, when his supremacy is overthrown, and this disordered state of things comes to an end, it seems obvious that it will be the end of "this present evil world" or "age." And whatever interpretation be put upon the symbolical language of the Apocalypse, it appears to us, that any state of things of which it may be said that Satan is bound, cast into the bottomless pit, shut up, and a seal set upon him, that he may deceive the nations no more for a thousand years, must be essentially a different state of things from the present, and cannot therefore be a part of "this present evil world" or "age," of which fallen angels are said to be the spiritual rulers. The apostle admonishes us to take to us the whole armor of God, because we contend not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers; against the rulers of the darkness of this world—the rulers of this dark and disordered world or age,—against spiritual wickedness in high places. Now when this exhortation becomes obsolete, because Satan is placed under close restraint, we cannot believe, without an express divine warrant for it, that the offer of salvation will be either made or accepted. If it be said that we must take God's testimony to the contrary, we reply that the passage does not even hint that, during the thousand years Satan is bound, one sinner will come to repentance, much less all nations.

IV. The darkest feature of the whole is, that the prevalent theory now asserts what before was only implied: to wit, that Satan, when once released, is able in "a little season" to undo the glorious work of a thousand or three hundred and sixty thousand years; filling the peaceful earth with error, confusion, and discord, till faith is scarce left among men; as Christ says, "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?"

V. The only other argument we need offer against the popularly received interpretation of the passage, is, that the judgment which comes subsequent to the thousand years, and to the little season of direful confusion and conflict, is not a judgment of "the quick and the dead" at all; it is emphatically a judgment of *the dead*—of men who have come up out of their graves and out of the depths of the sea. The subjects of this judgment are *four times over* declared to be "THE DEAD," and no reference whatever is made to any of the living. The twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse evidently covers a period of transition between this world and the world or age to come, "the world without end;" but its details are purposely involved in an impenetrable darkness.

In respect of the events which are to fill up those thousand years, the passage appears to us to be the most non-committal in the Bible. In this matter, it seems to have been God's purpose to hide wisdom from man. As regards that mysterious period, he has not bound himself by any pledge or engagement; but has left himself free to fill up those thousand years, which are to him, and mayhap will be to us, as one day, with judgment or mercy or both, as is most in accordance with his studiously concealed and inscrutable purpose.

"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!" Conf. of Faith, ch. xxxiii. 3.

"As to the circumstance that Paul speaks in the first person, ['we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord,'] he means by this to arouse the Thessalonians to wait for it; nay, more, to hold all believers in suspense, that they may not promise themselves some particular time. For, granting it was by special revelation that he knew that Christ would come *at a somewhat later time*, (2 Thess. ii. 3,) it was necessary that this

doctrine should be delivered to the Church in common, that believers should be prepared at all times." Calvin on 1 Thess. iv. 15.

"But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief." Paul : 1 Thess. v. 4.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Rock of our Salvation : A Treatise respecting the Natures, Person, Offices, Work, Sufferings, and Glory of Jesus Christ. By WILLIAM S. PLUMER, D. D., LL. D. Published by the American Tract Society, New York : pp. 519 : 12mo. 1867.

The theme of this book is the most glorious that ever occupied the tongue or the pen of man. An aged and faithful minister of the gospel, who has spent all his life preaching Christ, could not better employ his ripest and maturest powers than in recording his testimony concerning the adorable Redeemer. A learned and eminent professor of theology could perform no more profitable service for the Church, than to compose in plain and simple words his profoundest, most instructive, and most convincing lessons relative to God incarnate for human salvation. This volume contains the marrow of the gospel. It is all about Christ, and is full of unction. The wisest man that ever lived might read it with benefit, whilst the simplest and most ignorant can not fail to understand every sentence and every word. It is a book which must live; for it is full of undying truth, and such as mankind must ever need, and the Church ever busy herself in pro-

mulgating. It treats of the Divinity of Christ, his Sonship, his incarnation, his mediation, his humiliation, his redemption, resurrection, ascension, and session at God's right hand. It treats of Christ's offices of Prophet, Priest, and King of his people, and of Christ as the shepherd and the physician of souls. It treats of Christ in heaven; of Christ's personal [bodily] absence from this world; and of Christ on the judgment seat. The concluding chapters hold forth Christ's glorious reward, the gospel hidden from some, and the sin and danger of unbelief.

We have read chapter xxiii., upon Christ's glorious reward, with peculiar pleasure. It is in Dr. Plumer's own style, and abounds with all the excellences of that style in its happiest vein. It presents us with a graphic view of the moral state of the world at this time; discusses the encouragements to hope for the spread of truth; and points out what we may all do to promote the cause of Christ. And then it concludes with a form of earnest prayer for the speedy conversion of the world. This is a feature of the book in several of its chapters. It is not a new feature, but a very admirable one. In reading such a book as this, the Christian heart often warms under the inspiring thoughts and glowing words of the author, and is ready to burst forth into devout supplication and thanksgiving; so that a suitable form of words embodying such feelings is both welcome and profitable.

The chapters on Redemption and the Atonement (Chapters XI., XII., XIII., XIV.,) perhaps do not contain all that the author might have said if he had written for a publishing committee of the Presbyterian Church; but they do contain a scriptural presentation of those subjects, such as the different denominations united in the American Tract Society can agree to publish and circulate. Christ is held forth as our substitute, our surety, our satisfaction, our sacrifice, and our obedience. His death is represented as a proper, real, and full satisfaction for the debts of all his people, so that by the merits of this vicarious satisfaction they come to possess full redemption and perfect righteousness before God. We are very glad, not in any sectarian interest of our own, but in the interest of the great truths of our common

Christianity, that the American Tract Society is able to adopt all these statements, and give them circulation. We are glad to see that it can quote with approbation and by name from such writers as Calvin, Owen, Boston, John Brown of Haddington, Symington, Witherspoon, and Candlish.

We have one fault to find with the execution of the task undertaken by the author, which we will not withhold, although it is a minor one. There are too many divisions and subdivisions, all marked off by numbers. The book is broken up too much by the constant recurrence of these figures. This fault marks the earlier chapters much more than the later, and consequently we read the later ones with more pleasure. This is however a matter of taste, about which there should be no disputing.

The Household of Sir Thomas More. Libellus a Margareta More, quindecim annos nata, Chelseiæ inceptus. Nulla dies sine linea. By the Author of "Mary Powell." New Edition, with an Appendix. New York: M. W. Dodd, No. 506 Broadway. 1867. 257 pages, 16mo.

All the world is more or less familiar with the life and works, the probity and courage, the sufferings and death of Sir Thomas More. Protestants have vied with Romanists in doing honor to his memory; all men believe in his sincerity, and every rightly governed heart admires his resolute devotion to the faith he professed. Even that stain on his memory, his obedience to the behests of his monarch, the most headstrong of the Tudors, in persecuting adherents of the new faith, is mentioned more in the spirit of sad regret than of bitter censure; and the plea is urged that he could not be expected to be in advance of the practice of the age, and what there is too much reason to regard as the spirit of all ages. The incidents of Sir Thomas More's life are too fresh in the memory of readers of Lord Campbell's fascinating "Lives of the Lord Chancellors" to allow us to indulge in any extended reference to them. Some token of the place he held among the men of his age meets us at every turn. Writers of law commentaries relate again and again, how he disputed victoriously with the doctor of civil law at the Univer-

sity of Bruges in Flanders, who challenged all comers to contend with him *in omni scibili et de quolibet ente*, More gravelling him with this tough thesis from the common law of England, "*Utrum averia carucae, capta in vetito namio, sint irreplegibilia?*" Every historian of the times of the Reformation, if he deals fairly by his subject, must tell of that effort at reform, before Luther rose, in which More, John Colet, his venerable confessor, and Erasmus of Rotterdam, the first scholar of the age, were worthily associated. Writers on ethics and political expounders alike turn to his "Utopia" for allusion or quotation. Biographers of the Chancellors of England give him no slender space. Historians of national events must tell of his embassies creditably discharged, and of his wise and fearless counsels to his unworthy prince.

But it is time to turn to Miss Manning's delightful impersonation of sweet Mistress Margaret, his daughter.

This book is superior even to those seen by Bergerac, in his "Journey to the Moon," which addressed themselves to the ears, not to the eyes: it speaks at once to the heart. The deep sympathy Miss Manning has with the scenes and the persons she re-creates, the ripe purity of her language, the tenderness of her tone, the limpid sweetness of her humor, the soft tints with which she covers her seemingly homely canvass, the poetic love she has for the sights and sounds and smells of out-door life, her genial fellowship with the human heart and God's lovely creation beyond it, the warm Christian trust she breathes, cluster like magic spells about the reader, and charm him into a higher and happier life than he has lived before. To those whose eyes have lingered lovingly over her bright mirrorings of some of the richest groupings the annals of the past can show, it is needless to dwell on the peculiar excellences of her genius; and to those as yet unfamiliar with her works, no words of ours could fitly embody them: they must go to the charming originals.

The book of which we treat purports to be the loving record kept by Mistress Margaret More, afterwards the wife of William Roper, of her noble father's home life. Almost at the very opening, Erasmus, the great scholar and humorous satirist of the

age, is introduced. It was he who lauded so highly the custom prevalent in the England of his day, which permitted the sweet lips of English women to give salutation to the stranger. We may be sure then, that he was in private life a genial man, who dearly loved the society of the fair ones. Indeed, the high praise which he gives to the ladies of England assures us that he must have made himself a welcome guest amongst them. At all events, by the children of Sir Thomas More, his visits were esteemed a very precious blessing. We give the passage that describes his coming:

“As I traced the last Word, methoughte I heard the well-known Tones of *Erasmus* his pleasant Voyce; and, looking forthe of my Lattice, did indeede beholde the deare little Man coming up from the River Side with my Father, who, because of the Heat, had given his Cloak to a tall Stripling behind him to bear. I flew up Stairs, to advertise *Mother*, who was half in and half out of her grogram Gown, and who stayed me to clasp her Owches; so that, by the Time I had followed her down Stairs, we founde 'em alreadie in the Hall.”

The “tall stripling” who comes with them is William Roper; and she tells pleasantly how he provoked her by making her “looke so stupid” with his bashful awkwardness in the matter of salutation. Erasmus is shown into the girls' study-room, where “He glanced, too, at the Books on the Desks: *Bessy's* being *Livy*; *Daisy's* *Sallust*; and mine, *St. Augustine*, with *Father's* Marks where I was to read, and where desist.” Are there many girls of our days so wise and learned? Truly, there are, but from different sources; and Macaulay has happily shown the reasons for the difference, and cleared up the misconception to which it gave rise in many minds.

The colloquy that follows between More and Erasmus is delightful; and we with difficulty refrain from making many extracts. Mistress Margaret's observation on the day's intercourse with their guest we give:

“At Bedtime, *Bess* and I did agree in wishing that all learned Men were as apt to unite Pleasure with Profit in their Talk as *Erasmus*. There be some that can write after the Fashion of Paul, and others preach like unto Apollos; but this, methinketh, is scattering Seed by the Wayside, like the Great Sower.”

It is noteworthy that almost every word put into the mouth of Sir Thomas More is drawn from the *Utopia*, and the words of Erasmus are also his real opinions expressed in the ironical *Eulogy of Folly*, which he dedicated to his friend More, and in the famous *Colloquies*. The skill with which these scattered thoughts are interwoven into the texture of daily converse is exquisite.

After this, we have a great deal of talk about the abuses prevailing in the Church, the great need of renovation in all its branches, the hopes inspired by the revival of learning and the wide-spread use of the art of printing; about the many useful properties of the simple herbs of the fields and hedges, and about the kind of life one would prefer to his own, if he could change. On this last topic we must quote what Erasmus has to say:

“Saythe *Erasmus*, with his sweet, inexpressible smile, ‘Now I will tell you, Lads and Lasses, what manner of Man *I* woulde be, if I were not *Erasmus*. I woulde step back some few Years of my Life, and be half-way ’twixt thirty and forty; I woulde be pious and profounde enow for the Church, albeit noe Churchman; I would have a blythe, stirring English Wife, and half-a-dozen merrie Girls and Boys; an English Homestead, neither Hall nor Farm, but betweene both; neare enow to the Citie for Convenience, but away from its Noise. I woulde have a Profession, that gave me some Hours daylie of regular Businesse, that should let Men know my Parts, and court me into Publick Station, from which my Taste made me rather withdrawe. I woulde have such a private Independance, as should enable me to give and lend, rather than beg and borrow. I woulde encourage Mirthe without Buffoonerie, Ease without Negligence; my Habitt and Table should be simple; and for my Looks, I woulde be neither tall nor short, fat nor lean, rubicund nor sallow; but of a fayr Skin with blue Eyes, brownish Beard, and a Countenance engaging and attractive, so that alle of my Companie coulde not choose but love me.’

“‘Why, then, you woulde be *Father* himself!’ cries Cecy, clasping his Arm in bothe her Hands with a kind of Rapture; and, indeede, the Portraiture was soe like, we coulde not but smile at the Resemblance.”

Next come some reflections on superstitions, with Margaret’s private opinions on the subject of witchcraft; and then, a little

adventure with William Roper, which ends in her finding "there was really more in him than one would think."

The happy death of Gammer Gurney's sister, which the sisters, Cecy and Meg, witness; the doings on the festival of St. John's Eve; further pleasant talk of the household; the departure of Erasmus; another boating on the Thames, this time "to see my Lord Cardinall of York go to Westminster in State," are the next incidents recorded. Visits to Aunt Nan and Aunt Fan; over-toiling of Mistress Meg in a task which after ages called writing a concordance; the founding of a House of Refuge for the destitute over which Mistress Meg presides; discourse between her and William Roper on the points of dispute between the Reformers and the Romish Church; and the beginning of her good father's court life, fill up the next few pages.

Now comes our first view of bluff King Hal, the Bluebeard Tudor. Hear Mistress Meg's account:

"The *King* tooke us by Surprise this Morning; *Mother* had scarce time to slip her Scarlett Gown and Coif, ere he was in the House. His Grace was mightie pleasant to all, and, at going, saluted all rounde, which *Bessy* took humorouslie, *Daisy* immoveable, *Mercy* humblie, I distastefullie, and *Mother* delight-edlie. She calls him a fine Man; he is indeede big enoughe, and like to become too big; with long Slits of Eyes that gaze free lie on all, as who shoulde say, 'Who dare let or hinder us?' His Brow betokens Sense and Franknesse, his Eye-brows are supercilious, and his Cheeks puffy. A rolling, straddling Gait, and abrupt Speech."

The next figure introduced is that of Patteson, promoted to the post of Jester to Sir Thomas More. Then comes Master Will's courtship of the wise young diarist, who, for a number of modest maiden's reasons which she delivers most demurely in these private pages, accepts him. Sir Thomas grows in favor with the king; and the daughters are married off to their contentment, though the whole household keep together as before.

Among the next records in her little book, we find these glad words of the favorite daughter:

"As to mine owne deare *Will*, 'tis the kindest, purest Nature, the finest Soul, the * * * and yet how I was senselesse enow once to undervalue him!

“Yes, I am a happy Wife; a happy Daughter, a happy Mother. When my little *Bill* stroaked dear *Father's* Face just now, and murmured ‘Pretty!’ he burst out a-laughing, and cried, ‘You are like the young *Cyrus*, who exclaimed, Oh! *Mother*, how pretty is my Grandfather! And yet, according to *Xenophon*, the old Gentleman was soe rouged and made up, as that none but a Childe would have admired him!’

“‘That’s not the Case,’ I observed, ‘with *Bill's* Grandfather.’

“‘He’s a *More* all over,’ says *Father*, fondly.”

But this happiness is not to last very long. Soon Master Roper’s heretical tendencies blaze out afresh, and great domestic disquiet is the consequence. After *Wolsey's* fall, Sir Thomas is raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor. His decision at home of a cause between his wife and a beggarwoman in favor of the latter, is divertingly told. His worthy course in the high duties he now discharged is duly recorded; and the following beautiful instance of his filial piety must be quoted:

“He ne’er commences *Businesse* in his owne Court without first stepping into the Court of *King's Bench*, and there kneeling downe to receive my Grandfather’s Blessing. *Will* sayth ’tis worth a World to see the *Uction* with which the deare old Man bestows it on him.”

The venerable judge’s death takes place not long after this record, and is noted reverently and sorrowfully by the pen of his grand-daughter. Soon a greater trouble comes. The honest counsellor will not comply with his king’s will touching the new marriage; and, finding the king displeased, he resigns the Great Seal, rather than hurt his conscience. Then ensues a short breathing-spell, until the coronation of Queen Anne, when the wrath of the tyrant blazes out against his retired minister. A charge of bribery and corruption in his chancery jurisdiction being triumphantly refuted, and other false charges trumped up for the occasion being as easily parried by the strong testimony of his pure life and the calm courage of a soul resting in God’s sovereignty, for a while his enemies are at fault. At this time, in his talk with his daughter, he utters some beautiful words, which we cannot leave unquoted:

“Then looking steadfastlie at the *Thames*—‘How quietlie,’ sayth he, ‘it flows on! This River, *Meg*, hath its Origin from

seven petty Springs somewhither amongst the *Gloucestershire* Hills, where they bubble forthe unnoted, save by the Herd and Hind. Belike, they murmur over the Pebbles prettily enough; but a great River, mark you, never murmurs. It murmured and bubbled too, 'tis like, whilst only a Brook, and brawled away as it widened and deepened, and chafed agaynst Obstacles, and here and there got a Fall, and splashed and made much Ado, but ever kept running on towards its End, still deepening and widening; and now, towards the Close of its Course, look you how swift and quiet it is, running mostly between Flats, and with the dear blue Heaven reflected in its Face.' ”

At last the blow comes. He is required to take the new Oath of Supremacy, and on his refusal, is committed to the Tower. His wife is permitted to visit him there, and tries to persuade him to be reconciled to the king, asking him when he will change his note and act like a wise man; to which he answers, “When? when? why, when Gorse is out of Blossom and Kissing out of Fashion,” merry in his steadfastness. Next his darling, the sweet diarist, visits him in his prison and finds him keeping his mirth even in that extremity, with the block ever present to his mind. Says he, when she gives him the dainties she has brought: “'Twoulde tell well before the Council, that on searching the Prison-cell of Sir *Thomas More*, there was founde, flagitiouslie and mysteriouslie laid up—a Piece of Barley-sugar!”

Much excellent discourse passes between them, for which we would we had space. The grief and anxiety that darken the home, while its head is waiting his doom, and the distressful hearts weighed down by darkest forebodings, are pictured with a simple truth that touches more deeply than elegiac eloquence could. We seem to feel the suffering as we read, and to be with the troubled household under that dread Damocles' sword of suspense, whose slender thread is sure to break in the end. In the midst of this heavy trial, Mistress Margaret's little boy dies, which is a sad sorrow to the mother's heart; but she is comforted in her grief by faith in the soundness of God's purpose. This record after the death of her child is very sweet:

“I stole forthe, ere 'twas Lighte, this damp chill Morning, to pray beside the little Grave, but found dear *Daisy* there before

me. How Christians love one another! *Will's* Loss is as heavie as mine, yet he bears with me tenderlie."

Meanwhile temptations and threats assail her strong-souled old father in vain. At last he is brought forth to his trial; and his children go to see him pass by.

"His Face was calm, but grave, as he came up, but just as he passed, he caughte the Eye of some one in the Crowd, and smiled in his old, frank Way; then glanced up towards the Windows with the bright Look he hath so oft cast to me at my Casement, but saw us not. I coulde not help crying '*Father!*' but he heard me not; perchance 'twas soe best—I woulde not have had his Face cloud at the Sichte of poor *Bessy's* Tears."

By false witness and prejudgment of his cause, together with what was easy to be had, a compliant jury, he is found guilty. On his way back to the Tower, Patteson makes way through the crowd for the loving daughter to reach him, "a Breach," she says, "through which I darted, fearlesse of Bills and Halberds, and did cast mine Arms about *Father's* Neck. He cries, '*My Meg!*' and hugs me to him as though our very Souls shoulde grow together. He sayth, 'Bless thee, bless thee! Enough, enough, my Child; what mean ye, to weep and break mine Heart? Remember, though I die innocent, 'tis not without the Will of God, who could have turned mine Enemies' Hearts, if 'twere best; therefore possess your Soul in Patience. Kiss them all for me, thus and thus ——' soe gave me back into *Dancey's* Arms, the Guards about him alle weeping; but I coulde not thus lose Sight of him for ever; soe, after a Minute's Pause, did make a second Rush, brake away from *Dancey*, clave to *Father* agayn, and agayn they had Pitie on me, and made Pause while I hung upon his Neck. This Time there were large Drops standing on his dear Brow, and the big Tears were swelling into his Eyes. He whispered, '*Meg*, for *Christ's* Sake don't unman me! thou'lt not deny my last Request?' I sayd, 'Oh! no!' and at once loosened mine Arms. 'God's Blessing be with you!' he sayth with a last Kiss. I could not help crying, '*My Father, my Father!*' 'The Chariot of *Israel*, and the Horsemen thereof!' he vehementlie whispers, pointing upwards with soe

passionate a Regard, that I look up, almost expecting a beatific Vision; and when I turn about agayn, he's gone, and I have no more Sense nor Life till I find myself agayn in mine owne Chamber, my Sisters chafing my Hands."

After his death she receives these last words from him, "writ with a Coal": "I never liked your Manner towards me better than when you kissed me last."

With Patteson's aid she goes by night to the Tower-bridge, and bears away the head that "hath lain full manie a Time in her Lap;" and this treasure she kept ever after privately in a coffer. Her closing words are echoed by the voice of after generations:

"*Interfecistis, interfecistis Hominem omnium Anglorum optimum.*"

Jacques Bonneval, or the Days of the Dragonnades. By the Author of "Mary Powell," "The Faire Gospeller," etc., etc. New York: M. W. Dodd, No. 506 Broadway. 1867. 16mo. Pp. 198.

This tale carries us to the flourishing town of Nismes, at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and introduces us to the families of two silk-factors, partners and brother Huguenots. Both characters and events are traced with merely outline touches; but the general effect is pleasing; and wonderfully vivid is the picture, when we consider the narrow compass in which the whole is told, and the lack of anything like that art-involved maze the Italians so properly call *intreccio*. It is a pleasant story, for with all the trials and troubles, difficulties and perplexities of our friends, the Bourdinaves and the Bonnevals, they escape safely at last out of their native land into Protestant England, where they may freely practise the pure worship of God taught them by their fathers. It is not stated, but we are left to presume, that Jacques duly marries his betrothed, the sweet maiden Madeleine Bourdinave.

Many fine passages touching constancy in faith under fierce persecution, and God's promises of strength and comfort to those who trust in him and remain steadfast, are scattered through

the book. Slight and unambitious as is its scope, it is characterised by that delicacy of touch and purity of tone, both in style and matter, which elevate Miss Manning so far above most writers of religious and God-recognising fiction. With never a trace of cant, she pours out in rich abundance the most precious truths of our faith. She always shows good taste, that synonyme for good sense.

But while everything from the pen of Miss Manning is good, we must say, this little book is certainly inferior in quality to the rest of her works. She seems to have intended little more than a light sketch, which should be suggestive of the sufferings through which the Huguenots passed, rather than to aim at depicting them in that more graphic manner with which, in "Cherry and Violet," she describes the horrors of the Great Plague in London.

The tale begins with the history of the visit of the two families to the Fair of Beaucaire, that their innocent gladness on that holiday occasion may point the more strongly the contrast between the old happy life they had hitherto led, and the fierce fire of persecution to which they were so soon after to be subjected.

During their stay at the Fair, Jacques and Madeleine are betrothed by their fathers. Shortly after their return to Nismes, disturbances take place in the town, the rabble with riotous outbreaks injuring the Huguenots as much as they can. In the midst of this time of anxious foreboding, Jacques goes to see his sick uncle, Chambrun, the minister of a small town seven leagues from Nismes. He finds the Bishop of Valence and the royal commissioner with him, trying to persuade him to make some submission to the Church of Rome. They go away in anger, failing to induce him to comply with their wishes. Soon after, a body of dragoons force their way into the house, and after plundering all they can lay their hands on, they keep drumming all day and all night, until from loss of sleep occasioned by the hideous noise, the sick man falls into a trance that deceives them into the belief that he is dead. Similar outrages are committed all over the town.

On his return to Nismes, Jacques' father sends him back to fetch away the sick man. The young man brings his uncle and aunt to Nismes in a haycart; and they are kept for a while in secrecy in his father's house. From this precarious place of refuge he sets out for the frontier, hoping to escape from France. Jacques accompanies him part of the way, and on his return finds dragoons in possession of the house, and giving ill usage to his father and mother, in the endeavor to extort from them a confession of the route taken by the refugee minister. The son rushes furiously amongst them and attacks them with such impetuosity that for a time he has the advantage, but is soon overpowered and bound hand and foot. They treat him to the bastinado before the eyes of his parents, and urge him by threats and stripes to recant; but he is steadfast. They then burn the soles of his feet with a redhot iron, and from excess of pain he faints. He is cast out of the house, his persecutors thinking him dead. On his coming to his senses, his mother and Madeleine relieve his pain somewhat by soothing applications to the burns, and assist him to a place of concealment in Les Arènes, the ruins of an old Roman amphitheatre. The father's factory is burnt; but they all reach the hiding-place in safety. Jacques' reflections on faith, in this dark hour of trial, are rich in truth and clearness:

“I have heard persons say, ‘Have you the faith of assurance?’ Yes, thank God, I have it, and have had it ever since he was first graciously pleased to call me to him, and that was long, long ago. But all have not this faith; just as a man, wanting to go to Bordeaux, may not be assured he is on the road to Bordeaux, and yet he may be on the way thither nevertheless. Then, if you have not the faith of assurance, practise at least the faith of adherence. That, at least, is in your power. Cleave to God exactly as if you were certain of being accepted by him at last; and thus, fulfilling his own conditions, you will be accepted by him, whether you are assured of it beforehand or not. ‘Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out.’”

In the deep vaults of Les Arènes the fugitives pass a somewhat dreary time. After a time, M. Bourdinave joins them, with the news of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This determines

them to escape to England, if possible. This they all succeed in doing. The end is told in these words :

“In short we are all, without one exception, among the four hundred thousand persons who forsook France rather than renounce their faith. Of that number, a very great many perished of famine, hardships, and fatigue; but we were among the many who safely reached this hospitable country and commenced life anew. Many of us settled without the city walls in the open ground of Spital Fields, which we gradually covered with houses and silk-factories. Here we spoke our own language, sang our own songs, had our own places of worship, and built our dwellings in the old French style, with porticoes and seats at the doors, where our old men sat and smoked on summer evenings, and conversed with one another in their own tongue.

“At first our starving refugees were relieved by a Parliamentary grant of £15,000 a year; but God prospering our industry, our trade went on steadily increasing, till that, now, in 1713, three hundred thousand of us are maintained by it in England; and many others of us in friendly countries abroad, where we have been driven. Prosperity to those among whom we have settled has followed. The native land that cast us forth has been impoverished. Happy are the people whom the Lord hath blessed. Yea, happy are they who have the Lord for their God.”

1. *The Negro*: What is his ethnological status? Is he the progeny of Ham? Is he a descendant of Adam? Has he a soul? or is he a beast in God's nomenclature? What is his status as fixed by God in creation? What is his relation to the white race? By ARIEL. Cincinnati: Published for the Proprietor: 1867. Pp. 48, 12mo.
2. *Nojoque: A Question for a Continent*. By HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina, Author of “The Impending Crisis of the South.” New York: George W. Carleton & Co., Publishers. London: S. Low, Son & Co. 1867. Pp. 479, 12mo.

Extremes meet in books as in other matters. Here is Helper, the notorious abolitionist, so distinguished amongst them for his fiery zeal against slavery, standing now upon common ground

with a proslavery writer who calls himself "Ariel;" and that common ground the most bitter and cruel hatred for the black man which human language can express. The one is for literally exterminating the negro; the other labors to prove him only a beast. Helper wishes to destroy them bodily. "Ariel" denies them immortality. The doctrine of both productions is, in spirit and effect, and to a considerable extent in form also, the very same. They are twin children. Both are murderous in their character and tendency; both are the spawn of infidelity, and illustrate the dark malignancy of its nature, hostile alike to God and man. Whether this language is unduly harsh, let the reader of the extracts which follow judge for himself.

The opening sentence of the abolitionist's book is: "Were I to state here, frankly and categorically, that the primary object of this work is to write the negro out of America, and that the secondary object is to write him, (and manifold millions of other black and bi-colored caitiffs, little better than himself,) out of existence, God's simple truth would be told." He says (pp. 39, 40,) that they are fit only "to be aggregately and unceremoniously hurled headlong into the vortex of oblivion." He says (p. 78,) that Pennsylvania is greater than North Carolina, because the latter is "cursed with a tenantry of hell-hatched and hell-doomed Ethiopians," and that Kentucky can only be as great as Ohio, when "nature shall have shown all the Kentucky Quashees and Dinahs the way into the Mammoth Cave, or into some other vast subterranean cavity, or into the whirlpools of the Mississippi," etc., and he urges (p. 79) that we "open at once, for the speedy and pell-mell exit of all the negroes, Indians, and bi-colored hybrids, every back-door in our land." On page 82, he urges that "to love the negro is to gratify the devil," but to "hate them with perfect hatred, as they deserve to be hated, and as we are required and expected to hate them," is to "render highly acceptable and pleasing service to the Deity." "No antipathy to color,' say they, 'no hatred nor exclusion of the negroes because of their blackness.' Indeed! Ah! Umph! So! Then let us at once do away with all our antipathy to snakes! Let us cease to hate fiends!" (P. 84.) He describes the negro

as coming to this country from Africa "like a brute; he was a brute then; he had always been a brute; he is a brute now; and there is no more reason for believing that he will ever cease to be a brute, than there is for supposing that the hound will ever cease to be a dog—only that the black biped, the baser of the two, will be the sooner exterminated." (P. 216.) He urges, in speaking of the negroes in relation to the late war, that "the blunderbusses should have been kept blazing away at the blacks, until there had not been left, in any State of the Union, one vital drop of negro blood." (P. 208.) He has a whole chapter on "the arts of annihilating effete races," and says in the outset that he writes in hope of producing amongst the whites the *will* to get rid of the blacks, and that he will expect others to point out *the way*. But he urges with much affected reverence that the Almighty has pointed out a very good way of doing it in what he ordained to be done with the inhabitants of Canaan. And then he quotes from the Bible twenty extracts, which he calls *Lessons*, to show that God did ordain the absolute destruction of the Canaanite, and asks "what possible exception could be taken to our conduct" if we should, as pious men, imitate God's own example? (P. 239.) He protests, however, that he is not recommending the actual doing of this work of destruction "by positive violence." All that he "contends" for is, that we pursue towards them "the same enlightened and heaven-approved policy" as was practised towards the Indians. (P. 214.) The negroes, "like the Indians, being among the most mean and accursed representatives" of those races which are "evidently fore-doomed to destruction," he would have them "removed to some far distant territory or country, and there 'let them alone severely,' leaving them to the unerring care of God and nature. This done, and the desired result would soon follow." So he closes the chapter upon "arts of annihilation," with the declaration that "the black and baneful negro has outlived already his usefulness, if indeed he ever was useful at all," and that the "subsoil is now urgently claiming as overdue to itself" the negro's bones. P. 251.

Now, all this is from the same infamous pen which, with its

"Impending Crisis of the South," so wrought up the Northern passion some years ago against slavery and slaveholders. And Helper very emphatically declares (p. 297,) that "abolitionists and anti-slavery men" are not "as a matter of course hobnobbers with negroes." Only "fools North and fools South" could think so. He repudiates the idea of his own book against slavery and slaveholders having been written in friendliness to the negro—on the contrary it "enunciates in the loudest possible strains a just and wholesome contempt for the blacks," those "woolly-headed and rank-smelling individuals." (P. 296.) He quotes the Hon. William H. Seward (on his title page) as saying that abolitionism was not any "unnatural sympathy with the negro," but sprang out of "concern for the welfare of the white man." And Helper earnestly testifies that "the better class of abolitionists are, and "will ever be particularly studious to shun and decline every possible sort of relationship with negroes." P. 297.

There can indeed be no doubt whatever that this atrocious writer does in one respect fairly represent a multitude of abolitionists. There are thousands of that party who hate slavery much, but the negro more. Helper quotes Richard Grant White, of New York, as uttering words "radiant with truth and propriety," when he denies that "opposition to slavery and a liking of the negro, or at least a special good-will to him, must go together, and *vice versa*." "I tell you frankly," says this gentleman, "that the majority of the people here were glad to fight against slavery, but had no intention of fighting for the negro;" and he tells of a clergyman, "gentle, firm, wise, with a large soul and wide sympathies," who came to the South in the last year of the war, "on a tour of observation, and was placed in authority as far as slavery was concerned, over a considerable district, by one of our most eminent generals. For years before the war, he had been one of our strongest anti-slavery men, and had by his writings done as much as any one person in the country, who was not a professed journalist or politician, to bring about the state of public feeling that provoked secession. I met him on his return home, and had not

talked with him three minutes before he said to me, 'I come back hating slavery more than ever, but loathing the negro with an unutterable loathing. What a curse to have that people on our hands.'" Pp. 285, '6. This we have long perceived distinctly to be the idea of many at the North,—slavery bad, but negroes worse; slavery a curse, but negroes a curse too, and one that we may "loathe with unutterable loathing," and "get rid of" the best way possible. Alas, poor black race! You did have warm friends amongst slaveholders, but you had hotter enemies amongst abolitionists, and you have got these hotter enemies still. Yes, abolitionism is infidel and hates God and the Bible; and man, both black and white. It is a murderous thing, as seen in a large class of its advocates, and they happen to be the loudest and most active class, with tempers and tongues, or pens, like Helper's.

In the first paragraph of this notice we called "Ariel" a "pro-slavery" writer. Of course, we did not use the term reproachfully, having been always of that school ourselves. The grounds upon which we suppose "Ariel" to be *pro-slavery* appear on pages 47 and 48 of his pamphlet. We confess that we are filled with shame that any man who was on our side on that subject, or in the war of the Confederacy, should be found guilty of producing a tract so wicked, and at the same time so devoid of reason and argument. The wickedness of it is partly in its cruel and anti-christian spirit towards the negro, whom it stigmatizes and insults as literally a beast; and ridicules and reproaches continually, in true Helper style, as "kinky-headed, thick-lipped, flat-nosed, and black-skinned." These reproaches have the additional wickedness that they reach beyond our poor brethren of the Ethiopic race, and light upon God, their maker and ours. Who is "Ariel," or any other man, of whatever race, that he should presume to ridicule the workmanship of God? Or will "Ariel" go a little step further, and deny that God has made the negro at all? The truth is, that the wickedness of this pamphlet is seen distinctly in its thinly-disguised and transparently evident disrespect for the authority of God's word. Were "Ariel" a sceptic, we should respect him more; but he is

a professed believer in the Scriptures. His is a piratical little craft, sailing under false colors. "The Bible is true," are the last words of his paper, and stand paraded also on his title-page; yet he trifles with its teachings, and inventing flimsy theories which he forces upon the sacred records, brings them into contempt. Thus, while his production is not so coarse and vulgar as Helper's, yet is it instinct with the same malignant and terrible spirit of infidelity. With vain and shallow criticism which every where and throughout evinces "Ariel" no scholar, he deliberately and ruthlessly aims to destroy the soul, as Helper the body of the African. Robert Hall eloquently delineated the *ferocity* of modern unbelief. Where was there ever a more ferocious exhibition of hate than is to be found in these two works? If Helper does use the bloodier terms, who can question that "Ariel's" doctrine is quite as bloody in its tendency? Once received by the white man of the United States, how long would it be ere actual and thorough extermination would follow?

There is, of course, another wicked feature of "Ariel's" book in its false statements about the Bible. What the author asserts concerning its testimony is frequently without any foundation in fact, and, generally speaking, may be said to be utterly unworthy of trust. It is a very notable circumstance in connexion with the falsehoods *inside* of it, that the most glaring misstatements *about* it, seem to be in busy circulation. For example, we meet daily with the representation that ministers of the gospel in general have hitherto not replied in public to "Ariel," because they were afraid to attempt a reply! Not content with these general statements, particular ministers of eminence are claimed as admitting the book to be unanswerable (!) and these claims are generally as ridiculous as they are false. There is, indeed, a strenuous effort making to manufacture, or we might better say *create*, capital for this little work, and certainly it stands in need of it all.

We said it is devoid of reason or argument, and we shall now briefly endeavor to make good this assertion. There are two aspects of the discussion upon which we have space for a few words.

I. As to the scriptural side of it.

Upon page 45, "Ariel" sums up the points he has attempted to make. The *first one* is, "That Ham was not made a negro, neither [either] by his name nor [or] by the curse (or the supposed curse) of his father Noah." Much of his space and strength has been expended upon this point. Now, we simply say it has all been thrown away. He has only set up a man of straw, and then wasted time in trying to knock him down. That is not, as he alleges, the doctrine of "the clergy." Some individuals here and there have traced the Ethiopian blackness to the curse upon Canaan, but no such idea has ever extensively prevailed in the Christian ministry or Church. This is enough upon that point.

His *second point* is, "that the people of India, China, Turkey, Egypt (Copts) now have long, straight hair, high foreheads, high noses, and every lineament of the white race; and that these are the descendants of Ham." Suppose we admit it. The question is, were not the Ethiopians also descended from Ham? "Ariel" undertakes to trace the progeny of Ham, but leaves out two of his four sons from the investigation. His argument stands thus: The Ethiopians did not spring from Mizraim or from Canaan; therefore they came not from Cush or Phut. What kind of logic is this? The truth is, that Cush is generally considered to have been the father of these people, and one of the very passages of Scripture which "Ariel" abuses to sustain his theory, would have suggested this to him, had he been able to read it in the Hebrew, for the prophet asks, "Can the Cushite.(Ethiopian) change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"

His *third point*, therefore, needs no answer. The *fourth* likewise, is without any bearing, as the Cushite origin of the Ethiopian is unaffected by that argument. His *fifth point* nobody would dispute. His *sixth* is a begging of the question. His *seventh* is a plain *non sequitur*. His *eighth* is the baseless, presumptuous, impious, cruel, bloody, infidel falsehood, that the negro is a beast and has no soul. His *ninth* is another audacious assertion without proof, namely, that God destroyed the antediluvians for miscegenation, and that mulattoes are neither

beasts nor men! His *tenth* is another heaven-daring statement that God could not forgive this crime. His *eleventh* is quite baseless. His *twelfth* is the dreadful invention that God is *the respecter of persons*, which Jehovah expressly denies, and that the negro may never worship God. His *thirteenth* and last point is an attempt to prove from 1 Pet. iii. 20, that the negro has no soul, because it is said that only eight souls were saved in the ark. Had "Ariel" possessed the least acquaintance with the usages of the Greek tongue, he could not have fallen into such an exposure of his own ignorance as this argument makes.

That "Ariel" is no scholar in either of the two sacred languages is very manifest, although he makes so many bold assertions. What shall we think of a scholar who says of Egypt that "in Syro-Chaldaic and Hel[1]enic Greek it is called Aiguptos"? (P. 11.) Is not all Greek *Hellenic*? What of one who says, "Our translators rejected the rendering of some of the oldest manuscripts—the Chaldean, Ethiopic, Arabic, *et al.*—of the Jewish or Hebrew Scriptures." Who ever heard before of Arabic, Ethiopic, or Chaldee manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures?

But if these be mere slips, and if "Ariel" be indeed a Hebrew scholar, then he becomes liable to a weightier charge, viz., that he knowingly misrepresents the original Scriptures. We shall give two illustrations: 1. He asserts that whenever Adam and his race are referred to in the Hebrew, a prefix is always employed equivalent to our article *the*, whereas the name *man*, without the prefix, always refers to the negro, who was named *man* by Adam, but not by God. All this is ridiculous enough, but he ought not to falsify about it. But he ventures to quote, in illustration, that passage concerning "the sons of God and the daughters of men," and says, "A word or two of criticism before we proceed. In this quotation, the word *men* is correctly translated from the Hebrew, and as it applies to the negro, it is not in the original applied to Adam, for then it would be *the men*, Adam and his race being so distinguished by God himself when Adam was created." (P. 26.) What will the reader say of "Ariel" when we tell him that the prefix is attached in this case to the word *men*?

Again, this writer has nearly two pages upon the text, "Then began *men* to call on the name of the Lord," where again all that he so boldly and confidently asserts turns on the same notion as above about the word *men*, with or without the prefix. Here he has the hardihood to urge that it was negroes who now began to imitate white men in calling on the name of the Lord, which for them to do was profane; because, forsooth, it is here *men*, without the prefix. What will the reader think of "Ariel" when we assure him that in the original the word *men* is not found expressed at all? Literally translated, the Hebrew says, "then it *was begun* to call on the name of the Lord."

II. Let us glance at the scientific side of the discussion. Without entering into a scientific discussion of ethnology, we can easily make it plain that "Ariel" is as innocent of scientific as of scriptural acquaintance with this question. His outset upon this portion of the discussion is with these words: "It will be admitted by all, and contradicted by none, that we have now existing on earth two races of men, the *white* and the *black*." And *throughout*, he argues as though the question were indeed one simply about *two races* of men, one *white* and the other *black*. Now, Cuvier and Blumenbach made five races, and Prichard seven; but the advocates of the plurality of species have insisted, some of them on seventeen, some on twenty-five, and others again on as many as forty essentially different species. When "Ariel" opens his learned mouth, however, it seems there are only two races, the white and the black! The manifest fact is, that there are many different shades of color between white and black amongst men. The difficulty with science is not to account for two, but for many, colors. And now, if "Ariel" has by his theory explained the origin of the negro, how is the red man and the brown man and the yellow man to be accounted for? Can science tolerate a theory gotten up simply to account for one out of so many varieties of color?

Again; some scientific men have insisted that the negro is of a different *species* from the white man. Was there ever one of these who for a moment contended that he is of a different *genus*? "Ariel" insists that the black skin, the thick lip, the flat nose,

and the kinky hair, (the four chief differences between white and black men,) prove him no man, but a beast. Does any scientific man make these differences *generic*? Is it agreed amongst scientific men that they even constitute *specific* differences? Do not many of them insist that these are only marks of a different variety, and point us to equal differences found amongst mere *varieties* of the common fowl, the dog, the horse, and many other domestic animals? Are there not often in the *very same family* of chickens, dogs, horses, some white and some black, some rough and some smooth, some with one and some with another portion of the frame peculiarly developed? But here comes "Ariel," regardless of, or else ignorant of, all that so many eminent men of science on both sides have written, and sets up altogether a new theory for himself. We think we see the fine countenance of Agassiz covered over with one smile of contempt for "Ariel's" pretensions to scientific knowledge on this subject. Mulattoes, the product of a man and a beast! Who will arise next and show us what has come from crossing a chicken and a sheep?

In the controversy as hitherto conducted, the advocates of the unity have with great force insisted that these differences of color, lip, nose, hair, etc., are as nothing at all compared with the higher and stronger points of resemblance between the different races of men. They have well urged that all mankind must be of one species, as they all, and only they amongst animals, are found to laugh, to weep, to talk, to think, to reason, to believe in God, to repent of sin, and to hope for heaven. With sublime impudence, "Ariel" stands up and insists that the speaking, reasoning, religious black man is not even of the same *genus* with his white brother-man, because, forsooth, his skin is black, his hair crisp, and his lips and nose somewhat peculiarly shaped!

There are numerous minor evidences that "Ariel" is no man of science. Who ever heard before of the Turks being descendants of Ham? What man of science would talk of "the cat as a *genera* of a *species* of animals?" (P. 22.) How can the negro be a beast, as "Ariel" maintains, and yet the same writer say,

(p. 22,) "therefore it follows, from this logic of facts, that the negro is a *separate* and *distinct* species of the *genus homo* from Adam and Eve?" Whoever heard before of *birds* and *fowls*, as two different orders of creation? (P. 4.) As for the statement (see pages 32, 33,) that "the negro, we know from his habits, when unrestrained, never inhabits mountainous districts or countries, and therefore we readily find him on the plains of Shinar," no respectable authority upon the habits of the negro in Africa bears the author out in it. This is just one of his reckless and wild assertions.

This little pamphlet we do not allow to be worthy in itself of the notice we have given it. Its pretensions, literary, historical, scientific, and biblical, are beneath contempt. But it is widely circulated and assiduously spread abroad amongst our people, and for this reason only we have spoken. We deprecate earnestly the spreading of such views as "Ariel" urges in the community. Their influence is evil, and only evil. To pronounce the negro a brute, is to brutalize the white man. To establish "Ariel's" doctrine is to inaugurate absolutely a war of races. More than this: to dehumanize a large portion of our fellow men is to insult God. Let us not provoke his wrath by such impiety. Let us cultivate Christian feelings towards our former slaves, and seek to advance their improvement as far as we may have opportunity.

A Defence of Virginia, (and through her of the South,) in Recent and Pending Contests against the Sectional Party. By Prof. ROBERT L. DABNEY, D. D., of Virginia, late of the Confederate Army. New York: E. J. Hale & Son, 16 Murray Street: 1867. Pp. 356, 12mo.

The author thus declares the purpose of his work: "It is first and chiefly to lay this pious and filial defence upon the tomb of my murdered mother, Virginia." That mother of States as well as statesmen destroyed, her detractors "seek also to bury her memory under a load of obloquy and falsehood. The last and only office that remains to her sons is to leave their testimony for her righteous fame—feeble it may be now, amidst the din of

passion and material power, yet inextinguishable as Truth's own torch." On behalf of the whole South defended through his mother by Prof. Dabney, we thank him for his earnest, touching, eloquent, and able exposition. He has done a service to truth and to right none the less really thankworthy because it may not avail at present for any practical good, and may even excite more hatred of our injured people by those who will and must hate because and in proportion as they have injured.

A correspondent at the North lately expressed to us the wish that all bitterness should be buried between the two sections. Our reply was that we earnestly deprecate all continuance of bitterness, and would neither write nor publish a line to promote it; but, we added, the questions that divide the North and the South cannot be buried. They must and will demand consideration. But let us separate as much as possible the questions and the bitterness. Prof. Dabney writes under the profound conviction that his mother has been murdered. If his pen sometimes sheds a little gall, that may well be pardoned to a son thus injured—nay, thousands of generous souls at the North will applaud him for the honest indignation which occasionally bursts forth in the midst of his soberest arguments.

A second object of Prof. Dabney's book is "the refutation of the abolitionist postulates." Some will insist that the slavery question is a dead issue. "Would God it were dead," (says our author,) with all the "mischievous principles" it involves. But it is alive. In the Church it is "more rampant than ever," in the form of infidelity. In the State, it exhibits "its full activity" in the form of Jacobinism. Slaveholding in the United States is finally and forever ended. You could not possibly induce the white people of the South to agree to a reëstablishment of it. But the *question* of slaveholding is by no means obsolete. "The status of the freed negro is just beginning to develop itself" as an element of agitation in the future politics of America. It will continue "the great ground of moral strife between the North and the South." Moreover, we can not consent to be held by mankind as a people "stained by a standing social crime." The instinctive desire to have the good opinions

of our fellow-men and to be delivered from an odium which we do not deserve, must and will impel the former slaveholder to defend his reputation: so that, instead of being "an antiquated discussion," the question of "the rightfulness of African slavery" during the past, assumes at this epoch for us "a new and wider importance." The task of defending the slaveholder before the North and Europe is an "arduous but not a hopeless undertaking." Our cause is the "cause of God's word." Abolitionism is rationalistic and infidel. It is "a legitimate corollary from that fantastic, atheistic, and radical theory of human rights, which made the Reign of Terror in France, which has threatened that country, and now threatens the United States with the horrors of Red-Republicanism." (Pp. 21, 22.)

We are entirely of Prof. Dabney's opinion regarding the hopefulness at this time and hereafter of defending our former institutions. While slavery stood, its adversaries appealed successfully to the sympathies of mankind, as though against a strong oppressor of the weak. The tables are turned. It is the former slaveholder who now needs and who may hope yet to have the sympathies of the world. And besides this, the necessary working of events must result one way or another in the vindication of slavery. Should emancipation prove a failure, (which in all sincerity and earnestness we pray God to forbid,) then slavery will be vindicated that way. But should emancipation prove a success, then will slavery be still better vindicated, for it will then be seen in its true character—a school of civilisation and religion for four millions of barbarian and semi-barbarian people. We were not ready to acknowledge the negro prepared for his freedom. Should he prove to be so, that fact will demonstrate that our school was a better school than we ever imagined.

The author dwells with impressive eloquence upon the most fearful of all the consequences of the "despotic government to which the South is now subjected," viz., "the debauching of the moral sensibilities and principles of the helpless victims." It has usually been found that subjugated nations receive at the "hands of their conquerors this crowning woe—a depraved,

cringing, and cowardly spirit. The wisest, kindest, most patriotic thing which any man can do for his country amidst such calamities, is to aid in preserving and reinstating the tottering principles of his countrymen; to teach them while they give place to inexorable force, to abate nothing of righteous convictions and self-respect. And in this work he is really a benefactor of the conquerors as of the conquered. For thus he aids in preserving that precious seed of men who are men of principle and not of expediency; who alone (if any can) are able to reconstruct society, after the tumult of faction shall have spent its rage, upon the foundations of truth and justice. The men at the North who have stood firmly aloof from the errors and crimes of this revolution, and the men at the South who have not been unmanned and debauched by defeat—these are the men whom Providence will call forth from their seclusion, when the fury of fanaticism shall have done its worst, to repair its mischiefs and to save America from chronic anarchy and barbarism; if indeed any rescue is designed for us. It is this audience, ‘few but fit,’ with which I would chiefly commune.” (P. 8.)

In discussing the African slave-trade, our author shows how this trade was the foundation, in great part, of the wealth of London, Bristol, and Liverpool. Especially was this the chief source of the riches which founded the British empire in Hindostan. England’s colonial system also was wholly built upon African slavery. And thus was it the corner-stone of the present splendid prosperity of that empire.

He shews also how unwilling a recipient was the colony of Virginia of any share in this trade, and at the same time how promptly the New England colonies embarked in this business, and with what zeal and success they pursued it. Less than seventeen years after the Plymouth white man had gained his first feeble and dubious foothold there, he began to engage in swapping dry fish and strong liquors for African slaves. It is curious to perceive how the wars with the Indians served to promote this trade; for the pilgrim fathers soon discovered that their Indian captives were less docile than “blackamoors,” and hence there grew up a thrifty traffic of Indian slaves for negroes

between New England and the Bermudas, Barbadoes, and other West India islands. With many striking details the author shews how even the present commercial and manufacturing wealth of New England is to be traced (even more than that of old England,) to the proceeds of the slave trade and slave labor. (Pp. 38-43.) And he draws the contrast between all this guilty cupidity and the consistent conduct of Virginia, which always resisted the trade; albeit, of late years, Massachusetts, (next to England, the patroness and pioneer of the slave trade and chief criminal in all this business,) having gained for herself the wages of her iniquity, now sets herself up as chief accuser of Virginia and the South.

The same contrast is clearly presented in the chapter on the History of Emancipation, which traces emancipation at the North to self-interest, and at the South to malice against slaveholders, and in neither case to good will for the negro; while it is proved that Virginia alone, of all the slaveholding States, gave the boon of freedom to more negroes than ever did all the citizens of the New England States, of New York, of New Jersey, and of Pennsylvania together! (Pp. 79-88.)

The chapters on the Old Testament argument, and on the New Testament argument, are a very thorough discussion. There is no answer that can be made except upon Socinian or rationalistic principles. Whoever receives God's word as the perfect standard of morals must, if a candid man, bow to its force. Especially is the exegesis of 1 Tim. vi. 3-5, most convincing and impressive. That is a picture drawn by the Divine limner, of modern infidelity in the shape of abolitionism. Why was such a passage ever written? Nothing in the primitive, and nothing in the mediæval Church appears to have required it. But the events of our age answer the question. This passage was written for us on whom the ends of the world have come. This startling denunciation was for a time when the Church, after eighteen centuries, was to be "invaded and defiled" by a deadly spirit of error, "a spirit perverse, blind, divisive, and disorganising, the giant scourge and opprobrium of Christianity." (P. 187.)

The chapter on the economical effects of slavery is calculated to shed much light upon every mind not closed by prejudice. But perhaps a still more valuable chapter is the one upon the ethical argument. Here, Prof. Dabney clears away many misrepresentations, and vindicates our former domestic institutions from all the ordinary ethical objections. In particular, his discussion of that theory of the natural liberty and equality of man which traces them to a *social contract* is complete and satisfactory. That theory is a dream. Mankind never existed for one moment in a state of individual independence, out of which they passed by their own option, and as the result of a social contract. The scheme is fictitious as well as absurd. Man was created and has always been under authority, and with restraints upon his liberty. Government is a divine ordinance. Hobbes of Malmesbury, who devised this theory, was an infidel, and this theory is atheistic, for it ignores man's Creator and his proprietorship in man. It is God's providence which allots to men their share of freedom as of other blessings. As some children are born to riches, so some are born to poverty; and just so, as some are born to one degree of freedom, so some are born to another and very inferior degree of it. And the doctrine of equal rights might as well be applied to property as to liberty, and it very probably will be so applied in these United States before this question of the natural rights of mankind is settled. If it is not to be admitted that one child may be born a prince and another child a slave, so it is not to be admitted that one child may be born to a million of dollars and another child to beggary.

There are many very striking paragraphs in this work which we would like to quote, did space permit. We cordially and earnestly recommend it to all who value our opinion, whether at the South or at the North.